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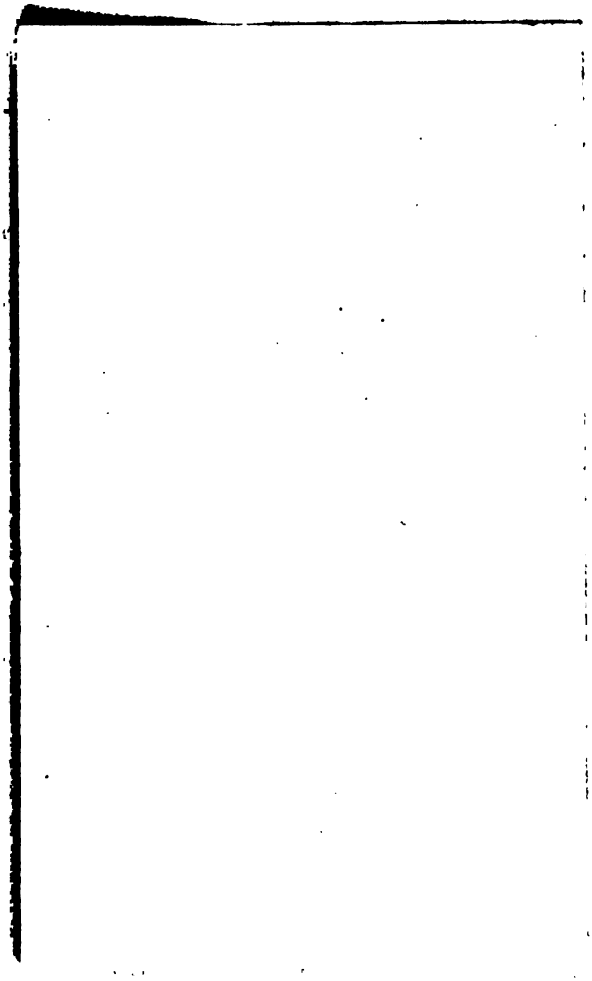

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Modern History:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Universal History.

The HISTORY of BOLOGNA.

SECT. I.

Containing the State of Bologna *in the Days of* Charles the Great; *it is dismantled by* Lodovic, *Son of the Emperor* Lothair; *the Privilege of its Church several Times confirmed*; *the Valour of the* Bolognese *during the* Italian *War in* 1076; *new Regulations in* Bologna; *their Differences with pope* Urban II. *State of Learning at* Bologna *in* 1105; *Building of the two famous Towers* Asinella *and* Garisenda *in* Bologna, *which are still standing*; *the* Bolognese *demolish the Citadel built by the Emperor* Henry *to curb them, but make a peace with that prince*; *flourishing State of* Bologna *in* 1123; *War between the* Bolognese *and the* Modenese; *the City of* Bologna *almost burnt to the Ground*; *the* Bolognese *invaded by* Frederick Barbarossa; *and a Truce of six Years.*

State of Bologna *under* Charles the Great.

AFTER *Charles the Great* became master of *Italy*, about the year 774, those places that had been subject to the *Longobards*, or *Lombards*, were, by his order, called *Lombardy*; and those that were governed by the exarchs, went under the general name of *Romaniola*, or *Romania*. The

government of that country was, at the same time, totally changed. The cities of the exarchate were put under the government of an archbishop and the magistrates of *Ravenna*. The pope remained master of the ecclesiastical state; and over the imperial possessions, or what was called the kingdom of *Italy*, *Charles* appointed *comites*, or counts, for ruling the several states and possessions in them; and to those were joined civil judges. The counts who governed the marche, or border lands, generally served in the field; and, according to *Sigonius*, an author of great learning and accuracy, they were called counts of the marches, from whence the modern word marquis has been derived. At the same time *Charles* entirely new modelled the tributes paid by the *Italians*, and altered the whole system of their civil policy.

ABOUT the year 781, we find *Charles* nominating *Peter* bishop of *Bononia*, or *Bologna*, to regulate some matters in dispute in the church of *Reggio*; and about the year 801, *Charles* assumed the title of emperor of the West. *Bologna* was then governed by a civil magistrate named by the emperor, who confirmed all the ecclesiastical privileges that had been conferred upon her by the popes, which is all we know of the history of *Bologna* at that time. In the year 844, the people of *Bologna* shut their gates against *Ludovic*, son to the emperor *Lothair*, as he was marching to *Rome* against pope *Sergius*, which exasperated that prince so much, that he took their city by force, and beat down its walls. We meet with nothing particular concerning *Bologna* till the year 903, when the *Bologneſe* clergy obtained from pope *Leo* V. an immunity from all manner of taxes and tributes. After *Rodolph* duke of *Burgundy* had conquered and killed *Berengarius*, who had been crowned emperor and king of *Italy*, he himself was dethroned by the count of *Arles*, who joined his son *Lothair* with him in the government; during whose reigns the church of *Bologna* was greatly enriched by pious donations. The disorders that afterwards prevailed in *Italy*, obliged the *Italian* princes about the year 961, to call to their relief *Otho* the emperor, who, having vanquished all his enemies, confirmed the privileges of the city and church of *Bologna*. According to the accurate historian already mentioned, *Bologna* was then a free city, and governed by a set of magistrates, who were termed the community of *Bologna*. They were divided into three councils, of which one was called the special council, another the general, and the third the council of credence; and those three councils were composed of the most respectable citizens for property and probity; so that the form of their government was aristocratical. On certain times the col-

Its privileges,

collective body of the people were summoned together, either to ratify the decrees of the councils, or to give sanction to their proceedings. This form of government, with some additions of offices, continued till the year 1200, about which time the people were added to the government, which then went by the name of the community and people of *Bologna*. By all that we can gather from the writers of those dark ages, the *Bolognese* had lively ideas of the ancient *Roman* republic. Their chief magistrates were called consuls, whose powers were much the same as those of the *Roman* consuls, but undetermined as to their number: they had under them civil judges; and the companies of merchants and tradesmen had their several consuls or magistrates; but they suffered none of those magistracies to continue in a single person above one year. In the year 966, the emperor *Otho* and pope *John* XIII. restored the clergy of *Bologna* to all the privileges and immunities that had been granted to them in former times. In the beginning of the reign of the emperor *Otho* II. *Albert* bishop of *Bologna* had some disputes with *Hubert* bishop of *Parma*, and made his point good in the synod of *Ravenna*. This victory is said to have given the people of *Bologna* great spirits, and they began now to adorn and fortify their city. About this time *John Gambalonga*, a man of great learning, flourished at *Bologna*, and died, as appears by his tomb stone, which was extant in the days of *Sigonius*, in the year 999. We know little more of the *Bolognese* till about the year 1012, when it was laid waste by a dreadful pestilence, which afflicted all *Italy*. In the year 1014, the emperor *Henry* II. called *the Lame*, granted at *Ravenna*, to the canons of the church at *Bologna*, the privilege, that without their consent no bishop of *Bologna* should alienate the estate of that church. The reader may perceive that, at this time, we know little of the history of *Bologna*, or indeed of any other *Italian* state; but as it is connected with that of the clergy, who, having in their power all the means of information, took care to transmit few or no facts but what related to their own honour. *and government.*

HENRY the Lame was succeeded in the empire by *Conrade the Salic*, who carried on great wars in *Lombardy*; but his history tells us of no concern or connexion the *Bolognese* had with him. *Conrade* was succeeded in the year 1040, by his son *Henry*, surnamed *the Black*, who likewise confirmed the privileges and immunities of the *Bolognese* clergy, and was a great benefactor to them. He was succeeded by another *Henry*, his son; but we know of no particulars relating to the people of *Bologna*, till the year 1066, when the privileges

of their clergy received their usual confirmation; and in the year 1070, they introduced, for the benefit of the citizens, the waters of the *Apose* into *Bologna*. It was not till about the year 1077, that the *Bolognese*, who were all this while subject to the *German* emperors, had occasion to give proofs of their valour. In the progress of the famous quarrel between pope *Gregory* VII. and the emperor *Henry* IV. the former absolved all the imperial dominions and fiefs in *Italy*; and *Sigonius* is of opinion, that the *Bolognese* never were free or independent before they seized that opportunity to shake off the imperial yoke. It is not a little remarkable, that the worst of all tyrannies should beget freedom; for most of the *Italian* states, at this time, dated the commencement of their liberties from this iniquitous sentence of pope *Gregory*. The emperor *Henry*, on all hands distracted by the defection of his subjects, was obliged to repair to *Germany*, and left the care of *Italy* to his son. The famous *Matilda*, the kinswoman of *Henry*, whom she hated, was then alive in *Italy*. She was heiress to almost all *Tuscany*, and what is now called the patrimony of the church; and she took the part of the pope, from the aversion she had to *Henry*. Being a woman of vast spirit, she raised armies, and fought herself at the head of them; but about the year 1078 she was defeated by the emperor's son, who, in the pursuit, entered *Bologna* with the fugitives, and held it for some days. *Matilda*, however, soon repaired her loss, raised another army, and recovered *Bologna*, the citizens of which behaved with great fidelity to the pope. In the year 1080, pope *Gregory* renewed his fulminations against the emperor, whom he actually excommunicated, though he had been weak enough to make the most abject submissions to his holiness. Nothing, at that time, could withstand the passion which both the *Italians* and *Germans* had for liberty. Most of the *German* states and cities shook themselves loose of the imperial yoke; and the *Bolognese*, amongst other *Italian* states, declared themselves a republic. *Rodolph* duke of *Suabia* was chosen emperor; but was defeated again and again by *Henry*, who created one *Gilbert* pope, and besieged *Gregory* in the castle of *St. Angelo*, from whence he was delivered by the famous adventurer *Robert Guiscard*, whom historians call duke of *Apulia*. Pope *Gregory* did not long survive his misfortunes, for he died in the year 1085. The two popes who succeeded *Gregory* were equally pragmatical and presuming, and were supported by *Matilda* in all their impudent claims over temporal princes. The *Bolognese* adhered to pope *Urban*; and, at the instigation of *Matilda*, sent an ambassy to *Rome* to inform him of their friendship.

Affairs of the empire.

The Bolognese shake off the German yoke.

In

IN 1088, *Italy* enjoying some repose, by the absence of the emperor *Henry*, the *Bologneſe*, by the advice of *Matilda*, began to form themſelves into a civil government, and divided their city into four quarters; *Caſſiano*, *Eſaia*, *Proculo*, and *Vitali*. Each of thoſe quarters had a particular ſtandard allotted to it; and each was obliged to furniſh a certain number of men in time of war; an inſtitution, of which ſome traces may be found to this day in that city. Two years after the emperor *Henry* again invaded *Italy*, and was again oppoſed by the active *Matilda*, who had the better in one campaign; but in the year 1091, ſhe was obliged to ſhut herſelf up in *Canoſſa*, and was afterwards defeated by the emperor. In the year 1092, the emperor *Henry* was defeated by *Matilda*, who may be ſaid to have been the mother of the *Romiſh* church. She encouraged pope *Urban* to preach up the cruſade in *France*; and the *Bologneſe* attended him thither with about three hundred men, who ſerved him as a body-guard. In the year 1106, pope *Paſchal*, in his journey to *Padua*, paid a viſit to *Bologna*, and exempted that city from the juriſdiction of the biſhop of *Ravenna*. It does not appear that the *Bologneſe*, about this time, made any great figure in *Italy*; but it is extremely probable, that they earneſtly applied themſelves to their domeſtic concerns; for we are told, that in the year 1109 their two famous towers *Aſſinelli* and *Gariſenda* were built. In the year 1110, the emperor *Henry* being victorious in *Italy*, entered *Bologna* as a conqueror, and reſented the behaviour of its citizens ſo much, that he bridled it with a citadel, which he left ſtrongly garriſoned, and returned to *Germany*. The counteſs *Matilda*, however, animated the *Bologneſe* to demoliſh the citadel, which they did; but in the year 1115, that lady died. Next year the emperor *Henry* came to *Italy*, with an intention to be revenged of all his enemies there, amongſt whom he numbered the *Bologneſe*. They knew to what fate they were deſtined, and they ſent *Alberto Craſſo* and *Hugo Anſaldi* to pacify his wrath, and in a particular manner to apologize for demoliſhing the citadel he had built. According to *Sigonius*, the ſpeech which thoſe ambaſſadors made to *Henry*, had nothing in it that was mean or unbecoming a free people; for they anſwered and juſtified, on the principles of liberty, their having demoliſhed his citadel. *Henry*, who was a prince of great magnanimity, was pleaſed with their boldneſs, and beſtowed immunities upon them, that do equal honour to them and himſelf; for on the ides of *May*, 1116, he gave them a charter, which is ſtill preſerved in *Bologna*, and is ſo remarkable for its ſtrength and ſimplicity, that we ſhall here tranſlate it.

They ſide with Matilda;

but make their peace with the emperor.

Charter in their favour.

"We forgive, to the citizens of *Bologna*, all offences, "and especially the late demolition of our castle in that city. "Let the citizens of *Bologna*, and their posterity, together "with all their estates, be for ever taken into our patronage "and protection. Let them have the free navigation of the "*Po* every way; and let them not pay to any one any tri- "bute, particularly to the *Ferrarese*, under the name of "wharfage. Let them inviolably preserve their own immu- "nities, privileges, laws, and customs. Let no people, "without the consent of the *Bolognese*, erect any works on "the banks of the *Reno*, so as to spoil its navigation. Let "the *Veronese* pay only a hundred pence, under the denomi- "nation of provender and provision money. Let no count "trouble the *Bolognese* in any manner for his hospitality- "money, as it is called. While the *Bolognese* are in our "camp, let them be ameanable for no matters but such as "happen there."

INCREDIBLE was the joy of the *Bolognese* when their ambassadors brought them this charter. They even pretended that it was obtained by miracle, and from thenceforth they devoted themselves to the imperial dignity. In the year 1120, the *Bolognese* being in profound tranquility, while all the states about them were at war, built a most magnificent town-house, in which they transacted their public business. In the year 1123, the affairs of the *Bolognese* were so prosperous, that many of the neighbouring people made them considerable presents, that they might be received into their protection. They continued still to be governed by magistrates, under the name of consuls, who were chose annually, partly by ballot, and partly by lot. This year, by appointment of the grand council, the consuls promised for themselves, and for their bishop *Victor* in the court of *St. Ambrose*, that they never would, upon any account, alienate that building, but that they would preserve it to the honour and advantage of the church and community of *Bologna*; and that they would protect the people thereof with all their interest and strength against all powers, excepting that of the emperor. From this circumstance it appears, that the *Bolognese*, however free they might be in the exercise of their government, still considered themselves as dependent on the imperial authority. In other respects, their condition was very desireable; and we have the following sketch of their government, from original records, extracted by *Sigonius*[a].

Improve their city.

[a] SIGONIUS Hist. Bonon. pag. 50.

THEIR

THEIR biſhop was appointed by the pope, and lived in great ſtate and ceremony. Their religious orders were the *Auguſtines* and *Benedictines*; the particulars of whoſe powers, manners, and poſſeſſions, are deſcribed, but are here immaterial. They had an univerſity; but at that time we now treat of, the ſtudents were ſubject to the ſame juriſdiction as the other citizens. Three companies were inſtituted at firſt; that of the merchants, ſilverſmiths, and craftſmen. The two former choſe conſuls, and the latter maſters; and each company ſeems to have been veſted with a power of making bye-laws for its government. In proceſs of time other companies were added, particularly three companies of armourers, who were endowed with particular privileges, and inſtructed the reſt of the citizens in the art of war, and the management of arms. Foreigners might be of this company; and if they were reſident within the city for ten years, they were capable of bearing all kinds of public poſts as other citizens. There was in the country of *Bologna*, a tenure ſomewhat of the nature of the *Engliſh* villainage, the huſbandmen being in a condition of ſlavery to their maſters; but it was in the power of the community to buy it off. *Their religious conſtitution.*

THEIR laws were founded on ancient uſages, imperial privileges, decrees of councils, or ſtatutes of the city. When a reformation, or an emendation in the ſtate was neceſſary, certain perſons were choſen for that purpoſe, with power either to abrogate old laws, or to propoſe new ones, which being confirmed by the council, and promulgated in an aſſembly of the people, was entered into the body of their civil ſtatutes, and received the force of a perpetual law. As to the city itſelf, it was mean in its aſpect; and, though ſurrounded by walls, its buildings were generally of wood, ſo that it was frequently conſumed by fire. The citizens, however, were remarkable for their concord, unanimity, and plainneſs of manners; but very jealous of their rights and privileges, which ſometimes rendered them a little turbulent towards their magiſtrates. *Their civil laws.*

IN the year 1124, *Lambert Fagnani*, a native of *Bologna*, ſucceeded pope *Calixtus*, under the name of *Honcrius* II. He was a wiſe man, and a friend to his country, which, by his means, long enjoyed a ſtate of peace and ſecurity. After the death of the emperor *Henry* V. *Lothair* duke of *Saxony* was crowned emperor in the year 1126; but his title was diſputed by *Conrade* duke of *Franconia*, who was crowned king of *Italy* at *Milan*; but the *Bologneſe* ſeem not to have been much concerned in the diſpute, though it tore in pieces all the reſt of *Italy*. In the year 1131, the abbey of *Nouantola* became a

bone of contention between the *Bolognese* and the *Modenese*. The monks of that abbey had many and long disputes with the magistrates of *Modena*; and being always defeated, they sent two of their order to *Bologna*, who, in the name of the abbot *Hildebrand*, and the people of *Nouantola*, claimed the protection of the *Bolognese* against the persecutions of the *Modenese*. A general council being held at *Bologna*, the protection was accordingly granted, though it was foreseen that a war must be the immediate consequence; and the conditions were solemnly ratified in the church of *St. Ambrose*. There the deputies of *Nouantola* swore, that for the future they would be subject and obedient to the *Bolognese*, and that they would bear their proportion of the public taxes in common with the other citizens; that they would assist the *Bolognese* against all powers but that of the emperor; that they would serve the *Bolognese* on horseback and on foot, in all their expeditions; that they would submit all their controversies to the consuls of *Bologna*; and that they would never, without leave from the *Bolognese*, make peace or truce with the *Modenese*: they were likewise to receive an abbot from the bishop of *Bologna*. The consuls of *Bologna*, on the other hand, swore to protect their new subjects, and to make no peace with the *Modenese* without their consent. This transference of allegiance was not attended with a war so soon as was expected. But in the year 1135, upon the emperor *Lothair* leaving *Italy*, the *Modenese* passed the river *Scultenna*, and ravaged the lands of *Bologna*. The *Bolognese*, provoked at this insult, made great preparations to be revenged; and it is about this time that mention is made of a new magistrate, under the name of pretor or podesta, though *Sigonius* is inclined to believe that the office was of an older institution. But when a bloody war was expected, certain mediators stept in and brought about a peace. The terms were both honourable and advantageous for the *Bolognese*; and *Manfred Petrezani*, the gonfalonier of *Modena*, bound himself for the performance in the penalty of one thousand marks. By this peace, the *Modenese* quitted all claims upon the *Bolognese* and the abbey of *Nouantola*; and a mutual indemnification between the two people was stipulated. This negociation produced new subjects to *Bologna*; for several people in the neighbourhood of *Nouantola* submitted and swore allegiance to the *Bolognese*, to the great displeasure of the emperor *Lothair*, who thought that the imperial dignity was thereby impaired. In the year 1136, differences continuing between the emperor *Lothair* and pope *Innocent*, the former invaded *Italy*, and ordered the people of *Bologna* and *Modena*

Nouantola submits to them.

War with the Modenese on that account.

to

to attend him at *Roncole*. The *Bolognese*, understanding that his majesty was exceedingly exasperated against them, applied to his son-in-law *Henry* duke of *Bavaria*, by whose intercession they were pardoned, and obtained a new charter of their privileges. In the year 1141, *Bologna* suffered greatly by fire, most part of it being burnt down. This encouraged the *Modenese* to renew their claims upon *Nouantola*, which they could not bear to see under the jurisdiction of *Bologna*. *Conrade* was then emperor of *Germany*; but so much involved in wars there, that he could not repair to *Italy* to assert the imperial rights. The *Modenese* raised an army; and after ravaging the lands of *Nouantola*, they threatened to besiege the town if it did not surrender. *Torello* was then the consul or chief magistrate of *Bologna*, which the news of the *Modenese* invasion no sooner reached, than it was unanimously agreed, in a common council, to raise an army for the relief of *Nouantola*, and *Torella* was appointed general. Troops were accordingly raised; but the *Modenese* general, being sensible that his force was inferior to that of *Torello*, retreated to the vale of *Laiano*, where he gave battle to *Torello*; but after a sharp dispute, for several hours, the *Modenese* general being unhorsed, his army was defeated with considerable loss, and the *Bolognese* returned home in triumph. This conquest encouraged the people of *Sassuola* and *Sabbiano*, to put themselves under the protection of the *Bolognese*. Those of *Sassuola* swore, that they would hold their town in dependence upon the *Bolognese*, in the same manner as that of *Nouantola*, and pay the same tribute. The people of *Sabbiano* made a present of their castle to the *Bolognese*, and promised them fidelity, to serve them in all their expeditions, and to make peace and war only by their permission. *Lucius* II. a *Bolognese*, was then pope; and he not only created four of his fellow citizens cardinals, but confirmed *Bologna* in all its privileges and immunities. Those pontifical favours gave *Bologna* great lustre in the eyes of the *Italians*. The *Modenese*, however, still continued to harrass the *Bolognese*, on account of *Nouantola*; the abbot of which place, in the year 1146, petitioned pope *Eugenius* for his protection, which he granted in the most ample manner; for he not only issued a bull, prohibiting the inhabitants of *Reggio* and *Parma* from assisting the *Modenese* in harrassing *Nouantola*, but deprived the city of *Modena* of its right to be an episcopal see. Next year *Torello*, and some other chief inhabitants of *Bologna*, were sent as deputies to *Germany*, from whence they returned loaded with honours by the emperor *Conrade*, and a confirmation of all the ancient rights and privileges of *Bologna*. This created

They appease the emperor,

and defeat the Modenese.

Their privileges confirmed.

inex-

inexpreſſible joy in that city, where tilts and tournaments, in the *German* manner, were celebrated for ſome days. In the year 1148, *Bologna* was almoſt burnt to the ground, on *Palm-Sunday*, while the people were employed in divine ſervice. It appears, that *Bologna*, at this time, was celebrated for the ſtudy of the law, of which they had no fewer than four eminent profeſſors; *viz. Bulgaro de Bulgari*, *Martin Goſo*, and *James* and *Hugh de Porta Ravenna*. Their eminence in their profeſſion occaſioned a vaſt reſort to that city, where they held their lectures. About this time the people of *Imola* threw off the yoke of the *Bologneſe*, and put *Vido Malabucca*, the governor of the citadel and his garriſon, to the ſword. The *Bologneſe*, in revenge, demoliſhed the caſtles of *San Caſſiano* and *Medicina*, in the neighbourhood of *Imola*; places of which we know little but the names. This produced a confederacy between the people of *Parma* and *Modena*, to the prejudice of the *Bologneſe*.

Their differences with the emperor Barbaroſſa.

In the year 1152, the famous *Frederic Barbaroſſa*, duke of *Suabia*, was emperor of *Germany*. On his acceſſion to that dignity, he made a preſent of the duchy of *Spoleto*, and the eſtates belonging to the late counteſs *Matilda*, to his uncle *Guelph*, in which *Bologna* was underſtood to be comprehended. The people of *San Caſſiano*, whoſe caſtle had been demoliſhed, applied to pope *Eugenius* for redreſs; and his holineſs, by a bull addreſſed to the magiſtrates and community of *Bologna*, commanded them to rebuild *San Caſſiano*. This drew the reſentment of the *Bologneſe* upon the inhabitants of *Imola*; and they entered into a league with the *Florentines* for recovering that place. The conſequence was, that the *Imoleſe* were defeated in a pitched battle on the 16th of *July*, 1153. A peace followed this defeat; the terms of which, as extracted from the records of *Bologna*, are pretty extraordinary. They imported, that the *Imoleſe*, every year, on the feaſt of *St. Peter*, ſhould bring to the high altar two ſilken handkerchiefs; that they ſhould carry to *Bologna* the doors of one of their gates; that they ſhould, if ſo required by the *Bologneſe*, demoliſh the walls of their city, but not the churches and private buildings ſituated near the walls; that they ſhould demoliſh the tower of *Baſſua* at the command of the *Bologneſe* pretor; that they ſhould deliver up the bodies of all who had been killed when the caſtle of *Imola* was ſurpriſed; that they ſhould ſend troops, both of infantry and cavalry, to any place the *Bologneſe* ſhould appoint, except againſt *Ravenna*; that they ſhould contribute to the public taxes, and be ſubject to all public duties, in the ſame manner as if they were one of the companies of *Bologna*.

The

THE *Bolognese*, on the other hand, swore, in the person of their pretor, or podesta, *Vido*, that they would observe peace with the *Imolese*, and preserve their city and suburbs; and the *Faventines* promised at the same time to prevent count *Malvicini*, and other *Italian* lords, from harrassing the *Imolese*; all which stipulations were punctually performed on both parts. The *Bolognese* remained in peace for some time after this treaty; but, in the year 1155, the emperor *Frederic Barbarossa* entered *Italy*, and was crowned at *Milan*, where he exercised his imperial power over the *Milanese*, and all the other states of *Italy*. He then marched into the *Bolognese*, where he pitched his camp, and ordered the inhabitants to repair the city of *Medicina*, which they had demolished; and published an edict, which is still extant in *Bologna*, ascertaining its boundaries, and that of the neighbouring states. From thence he marched to *Rome*, where he received the imperial diadem; and from thence he returned through *Lombardy* into *Germany*. *Their peace with the Imolese.*

DURING his absence, the states of *Italy* fell at variance amongst themselves; but the *Modenese*, by the advice and authority of *Gerard Rangone*, their chief magistrate, compromised matters with the *Bolognese*, and the government of *Nouantola* was relinquished to them. The latter were now so powerful, that their protection was courted by the people of *Olivetti* and *Montibelli*, who were solemnly received into the alliance of *Bologna*; and promised to serve the *Bolognese* against all men, excepting the emperor, and the duke or person in possession of the estates of the countess *Matilda*. Their example was followed by the people of *Canossa*, and other states; so that *Bologna* now made a capital figure in the affairs of *Italy*. *and Modenese.*

IN the year 1158 the emperor returned to *Italy*, to chastise the *Milanese*, who had rebelled against him. The *Bolognese* joined his army; and were instrumental in restoring the peace of *Lombardy* by the great learning of their law-professors, already mentioned, to whom the emperor referred his case, and that of his crown. The lawyers, however, declined taking intirely upon themselves so weighty a decision; and the emperor ordered them to be assisted by eighteen other professors of the towns of *Lombardy*. Upon mature deliberation, their sentence was, that all the cities of *Italy* were subject to the emperor, who, upon that, deprived many of those in *Lombardy* of their ancient privileges; but added to those of *Bologna*. About this time the people of *Olivetti* and *Montibelli* revolted from the *Bolognese*; but were soon reduced to their duty, and the authors of the revolt severely punished. It is observed, that *Bologna*, at this time, served as a sanctuary for the people of *Lombardy*, who fled to it from the horrors of war with their *They join the emperor.*

fami-

families and effects; and even after the wars were finished, they chose to remain there, and to be received into the privileges and protection of the city. The state of tranquility which this afforded them, while all the rest of *Italy* was in war, added prodigiously to the populousness of *Bologna*; and the emperor was not wanting in affording to the citizens all the encouragement that was due to their loyalty, and attachment to his service.

Their prosperity.

Their schools of law

BUT the great source of the riches and populousness of *Bologna* proceeded from the fame of its professors, which the emperor and all *Europe* considered as so many oracles of law and justice. To protect the students, who flocked thither from all countries, his imperial majesty, in 1158, conferred upon them the following privileges, the original charter of which is still preserved in the archives of *Bologna*. "Let no "one do any injury to the students; nor, as has been some- "times iniquitously practised, let them be harrassed on ac- "count of a fault committed by, or a debt owing in another "province. If any one is guilty of such an offence, or if "the governor of the city shall refuse to redress it, when "complained of, let him suffer fourfold, and undergo the "penalty of infamy by law, and be for ever disabled from "holding any public office. If any one has a law-suit against "a student, let it be in his option to have it tried before his "own lord and master, or before the bishop of the city "to whom such jurisdiction is committed; but if any one "shall endeavour to bring it before another court, he shall "lose his cause, even though it is a just one, for such en- "deavour."

respected by the emperor,

THE year after the promulgation of this edict, the emperor assembled the *Bolognese* lawyers; and, by their advice, to which he paid the highest regard, he summoned the magistrates of *Milan* to appear before him; and, upon their non-compliance, he declared them guilty of rebellion. But soon after a difference arising between the emperor and pope *Adrian* IV. the *Bolognese* siding with the latter, and with his successor pope *Alexander* III. they fell under his displeasure. *Alexander* had himself been a professor at *Bologna*, where he was very popular; but the emperor espoused the part of his competitor, *Victor* IV. This quarrel divided all *Italy*; and the *Bolognese* joined with the *Milanese* in supporting *Alexander*. The emperor was victorious in the contest; and, after taking from *Milan* all its privileges, he marched against *Bologna*, with an intention to raze it to the ground. The citizens, unable to resist him, sent out a deputation of their law-professors to apologize for their conduct, which they did with so good ef-

fect, that his majesty contented himself with dismantling the town of its fortifications; and, after removing their magistrates, he appointed one *Bocchi* to be its governor, and then retired to *Pavia*, after reducing the cities in the *Romagna* that had revolted from the *Bolognese*.

NOTHING being now able to withstand the imperial power, *Bocchi*, the new governor of *Bologna*, tyrannized in an unheard-of manner over the inhabitants. He extorted vast sums from some, he banished others, and put many to death. This exasperated the people against the emperor and his deputy so greatly, that the emperor himself was obliged, with loss and disgrace, to leave *Italy*: upon which the people of *Gypsa* put themselves under the protection of the *Bolognese*, and swore obedience to their government. Pope *Alexander* took advantage of those disturbances, which proceeded at last to a general revolt of the *Italian* states from the emperor's authority, which had been abused by his lieutenants, and returned from *France* to *Italy*. This brought the emperor again into *Lombardy*, and he marched against *Bologna* in the year 1167. The *Bolognese* were obliged again to submit; and, to save their country from ruin, they sent one hundred of their chief citizens as hostages to *Frederic*, with a large sum of money. The tyranny of the emperor, however, was so great, that the *Milanese*, the *Bolognese*, and the chief states of *Italy*, entered into conspiracies against him; and the *Bolognese*, attacking *Bocchi* in his palace, put him to death, and threw his body from the window into the street, putting to death several of his friends at the same time. *Bocchi* being dead, the *Bolognese* resumed their ancient government, and chose five consuls. The boldness of this assassination drew the eyes of all the states of *Lombardy* upon the *Bolognese*, and *Milan* recovered her liberty. *Frederic* could not be diverted from persecuting pope *Alexander*, and marched directly to *Rome*, where he placed his own pope *Paschal* upon the pontifical throne; and he, and his empress *Beatrix* received from his hands the imperial crown. He then endeavoured to dissolve the confederacy which the *Bolognese* had entered into with the *Milanese*, and the other *Italian* states, against him; but he failed in his attempt. The *Bolognese* put themselves at the head of the confederacy; and on the 1st of *December*, this year, the allies took a solemn oath to stand by one another against all mankind who should invade their privileges; and that they would neither make peace nor truce, but with the common consent of all parties.

whose general they oppose, and enter into confederacy against him.

THIS confederacy was supported with so much vigour, that the emperor, in *March*, 1168, having lost all his footing in *Italy*,

He is driven out of Italy.

Italy, fled to *Germany*. Upon this, the confederates besieged *Pavia*, which was almost the only town in *Italy* that continued in his interest, and built a city, which, in honour of pope *Alexander*, they called *Alessandria*, to serve them as a barrier against his return. They then held a general congress of all their party at *Lodi*, where they renewed and confirmed their confederacy, by the accession of the *Faventines* and the *Imolese*, who swore to be directed in all matters relating to peace or war by the *Bolognese*. It is remarkable, that the public danger was so great at this time, that the *Bolognese*, contrary to their usual custom, continued the same magistrates in their places for several years.

War with the Faventines.

In the year 1169, a war broke out between the *Bolognese* and the *Faventines*, on the following occasion. The people of *Ravenna*, having some disputes with the *Faventines*, thought themselves inferior in power, and applied for assistance to the *Bolognese*, who, a little before, had been provoked by the *Faventines* having invaded *San Gassiano*, a city under the protection of *Bologna*; upon which the *Bolognese* sided with the *Ravennese*. An army was raised at *Bologna*, and the command of it given to the consuls, who were defeated and taken prisoners, with about forty of the chief citizens, within three miles of the city. Next year, *viz.* 1170, the *Bolognese*, intent upon revenge, raised a fresh army, and brought their city-standard to the field. This machine has been described in the history of *Florence*; a machine extremely well calculated, in that age of superstition, to inspire those who fought under it with courage. A thousand five hundred soldiers were appointed to its guard, and all of them had particular distinctions of habit and armour. A great number of the *Lombards*, who had taken refuge in *Bologna*, served in this army, which, in its turn, defeated the *Faventines*; and it is thought, that, if their consuls had not been afraid of an ambuscade, they might have taken *Faenza* itself. They, however, laid siege to that city, and the *Faventines* were obliged to sue for peace; which was granted them, on the conditions of their restoring all the prisoners without ransom, their doing justice to the *Ravennese*, and paying all the expence of the war. Next year, 1173, the *Jews* were, for their usurious practices, expelled out of *Bologna*; and, in the following, all the heads of the confederacy assembled at *Modena*, where they confirmed their league with new oaths and engagements. *Ospinelli* was this year one of the consuls of *Bologna*; and, amongst other things, swore, in behalf of that city, to expel the party of the emperor *Frederic* from all their possessions in *Italy*, and to keep no correspondence with him or his family. He likewise

They stand by their league,

swore

ſwore to contribute to the defence of *Aleſſandria*, and of any other place belonging to the confederates that ſhould be beſieged by the emperor or his lieutenants. At the ſame time the proportion that every ſtate was to furniſh, in money or in men, was ſettled; the *Bologneſe* being obliged to contribute forty archers to every garriſon. The ſame year pope *Alexander* recommended the monks of the abbey of *Nouantola*, who lay under ſome hardſhips, to the *Bologneſe* magiſtrates. Next year, 1174, the inhabitants of *Badali* and *Baptidici* ſwore allegiance to the magiſtrates of *Bologna*, and to keep their caſtles for their uſe. This year the emperor *Frederic* again invaded *Italy*, for a fourth time; and ordered his general *Chriſtian*, archbiſhop of *Mentz*, to march againſt the *Bologneſe*, againſt whom he had a particular reſentment. Upon this occaſion, they created an extraordinary number of conſuls, being ſeven in the whole; and received an oath from the people of *Olivetti*, that they would, to the utmoſt, oppoſe the imperial arms, and continue true to the ſtate of *Bologna*. The conſuls thought the preſervation of *Olivetti* of ſo much conſequence, that they paſſed a decree to encourage the inhabitants from other parts of their territory to repair thither. They, at the ſame time, ſummoned their confederates to renew the league. The *Florentines*, on the other hand, and the ſtates of *Tuſcany* who ſided with *Frederic*, prepared to invade the *Bologneſe*, who fortified *San Caſſiano*, and garriſoned it with three hundred men. By this time *Chriſtian* had advanced into the *Bologneſe*; and being joined by the inhabitants of *Imola*, *Ceſenna*, and *Rimini*, he laid ſiege to *San Caſſiano*, which was defended by *Prendiparte*, a *Bologneſe* conſul. The other confederated ſtates were not idle in this time of common danger. The people of *Milan* ſent to the aſſiſtance of the *Bologneſe* three hundred horſe; thoſe of *Verona*, *Breſcia*, *Piacenza*, *Parma*, *Ferrara*, *Reggio*, and *Padua*, ſent their ſeveral quotas; ſo that the number of all their auxiliaries amounted to above two thouſand men, all of them, excepting thoſe of *Ferrara* and *Piacenza*, (who maintained themſelves) in the pay of the *Bologneſe*. Beſides thoſe troops, the magiſtrates inliſted a great number of mountaineers, and other ſubjects of the ſtate, and the whole army ſet out to the relief of *San Caſſiano*. *Prendiparte*, apprized of the approach of this army, made a ſally; and *Chriſtian*, afraid of being ſhut up between the two bodies, was obliged to retire to *Caſſellari*; and thus the ſiege was raiſed. The *Bologneſe*, after this, demoliſhed *San Caſſiano*, that they might not be obliged to garriſon it, and began their march back to *Bologna*. By the way they fell in with an ambuſcade of *Chriſtian*'s army, who killed

and oppoſe the Imperialiſts,

who defeat them.

killed some of the confederates, and made others prisoners. In revenge of this, *Christian* laid waste the territory of *Bologna* with great fury; but *Frederic* himself was defeated before *Milan*.

The confederacy renewed.

THIS year, the *Bolognese* put up to sale the estates and effects of such of their countrymen as had sided with *Frederic*, and had therefore been adjudged to be rebels. In the beginning of the year 1176, the general confederacy was strengthened by new oaths and engagements; by which the several parties promised to defend *Alessandria*, to make neither truce nor peace with *Frederic*, and to oppose him to the utmost of their power, if he should again invade *Italy*. Two of the *Bolognese* consuls, however, were this year defeated by *Christian*, who continued his ravages in their territories. In the month of *June*, *Frederic* returned to *Italy*, at the head of a vast army; but was opposed by the *Milanese*. His first enterprize was against *Alessandria*, which was guarded by the troops of the confederates; but, while it was carrying on, he was defeated by the allies, and obliged to recal *Christian* from the *Bolognese*, he himself narrowly escaping with his life. By the departure of *Christian* the *Bolognese* recovered *Visani*, and punished its inhabitants as rebels for siding with the emperor, who was at this time greatly distressed. He had laid siege to *Alessandria*; but, while he was carrying it on, he was abandoned by *Henry* duke of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, surnamed *the Lion*, and the *Alessandrians* beat the imperial troops in a sally. This reverse of fortune disposed *Frederic* to peace, and he sent messengers to treat with pope *Alexander*, to whom the proposal was equally agreeable. After various negociations, it was concluded, on the last day of *August*, that the pope should

A peace.

grant peace to the emperor, and the emperor a truce of six years to the people of *Lombardy*; that *Frederic* should remove to *Modena*, and *Alexander* to *Bologna*, for the greater conveniency of their conferring together, and settling all other matters. The *Bolognese* wisely made use of this respite for adding works of ornament and use to their city, particularly by introducing into it streams of water for supplying their corn-mills.

Privileges of Bologna.

IN the year 1177, the emperor found fault with *Bologna* as the place of treaty; upon which the conferences were removed to *Ferrara*. He there, by the advice of the bishop of *Bologna*, cardinal *Hildebrand*, and the consent of the magistrates and chief men of *Bologna*, granted to the canons of that city the power of having a perpetual syndic. Soon after, *Venice* was appointed to be the place of conference between the pope and the emperor. There the deputies from the

cities

cities of *Lombardy* attended. The pretor *Pinamons* appeared for the *Bologneſe*; and the ſix years truce was not only there ratified, but all matters in diſpute between particular cities were compromiſed. The differences between *Bologna* and *Modena* were adjuſted by the enſuing formulary: "We, *Pius* "and *Pinamons*, pretors of *Modena* and *Bologna*, ſwear, that "we will, with good faith, perform the terms and truce be- "tween the *Modeneſe* and the *Bologneſe* to all perſons, except- "ing thieves, robbers, falſe witneſſes, and the enemies of "both cities; and that we will iſſue our edict againſt any "perſon who ſhall commit a robbery, without repairing the "damage, according to the arbitration of the two cities."

SECT. II.

League between the Bologneſe *and the* Faventines *renewed*; *War between* Bologna *and* Milan; *Peace between the* Bologneſe *and other States of* Italy; *the peace of* Conſtance; *the Pope and the Emperor repair to* Bologna; *Fondneſs of the* Bologneſe *Nobility for the Croiſade. State of Learning in* Bologna *in thoſe Days*; *Right of Coinage granted to the* Bologneſe; *Treaties with their Neighbours, and Tumults amongſt themſelves*; *their City extended, and its Privileges confirmed by the Emperor* Otho; *War with* Piſtoia; *the* Bologneſe *aſſiſt the* Modeneſe; *Treaty with the* Florentines.

SOME differences ariſing between the *Faventines* and the *Imoleſe*, the *Bologneſe* renewed their league with the former, and entered into one with *Lothair*, count of *Arboro*. We are told, that this count, with the conſent of his brother's ſon, made a ſurrender of his county to the *Bologneſe*, and forced the inhabitants to give hoſtages, and ſwear fidelity to the pretor *Pinamons*. In the year 1179, the war continued with the *Imoleſe*, who had again ſeized the caſtle of *Imola*, and had been joined by the people of *Montibelli*, whoſe country the *Bologneſe* ravaged, to the great terror of the people of *Ceſena*, who ſwore fidelity to the *Bologneſe* and the *Modeneſe* in the caſtle of *Modena*, as did the people of *Roccavico*. The war with the *Imoleſe* and the *Montibellians* continuing all the year 1180, the count of *Arboro* entered into the pay of the *Bologneſe*; and ſwore, for himſelf and his people, that he

League with the Faventines againſt the Imoleſe.

would serve them with a certain number of soldiers, without making peace, while war continued. It appears, however, that this war consisted only of inroads and plunderings; which the *Bolognese* magistrates were so much ashamed of, that it was resolved to exert their utmost efforts against their enemies.

A grand alliance. For this purpose, a new alliance was concluded between the *Bolognese* and the *Modenese*, and the other neighbouring people, which was to last twenty-one years. In this league, *Parma* and *Nouantola* were excepted. This grand alliance being formed, the *Bolognese*, by the help of the *Faventine* auxiliaries, attacked the *Imolese*, and gave them a total defeat. This brought on a negociation for peace at the castle of *Imola*, where the *Imolese* made an intire submission to the *Bolognese*, the *Faventines*, and their auxiliaries, by solemnly swearing to be true to their interests; to restore the captives; to send two handkerchiefs, by way of tribute, to *Bologna*, and as many to *Faenza*, on St. *Peter's* day; to furnish them with horse and foot-soldiers, with their quotas in money; to dismantle their tower of its fortifications; to send two doors of their gates to *Bologna*, and two to *Faenza*; to give hostages, in case of a war with the emperor; and to restore to count *Malvicini* all his lands. This year, according to *Sigonius*, the *Montibellians* were likewise subdued, and their castle reduced to ashes.

The emperor comes to Italy. In the year 1183, the time of the truce between the emperor *Frederic* and the states of *Italy* being expired, *Antonio Mandelli* was chosen pretor by the consuls; an office that seems to be somewhat of the nature of the *Roman* dictatorship, because it was commonly instituted in times of public danger. While he was deliberating with the allies on the state of public affairs, the emperor, who had again come to *Italy*, on account of the marriage between his son *Henry* and *Constance*, sister and heiress to the king of *Sicily*, sent the allies a message from the city of *Constance*, that he was willing to treat with them concerning a definitive peace, if they would send deputies to confer upon the same at *Piacenza*. Deputies were accordingly named; and *Mandelli*, the pretor of *Bologna*, was chosen their chief, or moderator. After some conferences with the imperial ministers, the terms were agreed on, and sworn to by the deputies, on the 2d of *May*. *Mandelli* and the other two deputies were then appointed to go to *Constance*, and receive the emperor's ratification, which they accordingly did; and this peace is called sometimes that of *Constance*, sometimes that of *Piacenza*. As this treaty laid the foundation for the liberty and independency of the *Italian* states, it is proper we should give some extracts of it.

Foundation of the freedom of the Italian *states.*

It was agreed, that *Frederic* should forgive all the injuries he had received from the confederates, and take them into his protection and friendship; that he should permit them to enjoy their privileges and customs, both within and without their cities, for ever; and the extraordinary privileges are there particularly recited. Magistrates were to receive their authority from the bishops, in those cities where the emperors had given the bishops such a power; and in others, from the emperor himself, or his lieutenant; and, for five years to come, they were to receive such investitures; after which they might resign them to the emperor himself, who was to bestow them gratis, the consuls and other magistrates taking an oath of fidelity to the emperor when they entered on their respective offices. In all cases of property, when the sum exceeded fifty imperial marks, an appeal was to lie to the emperor, or his lieutenant, who was to be sworn to pronounce sentence within two months, according to the known laws and usages of the city or state. The people of every city were at liberty to fortify the same, and to contract what alliances they should think proper. They were to furnish to the emperor the accustomed accommodations for man and horse, when he entered *Lombardy*; to keep bridges and highways in repair, and to provide him with convoys coming and going. They were to renew their oaths of allegiance every tenth year; and all persons were to be immediately restored to their just possessions. Those stipulations were, however, with an exception to *Imola* and *San Cassiano*. The oath to be taken by every city or state was as follows; "I swear that I will hereafter be faithful to the emperor *Frederic*, and to his son king *Henry*; neither will I be concerned in any design against their lives or dignities; and if I shall discover any one who harbours such designs, I will disclose the same, either to the emperor, the king, or the imperial lieutenant; and do my best endeavour for their preserving their sovereignty, or for recovering it, if lost; and I will observe the peace made by them, on their part, with the confederated states of *Lombardy*; and I bind to this oath all males living with me, from sixteen to seventy years of age." In consequence of this agreement, *Mandelli* received from the emperor the imperial investiture. *The terms.*

In the year 1184, pope *Lucius*, being driven out of *Rome*, came to *Bologna*, where he was received with infinite joy, and adorned the chief church with a marble colonnade. From *Bologna* he went to *Modena*, in his way to *Verona*, where he was to preach up the croisade. Here he was met by the emperor, who demanded of him possession of the lands of the *The pope arrives in* Bologna.

counteſs *Matilda*, as being imperial fiefs; and that he ſhould crown his ſon *Henry*: but the pope gave him a flat refuſal of both requeſts. *Frederic* then marched to *Milan*, where the archbiſhop crowned his ſon *Henry* king of *Italy*. From thence *Frederic* returned to *Bologna* on the firſt of *April*, and intirely won the hearts of the *Bologneſe*; whoſe pretor, *Prendiparte*, ſent ſome troops to aſſiſt him in reducing the refractory *Cremoneſe*. The *Bologneſe*, and the other ſtates of *Italy*, remained in perfect tranquility for ſome years; during which the popes, the emperor, and all the princes of *Europe*, were intent upon the expedition to the Holy Land.

A croiſade, in which the Bolognese *enter.*

NOTHING remarkable therefore happened at *Bologna*, excepting the erecting new churches and palaces, and compoſing domeſtic differences, from the year 1186 to 1188. That year, while the emperor was buſied in his warlike preparations, and pope *Clement* III. like his predeceſſor, in preaching up the croiſade with indefatigable pains all over *Italy*, no fewer than two thouſand of the *Bologneſe*, amongſt whom were the chief nobility of the city, received the croſs from his hands, and were preſented with twenty thouſand marks of the public money. Several of the neighbouring ſtates and towns, about the ſame time, ſubmitted to the government of the *Bologneſe*, and promiſed to be directed by them in all their public meaſures. The reader, however, is to obſerve, that thoſe ſubmiſſions aroſe generally from conveniency, and to enable a weak ſtate to make head againſt a ſtronger.

Inſtitution of law-lectures.

THE *Lombardic* league, as it was called, ſubſiſted ſtill in full vigour, and had been lately renewed; ſo that all the confederated ſtates formed one commonwealth, whoſe political intereſts were to be under the inſpection of the moderators, or deputies, appointed by each ſtate or city. The people of *Piacenza* and *Parma*, who were parties in the league, being then at war, the pretor of *Bologna* and one of the moderators were deputed by the others, to command both people, in the name of the league, to deſiſt from hoſtilities; which they ſeem accordingly to have done, and then the pretor reſigning his office, five conſuls were ſubſtituted in his room. Theſe conſuls, to keep up the fame of their public ſchools in the profeſſion of law, engaged *Lothair* of *Cremona* to read lectures upon it in *Bologna*. The mutual bargain made between him and the magiſtrates is extant in the archives of *Bologna*, and runs in the following terms: "We the conſuls, by the "authority and with the conſent of the council, promiſe to "*Lothair* of *Cremona*, that we never ſhall oblige him, by any "ſolemn oath, to bind himſelf to the community of *Bologna*; "nor ſhall we force him to take the regency of the ſchool in "that

"that city." His obligation is as follows: "I, *Lothair*, "ſwear, that I never will be regent of any law-ſchool but at "*Bologna*; nor will I ever do any thing in prejudice or to the "diminution of the law-ſchool there; and if I know any "one to have ſuch a deſign, I will take the firſt opportunity "of diſcovering him to the conſuls or pretor for the time "being; and will give them my aſſiſtance." *Sigonius*, from this form of words, concludes, that *Bologna* was not yet erected into an univerſity; nor had this *Lothair* any academical powers over his ſcholars, who continued to be ſubject to the magiſtrates. The fame of thoſe ſchools, and the continuance of the public tranquility, brought ſuch vaſt crowds of ſcholars to *Bologna*, that daily quarrels happened between them and the townſmen about their lodgings; ſo that, in the year 1190, the pope was obliged to publiſh a decretal, regulating the hire of lodgings in that city. We are told, that this year the confluence of ſcholars at *Bologna* was ſo very great, that the maſters were obliged to hold their lectures in the public palace. But this ſudden proſperity and populouſneſs of *Bologna* gave the *Modeneſe* ſo much uneaſineſs, that they built a caſtle upon their frontiers, with a view of checking them.

Upon the acceſſion of *Henry* VI. in 1190, he paſſed into *Italy*, there to aſſert the imperial claims, to receive the crown of *Italy*, and to make good his ſucceſſion, in right of his wife, to the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, which was diſputed by *Tancred*, a deſcendant from the famous *Robert Guiſcard* the *Norman*. *Henry*, in his journey to *Rome*, paid a viſit to *Bologna*. *Agnelli* of *Mantua* was then pretor, and the emperor was received in the epiſcopal palace with all imaginary honours, which he returned by increaſing the privileges of the *Bologneſe*, and by giving them a right to coin money. It is ſaid, by their hiſtorian, that they enjoyed that privilege in the time of the *Lombards*; but that they were deprived of it by *Charles the Great*. *Agnelli* received the inveſtiture of this right for the benefit of the city; but it is expreſſed, in the original charter, that the money coined at *Bologna* ſhould not have either the form or the weight of imperial money. The firſt coin ſtruck there had the emperor's head on the one ſide, and the word *Bologna* on the other; from whence it was called a *Bolognini*. The ſame emperor gave the biſhop of *Bologna* the title of a prince of the empire, which he holds to this day. From *Bologna*, *Henry* marched to *Rome*, where he received the crown of *Italy* from *Celeſtine* III. and then proceeded to make war upon *Tancred*; but was ſoon obliged to return to *Germany* by the way of *Genoa*. In the year 1192, *Gerard*, biſhop of *Bologna*, was, on account of the vaſt opinion which

The emperor comes to Italy.

the *Bolognese* entertained of his virtue and abilities, made pretor, being the first ecclesiastic that ever was promoted to that dignity. In his pretorship, *Albert* count of *Prato*, a nobleman of great power and weight in *Tuscany*, was received into the alliance of the *Bolognese*. The bishop continued in the same office during the succeeding year, when the people of *Ferrara* was received into the allianee.

Tyranny and expulsion of the Bolognese bishop and pretor.

HITHERTO the conduct of the bishop had been unexceptionable. But all of a sudden it was altered; and the *Bolognese* nobility, having reason to think that he intended to introduce a popular government, but under his own direction, after many deliberations, assembled in the town-house, and chose for consuls twelve of their own number. This news coming to the ears of the bishop, he ran thither with a numerous attendance, and threatened the nobles with the consequences, if they should invade his power. He was answered by *Griffoni*, a noble patriot, that he had lost all title to their obedience by spiriting the people up against the nobility, that he might acquire an undue influence in a state which had so long maintained its liberties. From words both parties went to blows; and the nobles, by main force, drove the bishop and his adherents from the town-house to the episcopal palace. There he summoned all his party together, and furnished them with arms, with a design to attack the consuls. They were not wanting to their own authority; for, being joined by all the men of property in the state, they attacked the bishop in his palace; and after a most obstinate conflict, in which many fell on both sides, they stormed it, and obliged him to escape in disguise through a common sewer, attended by *James Ursins*, his chief adherent, upon whom the consuls laid all the blame of his conduct. Returning victoriously to their town-house, they adjudged *Ursins* to be a rebel to the state, demolished his house and tower, and confiscated all his effects.

The emperor conquers Sicily.

THE expulsion of the bishop for some time restored tranquility to *Bologna*; but when the new consuls entered upon their office, some doubts arose concerning the *Ferrarese* alliance; but the rate of carriage of goods being settled a-new on both sides, the alliance was renewed. By this time *Tancred* was dead, and his death encouraged the emperor *Henry* to resume his operations in *Italy*. He sent before him *Trusard*, his ambassador, into *Lombardy*, to exhort the cities and states there to compose all their differences, which were so pernicious to his designs. The *Genoese* furnished him with a fleet, to which the *Pisans* added twelve gallies. With this force he presented himself before *Naples*, which immediately sur-

surrendered to him. He then made dispositions for reducing *Palermo* and *Catanea* in *Sicily*; but *Tancred*'s widow, who had shut herself up in *Salerno*, capitulated, and put him in possession of the two kingdoms, reserving only for her son the principality of *Tarento*; to which stipulation the emperor paid no regard; for he made an eunuch of the young prince, and confined the mother and his sisters to *German* monasteries.

THOUGH the bishop of *Bologna* had been banished, yet his faction remained still very powerful in the city, where they gave great trouble to the magistrates by the daily tumults they raised. In one of them, *Scannabecci Ramponi* was mortally wounded; in another, great numbers were killed in the portico of the church of *St. Ambrose*; and next day *James Occelletti* and *Thomas Tusco* were killed in the town house by the *Hieremeans*, for so those of the bishop's party were called. As to the bishop himself, he had fled to the castle of *Sarazano*, where his party became very strong; which put the consuls under a necessity of raising an army against him, the command of which they gave to *William Malavolta*, who immediately marching with some troops, easily took the castle, and reduced it to ashes; but suffered the bishop to depart. *Civil broils in* Bologna.

THE cause of the bishop, however, was espoused both by the emperor and the pope; and the former published a decree in his favour, in which he calls him his own prince, clears him from the charge of perjury in his office, and gives him leave to exercise the lay-parts of his jurisdiction by a steward, or any other qualified person. All this increased the civil commotions, during which a great deal of the best blood in *Bologna* was spilt. This obliged the magistrates to have recourse to the election of a pretor, who was always chosen from some neighbouring state or city. The choice, on this occasion, fell upon *Vido Cino*, a *Pistoian*, who imitated the late bishop in his government, by committing a great number of illegal and oppressive acts. Next year he was deprived of his dignity; and, being accused of corruption, he was taken, while he endeavoured to make his escape, by those whom he had injured, and, amongst other punishments, he had all his teeth plucked out of his head. He was succeeded by *Vico Mercati*, a *Milanese*.

IN the mean while, the emperor *Henry*, being every where victorious, seemed to change his nature, and to have thrown off humanity as well as good faith. Having violated all his engagements with the family and friends of *Tancred*, he was excommunicated by the pope, whom he deprived of *Ravenna*, and gave that dutchy, with the marquisate of *Ancona*, to *Marcoald*, his cup-bearer. *Matthew Corregio*, of *Parma*, was *Cruelty of* Henry.

then pretor of *Bologna*; and it was in his time that the emperor *Henry*, in 1197, ordered his son *Frederick* to be elected king of the *Romans*, though but a year old. The birth of this prince is one of the most extraordinary events that is to be met with in history. His mother was the heiress, as we have already observed, of the rich kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*; and becoming pregnant when she was above fifty years of age, the emperor, to remove all suspicion of imposture, ordered a tent to be erected on the plain of *Palermo*, that the child should be taken from her body in the sight of his army and all the people of *Sicily*, where the father this year died. In the year 1198, the *Longobardic* confederacy was renewed; but the *Bolognese* were at that time so embroiled in the quarrel between the new duke of *Ravenna* and pope *Innocent* III. that we do not find their name this year amongst the other confederates. *Marcoald*, besides *Ravenna*, had seized many towns in the *Romagna*, in defiance of the pope's authority, who raised an army against him, and demanded assistance of the *Bolognese*. The latter, who had no reason to be satisfied with *Marcoald*, and who were apprehensive that their own state might fall the next sacrifice to his ambition, instantly raised a considerable army, and brought their standard to the field, as a signal that they were resolved to exert their utmost efforts in defence of the holy see. The general of their army was their pretor, *Uberto* of *Piacenza*, a man of courage, and abilities in war. After taking the field, he made himself master of six castles or towns in the territory of *Imola*, and laid the inhabitants under severe contributions. Upon this, the people of *Cornetto*, who had before revolted from the *Bolognese* by the instigation of their governor *Ubaldini*, returned to their allegiance. The *Bolognese* then marched against *Imola* itself, *Forli*, *Forimpopoli*, *Brittonoro*, and *Cesena*, all which places sided with *Marcoald*; and vigorously attacking them, he obliged them all to return to their allegiance, and marched back to *Bologna*, while *Marcoald* durst not take the field against him.

A. D. 1199. *Success of the* Bolognese.

Some writers say, that this war was undertaken chiefly in behalf of the people of *Cesena*, the allies of the *Bolognese*, whose city was besieged by *Marcoald*. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the *Bolognese* acquired great reputation by the campaign, and rendered themselves more formidable than they ever had been to their neighbours. Their triumph was celebrated by public justs and tournaments, that lasted for several days. After this, they began to distrust the friendship of the *Imolese*; for which reason they erected a fort half-way between

tween *Imola* and *Bologna*, for bridling the incursions of the *Imolese*, and it is now called *Castel de S. Pietro*.

Divisions in Germany.

THE divisions of the *Germanick* empire were now so great between *Philip* of *Suabia*, who had been chosen emperor, and his competitor *Otho*, duke of *Brunswick*, that the states concerned in the *Lombardick* league, laid schemes for shaking off their allegiance upon the emperor entirely; and the *Bolognese* annals place all the transactions of those years under the head of the vacancy of the imperial throne. The *Bolognese* were not backward in improving the opportunity to their advantage; and the pope himself set them the example, by recovering *Ancona* and *Ravenna* to the holy see. The *Bolognese*, though overawed by the imperial power, had long repined at its possessing *Medicina* and part of *Argellatta*, and they never recovered both. They then planted the earldom of *Arbora*, with their own subjects; and granting freedom to all its inhabitants, the pretor *Uberto*, by advice and consent of the general council, made all of them denizons of *Bologna*, as they did all the inhabitants belonging to the castle of *S. Pietro*, and gave them consuls and other magistrates, who were to rule them according to the laws and constitutions of *Bologna*. They were equally careful of their university as of their territory; for this year they employed several of the most learned civil lawyers in *Italy*, to teach in their public schools. We perceive, however, that one of them, *Azo*, was driven out of *Bologna*, for differing in opinion upon a disputed point with *Henry Ballia*, one of the most considerable men at that time in *Bologna*.

The Bolognese recover their towns.

ROBERTO ROSSI of *Parma* was pretor in the year 1200, when the seizing of *Medicina* and *Argellatta* had involved the *Bolognese* in a war with the imperialists in *Italy*. But the inter-regnum that still continued, had given encouragement to every bold adventurer who could assemble a gang of banditti, to seize or plunder the imperial possessions. Amongst others one *Alberto Araldi*, a mountaineer, had made himself master of *Saxatelli*; upon which the council of *Bologna* sent the pretor, with some troops, against him. *Alberto*, knowing he was too weak to encounter the pretor, retired with a band to a cave in an adjoining mountain. He was pursued by the pretor, who filled up the mouth of the cave with straw, which being set on fire, *Alberto* and his companions were obliged to surrender, and they were punished as robbers; but *Saxatella* was laid in ashes. From thence the pretor marched to other parts of the imperial *Imolese*, which he reduced with little difficulty to the obedience of the *Bolognese*. Their territory was now so much extended, and their power

At war with the imperialists.

power encreased, that they erected, in their market-place, a town-house, in which their councils and courts of law were held. This could not be done without purchasing a great deal of private property in the neighbouring houses; but next year, in the pretorship of *Rangone*, this town-house being thought too small, another more capacious and magnificent was erected.

Dissentions in Bologna. BOLOGNA, at this time, laboured under the calamity to which free states, especially those of *Italy*, were subject; we mean family dissentions, which often produced bloodshed between the parties at variance. As the magistrates themselves were generally involved in those quarrels, no civil remedy could be applied to them; and, therefore, all the chief citizens had towers of stone, or brick, erected, to overlook their houses, which commonly were of wood. Those towers, several of which are still standing in *Bologna*, were sometimes so slightly built, that they fell down and buried the adjoining buildings in their ruins, with the loss of a great number of lives. Those accidents forced the owners of towers, this year, either to lower or demolish them.

A war. A quarrel now broke out between the *Modenese* and the *Reggians*, in which the *Bolognese* were involved. The *Modenese* pretended to the property of the river *Secla*, which was very convenient for water-carriage to the *Reggians*; but the *Modenese* built a fort on the banks of the river, to interrupt their navigation. This produced a war between the two people; and the *Reggians* demanded assistance from the *Bolognese*, who readily embraced that opportunity of serving them, and of humbling the *Modenese*; so that a considerable army was immediately raised, which joined itself with that of the *Reggians* and the *Faventines*, their other auxiliaries. In the month of *September* the two armies came to an engagement, in which the *Modenese* were defeated with a considerable slaughter, and their general taken prisoner. The *Faventines* laid hold of this favourable opportunity to invade their neighbours of *Forli*, whom they likewise defeated, and burnt one of their towns.

Dissentions continue. THE beginning of the year 1202, in which count *Testa* of *Piacenza* was pretor, the discords amongst the *Bolognese* broke out with more fury than ever. The *Scannabecci* and *Asinelli*, the two principal families in *Bologna*, mortally hated one another, and most of the other citizens took part with the one or the other in the quarrel. At last they came to blows on the Great Street, where many were killed and wounded on both sides. Soon after *John Tettalasina* killed *Vido Pepuli*, in a like private quarrel. Our author observes [a], that those fa-

[a] SIGONIUS, p. 79.

mily

mily bickerings continued without intermiſſion for above forty years.

AMONGST the other ſtudents who repaired to *Bologna* were many *Engliſh* youths; and this year an altar being erected to *Thomas Becket*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by cardinal *Hildebrand*, in the church of the canons of *St. Saviour*, in a place which the *Engliſh* ſtudents did not think ſuitable to the dignity of ſo great a martyr, they demoliſhed it, and erected another in a more conſpicuous part of the church, which offended the biſhop of *Bologna* ſo heinouſly, that he refuſed to conſecrate the *Engliſh* altar; but the pope empowered the biſhop of *Modena* to do it. In the mean while the *Modeneſe*, exaſperated by their late defeat, made a league with the people of *Ferrara* and *Verona*, who brought their ſtandards to the field; and all the three armies joining, they invaded the *Bologneſe* and the *Reggian* dominions, and laid ſiege to *Herbaria*, a town belonging to the *Reggians*, on the banks of the *Secla*, which they were upon the point of taking, though it was bravely defended, when the differences were referred to the pretors of *Parma* and *Cremona*, who compromiſed them, and allowed to the *Reggians* the liberty of navigating the *Secla* in their boats. *Engliſh ſtudents at Bologna.*

IN the year 1203, the *Bologneſe*, being at peace with their neighbours, and enjoying ſome reſpite from their domeſtic quarrels, they grew ſo rich that they reſumed the thoughts of enlarging their territories while the inter-regnum continued. *Puſterla*, a *Milaneſe*, was then pretor; and an occaſion was taken to quarrel with the *Ferrareſe*, about boundaries and depredations; but this quarrel was ſoon removed by the prudence of the *Milaneſe* magiſtrates, aſſiſted by *Azo*, an eminent civilian, and a new league between *Ferrara* and *Bologna* was concluded, by which all their differences were adjuſted. The *Bologneſe* next attacked the *Modeneſe*; and *Puſterla*, the pretor, made a formal demand from the *Modeneſe* of about twelve different towns and villages, ſituated on the *Scultema*. This demand ſurpriſed the *Modeneſe*, who pleaded their long poſſeſſion, and accuſed the *Bologneſe* of wantonly abuſing their proſperity and riches, by neither ſuffering themſelves nor their neighbours to be at reſt. This recrimination, though true, exaſperated the *Bologneſe* ſo greatly, that their council unanimouſly voted an immediate war with *Modena*. While vigorous meaſures were making for that purpoſe, ambaſſadors were diſpatched through all the ſtates in their alliance, to ſolicit aſſiſtance; and a caſtle was built on the borders of the *Modeneſe*, to facilitate their making inroads upon their territories. The ambaſſadors named were *Romaſini Radnerio*, *James Urſi*, *Confederacy with the Reggians.*

Urſi, *Vido Tantidenario*, and *Apenelli*. Their firſt application was to the *Reggians*, whom the *Bologneſe* had ſo lately and ſo ſucceſſively aſſiſted. The ambaſſadors had their audience in a full council of the *Reggians*, who required but little ſollicitation, and a league was ſtruck up between them, which is remarkable for its ſtrength and ſimplicity, and is as follows: "If the *Bologneſe* ſhall make war with the *Modeneſe*, at the requeſt, or without the requeſt of the *Reggians*, before carnival time, the *Reggians* ſhall enter into the ſaid war, and carry it on at their own expence, within fifteen days after ſuch war ſhall be notified by letters or ambaſſadors; neither ſhall they make peace or a truce without the conſent of the pretor of *Bologna*, or the conſuls for the time being. If the war ſhall be declared after carnival time, at the requeſt of the *Reggians* (A), the latter are free from this obligation. But if the *Modeneſe* ſhall begin the war, the *Reggians* ſhall be ſtill bound. And if it ſhall be doubtful who are the aggreſſors, let it be referred to the oath of the pretor of *Bologna*, or the conſuls for the time being, or of twelve men choſen from the council of *Bologna* by the *Reggians*. But if the *Bologneſe* ſhall undertake a war with others, on account of the *Modeneſe*, the obligation of the *Reggians* ſhall be void. Let this confederacy remain for ten years; but let it be renewed in the fifth."

A negotiation. THE chief confederates of the *Modeneſe*, at this time, were the ſtates of *Parma* and *Cremona*; and the ambaſſadors were charged to attempt either to bring them into a confederacy with the *Bologneſe*, or to detach them from that with *Modena*. To give the greater weight to the negotiation, they carried with them deputies from *Reggio*, with the pretor at their head. Arriving at *Parma*, they required, in the name of both ſtates, a council of credence to be ſummoned, which the pretor (or, as that magiſtrate now began to be called podeſta) immediately complied with. The *Bologneſe*, and then the *Reggian* deputies, in their turns, harangued the aſſembly on the ſubject of their inſtructions. They were anſwered by *Matthew Corregio*, their podeſta, in the name of the council, that an ancient league ſubſiſting between them and the *Modeneſe*, they were obliged to aſſiſt them againſt all who ſhould attack them. The deputies then repaired to *Cremona*, where the anſwer they received was leſs peremptory. *Talamati*, the civil judge, informed them, in the name of the

(A) There ſeems, in this place, to be a ſmall typographical error, as follows: *Sin autem poſt Carnis privium arma intulerint juſſu Regienſium.* Inſtead of *juſſu*, the ſenſe requires *injuſſu* to be read.

podeſta

podesta *Otho*, and the community, that they were sorry to see the two neighbouring states at variance, and that they were ready to offer their mediation to accommodate all differences between them, which, if they could not effect, they would pursue such measures as should appear to them the most honourable.

Another.

THE report of this unsuccessful negotiation by the deputies, on their return to *Bologna*, served only to encrease the warlike preparations there. They were soon followed by the podestas of *Parma* and *Cremona*, who were deputed by those two states to act as mediators, and prevent a war. They were joined by two deputies from *Modena*; and all of them arrived at *Bologna* about the middle of *June*. A council of credence being immediately called, *Otho*, the *Cremonese* podesta, demanded of the *Modenese* deputies, whether they would refer their differences to *Pusterla*. This they refused to do, as well as to submit their differences to the award of certain religious men; upon which the conferences broke up. The *Bolognese* then sent two deputies to *Reggio*, to obtain there a ratification, by oath, of the late league. This year likewise the *Bolognese* settled some territorial and commercial differences with the people of *Bergamo* and the *Florentines*; and their authority was now so great in *Italy*, that their deputies put an end to a war between the inhabitants and the exiles of *Brescia*.

An accommodation takes place.

THE *Modenese* all this while were not idle; they built a frontier castle called *Plumatio*, towards the *Bolognese*; and not only made great preparations for war, but found means to debauch the people of *Nouantola* from their allegiance to *Bologna*. Their mutual preparations for war brought on a peace in the beginning of the year 1204. Some say this was effected by the mediation of one *Albert*, a *Mantuan*, a person of great piety and eloquence; and others say, by cardinal *Octavian*, bishop of *Ostia*, the pope's legate in *Lombardy*. *Alberto Visconti* was then podesta of *Bologna*; and *Dodona*, the podesta of *Modena*, acted as umpire; and after taking the oath of both parties, the differences were finally adjusted, and the boundaries of the two states settled, but greatly to the discontent of the *Modenese*, who, though they stood by the award, complained that it had deprived them of many valuable estates.

The Bolognese assist the Mantuans.

THE calm produced by this compromise did not long continue; for the *Florentines* and they entered into a confederacy against the *Pistoians*; but with an exception to the towns of *Barga*, *Sambuca*, and *Stagio*. The *Bolognese* made a like confederacy with the *Faventines*, on the first of *December*; but

but we know of no acts of hostility that happened this year. Early in the year 1205, the *Reggians* and the *Mantuans* being at war, the *Bolognese* sent a body of horse to the assistance of the former, who thereby came off conquerors. About this time, the cities and towns dependent on *Bologna* began to have their several podestas. Notwithstanding the above preparations for war, and the unjust ambition of the *Bolognese* in general, their state continued in tranquility, through the wisdom of its leading men; and the interval was laudably employed in promoting institutions and regulations for the benefit of their law school, the great source of their prosperity. Amongst other things, the professors were obliged, by oath, before they could read a lecture, never to teach law in any other city; and they were obliged to give their advice and assistance to the magistrates of *Bologna*. Very strict regulations were likewise appointed to prevent scholars from leaving *Bologna*, where they were intitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens. Those institutions were occasioned by the neighbouring cities and states erecting schools of law, and offering vast salaries to the professors. *Bologna*, however, still maintained its reputation so superior to all others, that in the year 1206, the resort of scholars to it was so great, that the podesta and magistrates found themselves under a necessity of enlarging the boundaries of their city, part of which they surrounded with fortifications of stone. Towards the end of this year, some territorial differences happened between the *Ferrarese* and the *Bolognese*, which were amicably adjusted between *Isaac* of *Cremona*, then podesta of *Bologna*, and *Salinguerra Torelli*, then the prince, or rather leading man, of *Ferrara*; and it was agreed, that for the future all such differences should be submitted to two persons chosen by the two states.

Regulations in Bologna.

Adventures of Garisenda.

In the year 1207, *Garisenda*, who had been driven out of *Bologna* by his enemy *Bulgari*, being advanced by the king of *France* to a very lucrative government, remitted vast sums to his wife, for building a strong tower, to protect him and his family against his enemies. The lady pretended to her husband, that she had complied with his order; but instead of building a tower, she laid out the money in gratuities to the lower ranks of the people. On the death of *Bulgari*, *Garisenda* being recalled to *Bologna*, requested his wife to lead him to the tower he had ordered to be built; instead of that she led him to the casement of his house, where she shewed him thousands of his fellow-citizens crouding his court-yard, congratulating his return, and praying for his prosperity. There, said the matron, pointing to the croud, is your tower of defence

fence againſt your domeſtic enemies; upon whom, had I been a man, I ſhould have been revenged before this time. *Gariſenda* made an inhuman uſe of his wife's precaution. He immediately put himſelf at the head of the attending throngs; and ſetting out againſt the palace of the *Bulgari*, he reduced it, with all within it to aſhes, after killing his brother, whom he met in his way. *Vido* of *Milan* was podeſta of *Bologna* in the year 1208, and on his entrance into his office, he found the *Reggians* ſo greatly diſtreſſed by the *Mantuans*, who had beſieged *Suzaria*, that he moved the great council to ſend them ſupplies, which was accordingly reſolved on. The *Mantuans*, on the other hand, ſummoned to their aſſiſtance the *Veroneſe*, the *Ferrareſe*, the *Cremoneſe*, the *Modeneſe*, and the marquis of *Eſte*, a family that now began to make a great figure in *Italy*. The *Bologneſe*, on their part, drew their ſtandard into the field, and were joined by their allies of *Imola*, *Faenza*, and *Parma*, the whole making a great army. A battle enſued, which was fought with great obſtinacy on both ſides; but the *Bologneſe* at laſt gained the victory, and had the honour of raiſing the ſiege of *Suzaria*. This year all matters in diſpute between them and the *Piſtoians* were accommodated; and the *Bologneſe*, with equal wiſdom and aſſiduity, proceeded in their public works of beauty and utility. They created two new officers in the nature of water-bailiffs, who cut a channel, which introduced part of the *Reno* into the city, to the vaſt benefit of its manufactures, as well as the health and cleanlineſs of the inhabitants. They likewiſe cut a canal of communication between the ſame river and the *Po*, by which they acquired the ineſtimable benefit of water-carriage to *Ferrara*; and finiſhed ſeveral other works of vaſt utility.

The Reggians aſſiſted.

The Bologneſe conquer the Mantuans.

THE golden days of the *Longobardick* confederacy now drew near to a cloſe. *Otho*, one of the candidates for the empire, in the year 1208, became emperor of *Germany* without a rival, and heard, with great concern and indignation, that the *Lombard* ſtates had rendered themſelves independent of the empire. His ſituation required his proceeding in a very cautious manner for recovering them. He employed *Volcher*, the patriarch of *Aquileia*, to act as his lieutenant in *Italy*, and to inquire into the ſtate of the imperial domains there, and by all the means in his power to perſuade them to return to their duty. The patriarch executed his commiſſion with great pomp and magnificence; and, after viſiting *Milan*, he arrived at *Bologna*, where *Seſſio* of *Reggio* was podeſta. Being lodged in the epiſcopal palace, he ordered the podeſta to attend him; and, after adminiſtering to him the ſacrament, he demanded

The Lombardick confederacy endangered.

the

Negotiations of the patriarch of Aquileia.

the rendition of those towns and possessions, which the *Bologneſe* had alienated from the empire, ſince the death of the late emperor *Henry*. The *Bologneſe*, who had before deliberated how to act, employed *Vido Lambertini*, a lawyer, to be their ſpokeſman, who, in the name of the community, reſigned to the patriarch, by the delivery of a truncheon, the poſſeſſion of *Medicina*, and part of *Argalletta*, which he ſaid were all the territories the *Bologneſe* had acquired ſince the death of the emperor *Henry*.

FROM *Bologna* the patriarch proceeded to *Imola*, the caſtle of which, as belonging to the emperor, he committed to the cuſtody of the *Bologneſe* and the *Faventines*. Soon after *Otho* came to *Milan*, where he received the crown of *Italy* from the hands of the archbiſhop of that city. From thence he made a progreſs through the chief cities of *Lombardy*, where he found no oppoſition; and advancing to the *Bologneſe*, he proceeded from thence to *Rome*, where he had made the pope his friend, by the moſt abject ſubmiſſions and extravagant promiſes in favour of the holy ſee; but above all, by promiſing to maintain young *Frederick*, ſon to the late emperor *Henry*, in the poſſeſſion of his mother's dominions. The reader may remember, that this *Frederick* had been choſen king of the *Romans*, and was therefore legal emperor. *Otho*'s diſſimulation ſucceeded ſo well, that he received the imperial crown at *Rome* from the pope; but the ceremony was no ſooner performed, than he broke every engagement he had entered into; for leaving *Rome*, he put himſelf at the head of his great army, which he had left without the walls, and not only ſeized upon the inheritance of the counteſs *Matilda*, which was in the poſſeſſion of the holy ſee, but invaded the kingdom of *Naples*; upon which he was excommunicated by the pope. *Otho* then once more ſent the patriarch *Volcher* into *Lombardy*, to manage his intereſts there; and he found the *Bologneſe*, and the ſtates of *Lombardy*, well diſpoſed towards the emperor. *Otho* ſoon after came in perſon to *Vercelli*, where a deputation from *Bologna* attended him, and received from him a confirmation of all the privileges which had been granted them by his predeceſſors *Frederick* and *Henry*, which conſiſted of a juriſdiction ordinary and extraordinary, in all cauſes private and public; in the power of making their own magiſtrates, and retaining their own cuſtoms and uſages. From *Vercelli* the emperor went to *Ferrara*, where he made peace between *Salinguerra* and *Azo*, the *Bologneſe* ſwearing to ſee the ſame obſerved; and he marched from thence to *Naples* againſt young *Frederick*. In the mean while, the *German* princes, covering them-

The emperor Otho *arrives in* Italy:

quarrels with the pope,

themselves under the sanction of the pope's excommunication, threw off their allegiance to *Otho*, and chose *Frederick* for their emperor. *Otho* had now proceeded far towards subduing all his enemies in *Italy*, and had passed the winter of the year 1209 in *Lombardy*; but upon hearing of this great revolution in *Germany*, he returned thither in 1210. His absence for a short while freed the *Bolognese* from the terror of his power, and gave them leisure to repair the ravages which some late conflagrations had made in their city. In the year 1211, *Azo*, the marquis of *Este*, expelled his rival *Salinguerra* out of *Ferrara*, together with the emperor's lieutenant; and both parties applied to the *Bolognese* for assistance, because they were the guarantees of the compromise between the two rivals. The case was intricate, because *Azo* was the aggressor; but it was urged, on the other hand, that *Azo* was warranted in what he did by the emperor's excommunication. While this dispute continued, *Gerard*, the bishop of *Alba*, the pope's legate in *Lombardy*, set out for *Bologna*. The *Bolognese* hearing of his intention to visit them, sent four of their most respectable citizens to acquaint him, that such a visit at that juncture would be highly unseasonable, and could not fail to produce the most disagreeable consequences within their city; upon this representation the legate desisted from his journey, and that part of the *Bolognese* council which favoured the emperor prevailed; and the *Bolognese* sent a body of auxiliaries to *Salinguerra*, who, with the imperial lieutenant, now laid siege to *Ferrara*.

who is triumphant.

Difficulties of the Bolognese.

During those tumultuous transactions, a new quarrel broke out between the *Bolognese* and the *Pistoians*, on the following account. The people of *San Martino* and *Lopoletani*, having had some differences, which proceeded to depredations upon one another, the podesta of *Bologna* referred the decision of them to the syndic, who, in his journey to compose them, had some of his retinue taken prisoners, by certain banditti, at the instigation of the *Pistoians*. This was no sooner known at *Bologna*, than the council there resolved upon a war with the *Pistoians*, and sent deputies to dispose their allies in the neighbourhood of their city to join them. These deputies repaired to *Reggio*, where they executed their commission with all imaginable success; for the *Reggians* immediately put themselves in arms to assist them, and ordered deputies of their own to join them in soliciting their cause at *Parma*. The podesta there informed them, that as to the banditti who had been guilty of the hostilities they complained of, the *Parmesans* would give them no manner of protection; and that they would give leave to as many of

A war with Pistoia.

their subjects as pleased, to assist the *Bolognese* in punishing them; but that they must proceed with great deliberation, before they would enter into a war against the *Pistoians*, who had given them no provocation. From *Parma* the deputies repaired to *Radiano*, at that time besieged by the podesta of *Modena*; but without receiving from him any satisfaction, under pretence that he had not as yet an opportunity to take the sense of his council. The deputies returned to *Bologna*, where they made their report; but in a day or two were sent back to *Modena*, for leave either to borrow or to buy horses and arms. The acting regency there answered, that they could say nothing to the matter, because the podesta and the chief counsellors were absent at *Radiano*. Notwithstanding those repulses, the *Bolognese* went on vigorously with their preparations, and the inhabitants of *Rocca Corneta* declared in their favour.

Bologna *interdicted.*

THE conduct of the *Bolognese*, at this juncture, was so extremely disagreeable to his holiness, that the abbot of *St. Stephen* refused to pay his proportion of the tax imposed for carrying on the war, upon which he was fined by the podesta; but the abbot appealed to the pope, who took the affair under his consideration, and laid the city under an interdict. In the beginning of the year 1212, the people of *Castrimoli* were prevailed upon by the *Bolognese*, to swear that they would reserve the possession of their castle for the emperor *Otho*. This year *Bologna* had two podestas, both of them *Florentines*, being apprehensive that they might be obliged to enter into two wars at the same time; and it is wonderful with what constancy they supported themselves under so many difficulties as they were then obliged to encounter, as the greatest part of *Lombardy* and *Tuscany* had declared for the pope, who, by unusual good fortune, was at this time on the side of right and justice, by taking the part of *Frederick*. That young prince had passed the *Alps*, and this year had been crowned emperor at *Mentz*. He was supported by the power of *France*, as *Otho* was by that of *England*, where *John* then reigned, and by whose assistance and credit with the dukes of *Brabant* and *Lorrain*, and the counts of *Holland* and *Flanders*, he got together an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, which *Frederick*, who was obliged to retire towards *Switzerland*, was in no condition to face. *Otho*, therefore, turned his arms against *Philip-Augustus* king of *France*. As the *Bolognese* had been remarkably attached to the interests of *Otho*, whom they had entertained with great magnificence before he left *Italy*, the prosperous state of his affairs, at this time, made them disregard all the fulminations of the pope.

Frederick *crowned emperor.*

Being

Being joined by the auxiliary *Reggians* and *Faventines*, they raised a great army, with which they besieged *Sambuca*, belonging to *Pistoia*, which, though bravely defended, at last surrendered to the *Bolognese*. Upon this most of the inhabitants of the open country submitted to them; and the *Pistoians*, sensible of their own incapacity to maintain the war, set all the *Bolognese* prisoners at liberty without ransom, and sued for a peace. By this time matters were accommodated between *Salinguerra* and *Azo* marquis of *Este*, who soon after died, and left his estates, which were very large, to his son *Aldobrandini*, who was attacked by *Salinguerra*, contrary to the latter's engagement with *Azo*; upon which he was abandoned by the *Bolognese*, who joined *Aldobrandini*. Other causes contributed to this war. *Salinguerra* had built a fort on the confines of the *Modenese*, who complained of it as an invasion of their rights, and they were assisted by the *Bolognese* in besieging it; but it was so well defended, that the siege was raised. Towards the end of the year, the abbot of *St. Stephen*, and *Gerard* bishop of *Bologna*, came into the supreme council there, and offered to refer the matter of the fine that had been imposed upon the abbot, to the decision of the podestas and the council itself; and this moderation seems to have delivered the city from the interdict it then lay under. *Success of the Bolognese.*

In the year 1213, while *Matthew* of *Parma* was podesta, the war between the papal and imperial parties raged with more fury than ever. The *Modenese* fortified *Finale* on the river *Panera*, to bridle the fort erected by *Salinguerra*; and the podesta sent one of his magistrates to compromise some commercial differences between them and the *Modenese*. While this matter was in dependence, the *Modenese*, in returning from fortifying *Finale*, were surprised by *Salinguerra*, who made one hundred and fifty of them prisoners, and most inhumanly cut out their tongues. The *Modenese*, fired by this barbarity, instantly demanded assistance from *Bologna*, *Parma*, *Mantua*, and *Ferrara*, which was readily granted them by all those states; and in *November* following, *Salinguerra*'s fort was taken and levelled to the ground. He himself, at the same time, was obliged to restore all the *Modenese* prisoners, and to swear, as *Aldobrandini* and the *Ferrarese* did, never to rebuild the fort. The *Modenese* then marched off in triumph; and *Salinguerra*, being now quite ruined, threw himself upon the protection of the *Bolognese*, who interceded with *Aldobrandini* for his pardon; and it was accordingly granted him, he and his grandson swearing, at *Ferrara*,

rara, that they would thenceforth be obedient to the podesta and commonalty of *Modena*.

League between Bologna *and* Faenza.

In the year 1214, the podestas of *Faenza* and *Reggio* demanded a renewal of the league between the *Bolognese* and *Faventines*, which was accordingly performed by the council with universal applause; and the deputies of the two cities, on their parts, swore to procure the same to be ratified by their constituents. By this time the emperor *Otho* had been totally defeated at the battle of *Bovines*, with the loss of thirty thousand men, by *Philip-Augustus* king of *France*; and *Frederick* was without further opposition received as emperor of *Germany*. Though the pope had strenuously assisted *Frederick*, who had hitherto behaved towards him with great humility; yet, now that he was emperor without a rival, he became as formidable to his holiness, as *Otho* or any of his predecessors had been. He therefore pressed *Frederick* to fulfil his purpose of taking upon him the cross, by marching directly to the Holy Land with a powerful army. *Frederick* knew that he had still many secret enemies in *Germany*, and therefore he durst not disoblige his holiness; but promised to set out in a very short time, and even to resign the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily* to his son; the only thing in the world that was the most agreeble to the pope. It was about this time, that *Ubaldi*, the archbishop of *Ravenna*, came to *Bologna*, where he preached up the crusade in a full council. As the *Bolognese* likewise had their reasons for managing his holiness at this time, they promised all that the prelate required, and to defray, out of the public treasury, the expences of sea and land-carriage, till they arrived at *Syria*, of all the *Bolognese* who had taken upon themselves the cross. It was about this time, according to *Sigonius*, who mentions the matter to give his reader some idea of the manners of that age, that one *Hugh*, a surgeon of *Lucca*, presented himself before the council of *Bologna*, and undertook, on the payment of an annual stipend, which probably was very small, though we cannot now ascertain its value, to reside for six months, or more if required, at *Bologna*; and to cure, during that time, all the subjects of that state of all their wounds and bruises. But from his rich patients in the country, he was to receive one load of hay or wood. Nothing remarkable happened during the remainder of the year 1215, but a mere commercial treaty entered into by *Visconti* the *Milanese* podesta, and the *Florentines*, about settling the difference between public and private debts; by which no private person was to answer for a public debt, nor the public for that of any private man.

Agreement with Florence.

SECT.

SECT. III.

Containing the Difference between the Clergy and People of Bologna; *War with* Rimini; *Peace concluded*; *Arrival of the Empress* Constance *at* Bologna, *and of* Peter *Emperor of* Constantinople; *the* Bolognese *repair to the Holy War*; *domestic Seditions in* Bologna; *the State of the public Schools there*; *Credit of the* Bolognese *with their Neighbours*; *Institution of religious Orders in* Bologna; *Differences between the* Bolognese, *their Clergy, and their Neighbours*; *Admittance of the* Dominicans *and* Franciscans *into* Bologna; *the* Bolognese *in favour with the Emperor* Frederick; *Success of the* Bolognese *crusaders*; *State of Learning, and of Factions, in* Bologna; *the City improved and adorned*; *Differences between the* Bolognese *and the Imperialists*; *a War*; *Arrival of the King of* Jerusalem *at* Bologna; *the University of* Bologna *deprived of its Rights by the Emperor*; *the* Bolognese *enter into a League against* Frederick; *War with the* Modenese; *the Emperor restores the University to its Privileges*; *the* Bolognese *declare themselves* Guelphs; *and the Discontents in* Bologna.

Differences with the bishop.

HENRY à FRACTA was at this time bishop of *Bologna*, and, though a native of that state, was as refactory as any of his predecessors had been to the civil government. *Visconti* the podesta, having punished a malefactor for a crime committed in the castle of *St. John*, over which the bishop claimed jurisdiction, *Odo* the bishop's vicar complained of that proceeding as an invasion of the episcopal rights; and this complaint encouraging the people of that quarter to disobey the civil power, the podesta seized and imprisoned one of the ring-leaders. Upon this the prelate interdicted the podesta, and sollicited the pope to put the city under interdiction likewise. This censure, however, was far from being of any prejudice to *Visconti* with the *Bolognese*, for they chose him a second year their podesta.

War with Rimini.

IN the year 1216, a war broke out between the *Bolognese* and the *Riminese*, on the following occasion. The *Riminese* had defeated the inhabitants of *Cesena*, and having taken one

thouſand eight hundred of them priſoners, they ſhut them up in one of their caſtles. The *Ceſenians*, in their diſtreſs, applied to the *Bologneſe* for aſſiſtance in recovering their townſmen from captivity, and it was readily granted them. The *Rimineſe*, being aſſiſted by the people of *Peſaro*, *Fano*, *Urbino*, and other ſtates and cities in the neighbourhood, the *Bologneſe* called to their aſſiſtance their allies of *Reggio*, *Faenza*, and *Ferrara*, who having joined them, the public ſtandard of *Bologna* was immediately carried into the field, where a ſtrong army waited to attend it. They began their march againſt the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, where the captives were confined, about the middle of *Auguſt*, and beſieged it with great vigour, cutting off the enemy's parties, and laying waſte their lands at the ſame time. At laſt *Tarentino*, who commanded in the caſtle, ſeeing no proſpect of relief, propoſed a capitulation on the firſt of *September*, which was agreed to, but not till after the caſtle was demoliſhed. The terms were, that the *Rimineſe* ſhould deliver up to the *Bologneſe* podeſta, either at the foot of his ſtandard, or in his tent, as he ſhould think proper, the *Ceſenian* captives, and ſuch of the *Bologneſe* as had been taken; and that the ſtandard of *Bologna* ſhould be admitted into the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, as a mark of ſovereignty. The *Bologneſe* and *Ceſenians*, at the ſame time, reſtored the *Rimineſe* captives; and a mutual pardon paſſed formally on both ſides, for themſelves and their allies, by the mouths of the podeſtas of *Bologna* and *Rimini*; but *Tarentino* and his accomplices, who it ſeems had been guilty of great inhumanities, were put to death.

The Bologneſe *conquer.*

A peace.

Power of Bologna.

THIS ſucceſs wonderfully enhanced the reputation and credit of the *Bologneſe* all over *Italy*, where the public diſcourſe was, that the *Bologneſe* were as abſolute in the *Romagna*, as the *Milaneſe* were in *Lombardy*. This year died pope *Innocent* III. as he was on his journey to mediate between the *Piſans* and the *Genoeſe*, whoſe quarrels he thought were of infinite diſſervice to the ſucceſs of the cruſade; and he was ſucceeded by *Honorius* III. who purſued his ſchemes, and laid the *Milaneſe* under interdict, for favouring the *Gibelins*. This year is famous for the inſtitution of the *Dominicans*, or preaching friars. *Bologna* had a viſit from the empreſs *Conſtantia*, wife to *Frederick*, in her journey from *Naples* to *Germany*; and ſhe lodged in the palace of the *Lambertini*; as did *Peter*, emperor of *Conſtantinople*, who arrived at *Bologna* about the ſame time. He there made three knights, *Vido Lambertini*, *Ludovico Ramponi*, and *Teſta Preto*, who we may ſuppoſe were the leading men, at that time, in *Bologna*. It was about this time, that all differences were compromiſed between the

podeſta

podesta and the bishop, upon the former making his submission, and the latter taking off the interdict.

CANOSSIO of *Reggio* was podesta in the year 1217; and in *May* that same year, twenty thousand marks were issued out of the treasury of *Bologna*, to defray the expences of such *Bolognese* as had taken upon themselves the cross, and were preparing for *Syria*. Those compliances of the *Bolognese* with the holy see, procured to them a temporary recess from civil commotions; but they were far from being agreeable to all parties. A people fond of freedom, but ignorant of its true principles, disdains subjection; and *Isnard Mancicello*, a bold turbulent *Bolognese*, taking arms about this time, killed *Manfred*, who was his enemy, and threw every thing once more into disorder within the city; so that a civil war must have been the consequence, had not the podesta, with great activity and prudence, prevailed with the citizens to lay down their arms. Upon this *Isnard* fled, but his effects were all confiscated, by ten commissioners appointed for that purpose, who paid the money arising from them into the public treasury. Soon after a fresh quarrel happened between the podesta and the bishop of *Bologna*, the latter pretending that the podesta had no right to command the troops that were quartered on the episcopal estates, and threatening to call in the papal authority to protect him. The people of *Bologna* would have severely resented this renewed instance of pontifical insolence, had not some wise citizens interposed and persuaded both parties to submit the affair to arbitration; so that it was amicably adjusted by the intervention of learned lawyers, who were chosen for the arbiters.

Civil dissentions in Bologna.

Prudence of the podesta.

THE schools of law continued still to be the principal objects of the care of the *Bolognese*; and it is extremely remarkable, that when in that age of general barbarism, nothing was more common than for men of the sword, or other arts, to upbraid scholars with the lazy profession of learning, the *Bolognese* magistracy published the following remarkable decree; *viz.* "Let no man affix a reproachful epithet to any person, who is either teaching or learning the civil law, or any other art; if they shall be guilty, they shall undergo the penalty of exile; nor shall they be restored, but by the consent of the parties offended. Let this law be in perpetual force."

Regulation in favour of the scholars of Bologna.

AZO was then the most eminent professor in *Bologna*; and *Sigonius* has given a most curious detail of the succession of the professors there, from him to the first institution of the school. *Azo* was a great statesman as well as a lawyer, and was called lord *Azo*; a term of distinction given to all great

Progress of learning there.

professors; and in his time the number of scholars in *Bologna*, assembled at one time in the great square, was ten thousand. *Odofredus*[a], who gives us this account, was the scholar of *Baldwin*, *Baldwin* of *Azo* (whose lectures likewise *Odofred* attended) *Azo* of *Bossianus*, *Bossianus* was cotemporary with *Albericus*, who attended the lectures of *Bulgarus*, *Martinus*, and the first professors of law in *Bologna*; and this deduction traces the progress of the *Longobardick* law there, to the days of the emperor *Lothair*, who published the pandects. It was probably owing to this great attention of the *Bolognese* to learning, that during this year the podestas of *Milan*, *Modena*, *Reggio*, and *Vicenza*, were all of them natives of *Bologna*, and acquitted themselves with great credit in their several magistracies.

Prosperity of the Bolognese,

ACCORDING to *Sigonius*, the emperor *Otho* did not die, as the common report is, obscurely at *Brunswick*, but in the Holy Land, having taken the cross to expiate his crimes against the pope. But the death of *Otho*, wherever it happened, brought no respite to the distractions of *Italy*, where all but the *Bolognese* was filled with blood and tumults. The truth is, that they had acquired, even in those barbarous times, which appear by the testimony of cotemporary authors[b], to have been very unpolished and uninformed, a veneration for their learning, which might have rendered them the umpires of all *Italy*, had it not been for their civil dissentions. Having some difference with the inhabitants of *Medicina*, a town hardly known now by name, about certain villages, instead of oppressing them by their arms, they referred the matter to arbiters, who gave sentence in favour of the *Bolognese*. The inhabitants of *Faenza* and *Forli* had come to blows; and the former being worsted, they applied for relief to the often experienced friendship of the *Bolognese*, who persuaded both sides to refer their differences to *Albergheti*, then podesta of *Bologna*, who commanded both parties to lay down their arms, which they accordingly did. At this time the *Bolognese* added a new professorship, that of grammar, to their university; and *Beno*, a *Florentine*, was the first professor. Some difference happening with the *Lucquese* about certain rates and duties, they were amicably settled by the *Bolognese*, with their usual prudence and moderation.

who assist the Faventines.

IN the beginning of *February* 1219, the league between the *Bolognese* and the *Reggians* was renewed; but quarrels breaking out afresh between the *Faventines* and the *Imolese*,

[a] SIGONIUS, p. 90. [b] RICOBALDUS FERRIENSIS apud MURAT. tom. ix. p. 247 and 248.

the

the *Bolognese* found themselves obliged to send troops to the assistance of the former. The emperor *Frederick*, who never seriously had intended to go to the Holy Land, was now preparing to march into *Italy*, to make good all his imperial as well as family rights there. It would be too bold a conjecture to say, that the intention of *Frederick* was to shake off the ecclesiastical power of the pope; but it seems more than probable, that he designed to deprive him of all his temporal jurisdiction, and all the *Italian* states and cities of their liberties, and to have fixed the seat of his empire at *Rome*. With this view, and to take all suspicion from the pope, *Frederick* had yielded to every thing he could desire; but when the *Bolognese* and the *Faventines* had invaded the *Imolese*, a territory which had been always considered as belonging to the empire, the bishop of *Turin*, and the marquis of *Montferrat*, arrived at *Bologna*; the first as ambassador from the emperor. He accordingly summoned the podesta before him, and roughly made two demands; the first was, that the *Bolognese* should restore to the emperor all the possessions of his they had seized since the death of *Otho*; and the second was, that they should desist from harrassing the *Imolese*. The podesta answered with great spirit, that he did not believe the bishop to be *Frederick*'s ambassador, and therefore they would not surrender the *Imolese* territory to him, but to the emperor himself; and that the *Bolognese* were bound, by positive treaties, to assist the *Faventines* when required. This answer threw the bishop into a great rage, and he hastily left *Bologna*; upon his departure the *Bolognese* army, and that of their allies, advanced against *Imola*. An accommodation, however, was proposed; and *Henry*, at that time podesta of *Bologna*, was chosen umpire. The *Faventines* complained of his sentence, and he sent them a threatening message, which soon reduced them to reason. In the mean while, the bishop of *Turin* had imposed a fine upon the city, and laid it under an interdict. Upon this *Ugolin*, the pope's legate for *Lombardy*, sought to revive the *Longobardick* league against the emperor, and not only offered himself as a mediator for composing the differences of all the parties concerned, but took off the interdict formerly laid upon them by the pope. The *Bolognese* and the *Pistoians* laid hold of that opportunity to submit their differences to his arbitration. His sentence was pronounced in *October*, and by that both parties were to be reconciled one to the other. The *Bolognese* were to restore to the *Pistoians*, *Monticelli* and other three towns; as the *Pistoians* were to the *Bolognese*, all the places they had taken from them in the *Bolognese* territory. The *Pistoians*

Imperial ambassador's demand rejected.

An arbitration.

toians were to pardon the *Sambucani*, and the podeſtas of both people were to ſwear to the obſervance of the ſentence. Towards the end of the year, when the two podeſtas met to ratify this arbitration, the *Bologneſe* complained that the *Piſtoians* had, without their leave, already intruded into the places in queſtion; and that they had impriſoned certain inhabitants of *Pavana*, a mountainous diſtrict, only becauſe they had ſworn allegiance to the *Appennine* podeſta of *Bologna*. The *Piſtoians* acknowledged and juſtified the intruſion; but pretended, that the *Pavaneſe* had been impriſoned by the biſhop's order. The *Sambucani*, who had left their own homes to put themſelves under the protection of the *Bologneſe*, were, by the council, ſent to *Muſcocla*, which was ordered to be fortified for their uſe, and they were there to enjoy all the privileges of *Bologneſe* citizens. The podeſta of the *Appennines*, or Highlands, were likewiſe ordered to preſent them with colours. This year, though the *Bologneſe* were under equal apprehenſions from the pope and the emperor, they added vaſt embelliſhments and conveniences to their city; and the famous *Dominic*, the father of the new order of Preaching Friars, became ſo eminent in *Bologna* by his ſermons, and certain miracles attributed to him, that the church of *St. Nicholas* was aſſigned to his male followers, and the church of *St. Agnes* was built for the uſe of his female votaries. This year likewiſe the famous St. *Francis* of *Aſſiſe*, by his enthuſiaſtical turn, became almoſt abſolute there, though their ſects are directly repugnant to each other; but the *Dominicans* had always the aſcendant in *Italy*. It was about this time likewiſe, that pope *Honorius*, being informed that the proſperous ſtate of the *Bologneſe* ſchools had induced many ignorant profeſſors to take upon them to read lectures there, impowered *Tancred*, a learned lawyer, and archdeacon of *Bologna*, to examine and licenſe all profeſſors before they could read in public. His holineſs, at the ſame time, ordered the biſhop of *Bologna* to encourage the ſtudy of divinity in that city, and not to permit his divines to ſtudy either the civil law or phyſic.

Bologna embelliſhed.

In the year 1220, the podeſta and council of *Bologna* ſent a deputation to *Piſtoia*, to require the *Piſtoians* and their biſhop to reinſtate the *Sambucani* in all their poſſeſſions and effects, according to *Ugolin*'s deciſion; which ſeems accordingly to have been done.

The emperor's lieutenant negociations in Italy.

In *February* this year, the emperor *Frederick*, being to paſs in perſon into *Italy*, ſent his chancellor, *Conrade* biſhop of *Spires* and *Mentz*, before him into *Lombardy*; the ſtates and cities of which were ordered to obey the chancellor equally as the emperor. While *Conrade* was buſy in executing this new com-

commiſſion, and adminiſtering the oaths of allegiance to thoſe ſtates who were willing to take them, he ſent *Anſelm* of *Spires*, and *Ugolin*, governor of *Romaniola*, to *Bologna*, where they were received with great civility and kindneſs. Next day *Anſelm* and *Puſterla* the podeſta had a formal meeting in the town-houſe, where *Anſelm* demanded the rendition of the towns and caſtle of the *Imoleſe*, as belonging to the emperor, which *Puſterla* readily agreed to, with a ſalvo to all the privileges and rights the *Bologneſe* might have there. In a few days after, *Conrade* himſelf arrived at *Bologna*, where he was ſo well pleaſed with his reception, and the compliances of the *Bologneſe*, that, after taking the oaths of allegiance to the emperor, he abſolved them from the interdict and fine that had been impoſed upon them by the biſhop of *Turin*, and all other cenſures, however incurred. *Frederick* himſelf was now arrived in *Italy*; but was denied admittance into *Milan*, where he demanded to be crowned king of *Lombardy*. This diſappointment, which was very galling to *Frederick*, made him the more ſolicitous in courting the friendſhip of the *Bologneſe*, to whom he paid a viſit in his journey to *Rome*; and while he was there, he convened an aſſembly of all the ſtates who were in his intereſt, and obliged them to ſwear allegiance to him, and enmity to all the ſtates and cities of *Italy* who ſhould dare to diſpute his commands. He then proceeded to *Rome*, where he received the imperial crown, and took a freſh oath to carry an army over to the Holy Land. During this ceremony, he was attended by a ſplendid deputation of the *Bologneſe*, to whom he gave a new confirmation of all their rights; but did the ſame to their biſhop, in terms not favourable to the juriſdiction of the *Bologneſe* civil magiſtrates; for all the matters in diſpute between them were, by this charter, given in the biſhop's favour. From *Rome* he went to *Naples*. This year the *Bologneſe* croiſaders acquired great reputation by the taking of *Damiata* in *Egypt*, with ſome treaſure; part of which was remitted by their two captains, *Boniface* and *Baraſaldini*, by way of acknowledgment, to the treaſury of *Bologna*. *Accurſius*, one of the greateſt modern ornaments of the civil law, was then profeſſor of it at *Bologna*; where, this year, their biſhop *Henry* employed a celebrated architect, one *Ventura*, in adorning the chief church with a noble range of fine marble pillars. But the popularity he acquired by this munificence was ſoon abated by his inſolence, in demanding from the magiſtrates of *Bologna* one of his tenants, who had been guilty of a murder in that city; and, becauſe they did not readily comply, he laid it under an interdict. The matter,

The emperor confirms the privileges of Bologna.

Laid under an interdict.

ter, however, was at laſt compromiſed, though not much to the honour of the city.

The pope and emperor quarrel.

In the year 1221, *Giufred* of *Milan* ſucceeded to the podeſtate of *Bologna*; and *Conrade*, the emperor's lieutenant in *Italy*, beſtowed freſh privileges upon the biſhop of *Bologna* in matters of civil juriſdiction, while pope *Honorius* did the ſame. But a ſtorm was now about to break out in *Italy*, in which the *Bologneſe* had a great ſhare, on the following occaſion. *Frederick*, as has been already hinted, never intended either to go to the Holy Land, or to obſerve a ſingle article of his promiſe to the pope, with whom he now reſolved to break, as he had firmly ſettled himſelf in the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*. He began by aſſerting the imperial authority in oppoſition to the papal; and by rendering the biſhops and their clergy ſubject, in their perſons, effects, and even characters, to the civil juriſdiction. He diſputed the power of the pope to fill up biſhoprics, and diſplaced ſome prelates the latter had appointed. In ſhort, he carried thoſe rights, which the *French* call the *regale*, farther than they ever had been extended, and deſpiſed all the admonitions of his holineſs, who therefore excommunicated him. The emperor gave himſelf very little trouble about the papal thunders; but declared, that he was reſolved to maintain the rights of his anceſtors over eccleſiaſtical as well as lay-ſubjects, and he ſent manifeſtoes to the ſame purpoſe all over *Italy* and *Germany*. The reaſon which determined the *Italian* republicans, and all who courted liberty in that country, to ſide with the pope, was becauſe he was not armed with the ſame compulſive means as the emperor to deprive them of their liberties. The *Bologneſe*, by their ſituation, were more perplexed than any other of the *Italian* ſtates how to behave; but came to a reſolution to be neutral, if poſſible, and to act impartially. Their podeſta, *Giufred*, with the advice of his council, ſent deputies to require thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of the caſtle of *Imola* to hold it for the emperor, and to give it up to none but by permiſſion from the podeſta of *Bologna*, or an imperial order. The *Imoleſe*, upon this, ran to arms; and entering the caſtle, demoliſhed it, carrying all the garriſon and inhabitants to *Imola*, without regard to count *Gottifred*, *Frederick*'s lieutenant in thoſe parts. The *Bologneſe*, not being conſcious of giving any cauſe of offence to either party, continued this year, as uſual, to carry on works of beauty, utility, and ſtrength in their city; and gave a magnificent burial to St. *Dominic*, who died in *Auguſt*, whoſe diſciples became now powerful in *Bologna*. In the year 1222, count *Gottifred*, incenſed at the *Imoleſe*, came to *Bologna*, and applied to the podeſta to require the aſſiſtance

Difficulties of the Bologneſe.

of the *Faventines*, and immediately to declare war against the *Imoleſe*, for having demoliſhed their caſtle, in contempt of his and the imperial authority, and for other injuries done the emperor. He farther required, that the *Bologneſe* ſhould neither make peace, nor grant a truce to the *Imoleſe*, unleſs they conſented to rebuild the caſtle of *Imola*, and had expelled all the emperor's enemies from their city and territory. He likewiſe promiſed to prevail with the emperor to pardon the *Faventines*, to remit the cenſures he had laid them under, and to deliver up the cuſtody of the caſtle of *Imola*, as ſoon as it could be recovered to their cuſtody and that of the *Bologneſe*, and that they ſhould be aſſiſted by all the force of the *Romagna*.

War with the Imoleſe.

THOSE demands being made in a full aſſembly of the people, and in a peremptory tone, greatly ſtartled the *Bologneſe*, who would gladly have excuſed themſelves from being concerned in ſuch a war. But *Gottifred* declared, that he would immediately proceed to put the *Imoleſe* to the imperial ban. The podeſta, in the name of the aſſembly, politely requeſted, that he would reſerve his ſentence for another place, becauſe the *Imoleſe* were their neighbours. But *Gottifred* gave them to underſtand, that they were the emperor's ſubjects, and tied down to execute his will. He therefore proceeded to give ſentence, which was, that the *Imoleſe* ſhould incur the penalties of treaſon, unleſs, within ſix days, they ſhould return to their obedience to the emperor and his authority; which time if they ſuffered to elapſe, they were to be accounted as rebels, unleſs they paid him ten thouſand marks in ſilver (A), and ſubmitted in every reſpect to the imperial and his pleaſure. This ſentence being read, he addreſſed himſelf to the aſſembly, and peremptorily demanded, that they ſhould prepare to execute the imperial decree. The *Bologneſe* were obliged to comply; and the podeſta of *Faenza*, on that occaſion, came to *Bologna*, where their ancient league was renewed; and it was agreed, that both ſtates ſhould make war with all their forces upon the *Imoleſe*, and conclude neither peace nor truce with them, but by permiſſion of the emperor and *Gottifred*. The ſix days being expired, *Gottifred* returned to *Bologna*; and a general aſſembly being, as uſual, ſummoned by ringing a bell, he demanded of the two podeſtas, that they ſhould immediately begin the operations of the war againſt the *Imoleſe*, who had ſuffered their days of grace to elapſe.

(A) A mark of ſilver contained about eight ounces; ſo that the ſum here demanded of this petty ſtate amounted to about twenty thouſand pounds ſterling; an immenſe ſum in thoſe days.

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The *Bologneſe* complied; and this year three expeditions were undertaken againſt the *Imoleſe*. The firſt was in *January*, which laſted but for two days. The ſecond was in *March*, where for twenty days they laid waſte the enemy's country, far and near. The third and principal was in *Auguſt*, when, together with the *Faventines*, they brought their ſtandard to the field; and the crops being upon the ground, they deſtroyed them for thirty days; and, after taking five caſtles, they laid ſiege to *Imola* itſelf.

Demands of the Imperialiſts.

IMOLA, the ancient *Forum Cornelii*, ſtands on an iſland formed by the river *Santerno*; and its caſtle, in thoſe days, was the moſt important in all the *Romagna* (B). While the ſiege was going vigorouſly on, the podeſtas of *Pavia*, *Parma*, and *Cremona*, with deputies from *Verona*, *Mantua*, *Reggio*, and *Modena*, came to the *Bologneſe* camp; and in an aſſembly, ſummoned on their account, *Diotiſalvi*, the podeſta of *Pavia*, in the name of the archbiſhop of *Magdeburg*, impoſed a large fine upon the podeſta and ſtate of *Bologna*; and at the ſame time commanded them to raiſe the ſiege, and to return home before the end of the month. This inſolent proceeding aſtoniſhed the *Bologneſe*; and their podeſta refuſed to acknowledge the other as commiſſioned by the archbiſhop of *Magdeburg*, but treated him as an impoſtor. Upon this, the other podeſtas and deputies interpoſed, and joined *Diotiſalvi* in his demand. *Giufred* accuſed them all of diſſimulation, in not acquainting him that *Diotiſalvi* had ſo inſolent a commiſſion to deliver, which if he had known, he would not have ſummoned the aſſembly; and he again refuſed to acknowledge *Diotiſalvi* to be the archbiſhop's legate. Upon this ſmart reply the podeſtas and deputies departed without ſucceſs, and the ſiege went on with redoubled vigour; ſo that the *Imoleſe* at laſt were obliged to beg for a capitulation.

A capitulation,

GIUFRED could give the meſſengers, who came out of *Imola* for that purpoſe, no anſwer till he had conſulted with *Gottifred* and the *Faventine* podeſta, who both of them conſented to his entering into a treaty, which accordingly was begun, and finiſhed upon the following terms: That the *Imoleſe* ſhould obey the *Bologneſe* and *Faventines*, who ſhould command what portion of their territory they pleaſed, and direct their troops in their operations; and that, as ſoon as the beſieging army was withdrawn from their walls, they ſhould fill

(B) It has a wall, moats, and towers, with a ſtrong old caſtle; and is alſo the reſidence of a biſhop, under the archbiſhop of *Ravenna*. In it are fifty churches, convents, and hoſpitals (1).

(1) *Buſching's Geogr. vol.* iii. *p.* 144.

up

up the ditches of their city; and that the inhabitants of the caſtle ſhould repair to it again. It was likewiſe agreed, that this capitulation ſhould be ratified in the general aſſemblies of *Bologna* and *Faenza*.

THOSE terms, with ſome others of leſs importance, being ſettled, *Giufred*, in the name of the *Bologneſe*, required *Coxio*, the podeſta of *Imola*, to repair with the council of that place, and a hundred of its chief inhabitants, to *Bologna*, and there ſwear to the obſervance of the capitulation. *Coxio*, rather than comply, reſigned his office; but the reſt of the council and inhabitants offered to ratify all that had been done. *Giufred*, with the conſent of the *Faventine* podeſta, then carried along with him one hundred and forty hoſtages, all of them grown men; and the *Imoleſe* not only fulfilled the treaty, but ſent the valves of their principal gates to *Bologna* and *Faenza*; and were condemned to pay the fine impoſed upon them by *Gottifred*, beſides two thouſand marks by way of ſatisfaction to the *Bologneſe*. *ratified.*

THE emperor *Frederick* was terribly enraged againſt the *Bologneſe*, who he, probably, thought had taken too much upon themſelves. When he heard of this treaty being concluded, he diſclaimed all that *Gottifred* had done, and ordered their podeſta *Giufred* to appear at his court. *Giufred*, upon this, ſummoned a council, where it was reſolved that he ſhould not go; but that deputies ſhould be ſent to the emperor, to account for and defend the conduct of the podeſta and their city; and at the ſame time an appeal was made to the pope. But *Frederick* would neither hear nor ſee the deputies, and continued to expreſs the moſt implacable reſentment againſt the city and the podeſta. *The emperor diſcontented.*

IN *September*, *Giufred* held a general council of the inhabitants, or council of credence; in which it was enacted, that all ſtrangers who ſhould ſettle in the *Bologneſe* territory, ſhould be free for twenty years from all public duties. If they formed themſelves into a town, containing no fewer than twenty families, they were to enjoy that freedom for ever, only being ſubject to all duties on public carriage. They were to have a right to create conſuls, and might receive a podeſta in the ſame manner as other towns in the *Bologneſe*; to have rank in the army, and to ſerve in expeditions; by which we ſuppoſe is meant, that they were to have a ſhare in the plunder. This year was remarkable for dreadful earthquakes, which did great damage in *Bologna*, by demoliſhing ſeveral palaces and churches.

IN the year 1223, *Uberti*, a *Milaneſe*, was podeſta of *Bologna*, where the inhabitants, being apprehenſive of a war with the empe-

Military regulations of Bologna.

emperor, applied themselves to put their city and country under military regulations. Their territory, like the city, was divided into four parts; and each division had its colours assigned to it, under which the inhabitants of the villages, and houses of that division, were to serve. Two commissaries were appointed in each division for executing this regulation. Another law passed for subjecting the inhabitants of the country, as well as of the city, to a tax for payment of the army; and the magistrates of all places, within the state, were obliged to give in, upon oath, the names of all within their jurisdiction who were capable of bearing arms. *John* of *Brienne*, the titular king of *Jerusalem*, at this time was at *Rome*; and the emperor *Frederick*, having lost his wife, who was a princess of *Arragon*, had returned from *Germany* to *Italy*. He had of late signalized himself, by publishing certain bloody edicts against the *Albigeois*, who, of all other rebels, were the most dreadful to the see of *Rome*, because they pretended to be directed by the pure principles of Christianity; and this inhuman proceeding had softened his holiness in his favour; and, indeed, both parties began now to be tired with their mutual differences. The king of *Jerusalem*, who had a beautiful daughter, named *Yolante*, or *Violante*, undertook to be the mediator; and the pope promised, that, if he could bring the emperor into his terms, he would prevail with him to marry the king's daughter. The negociation met with no difficulty. The princess had for her dowry the imaginary kingdom of *Jerusalem*, for which reason the kings of *Sicily* have ever since assumed that amongst their other titles. The emperor took a fresh oath to undertake the croisade within two years, was absolved from his ecclesiastical censures, and orders were given for bringing the betrothed princess from *Ptolomais* to *Rome*; and thus *Italy* had a short respite from war; which the *Bolognese* employed by making new improvements in their city, territory, and civil government.

King of Jerusalem *at* Bologna.

BORRA, a *Milanese*, was podesta of *Bologna* in 1224; when the king of *Jerusalem*, and his other daughter *Bianca*, paid a visit to that city, where they were most magnificently entertained, and the king honoured several citizens with knighthood. The emperor was at this time in *Germany*, where his son *Henry* was crowned king of the *Romans*. From *Germany* he returned to *Rome* in *May* 1225, and, at the request of the pope, he made peace with the *Milanese*. His resentment against the *Bolognese*, however, still continued. *Frederick*'s great passion was to aggrandize *Naples*, for which reason he once more transferred the university of *Bologna* to that capital, and ordered all the students to leave *Bologna*, and

and repair thither. It is observable, however, that no regard was paid to his authority in this respect. This year he married *Yolante* at *Rome*, and from thence went to *Naples*. Being disappointed as to the effects of his resentment against *Bologna*, he gave the *Imolese* leave to repair and fortify their city against the *Bolognese*, who would not have suffered them to do it, had not a dreadful pestilence then raged at *Bologna*, where the magistracy, apprehending civil commotions, by a decree of the general council, demolished the tower of *Basacomatri*; the strongest and loftiest in the city. Towards the end of the year, the *Milanese* prepared a new league against the emperor, in which all *Lombardy*, the *Romagna*, and the marquisate of *Treviso*, were included. To obviate this league, the emperor summoned a general assembly of princes and bishops, in his interest, at *Cremona*. *Gerard Rangone* was podesta of *Bologna* in 1226, when the grand league, which had been proposed, took place. The village of *St. Zeno*, in the *Mantuan*, was the place where all the deputies met, from *Milan*, *Bologna*, *Piacenza*, *Verona*, *Brescia*, *Mantua*, *Vercelli*, *Lodi*, *Pergamo*, *Cremona*, *Turin*, *Alessandria*, *Vicenza*, *Parma*, and *Treviso*. This meeting was held in *March*, and *Vido Tantidenario*, with *Scannabecci Goso*, acted as deputies, or plenipotentiaries, from *Bologna*. In this league, which was to continue for twenty-five years, there was nothing disrespectful towards the emperor; only the contracting parties promised to stand by one another, in asserting the rights and privileges they enjoyed from him and his predecessors. As it had been agreed amongst them, that each contracting party should bear a proportional expence of men and money in the confederacy, the podesta of *Bologna* appointed one hundred citizens for carrying the purpose of the league into execution; but with this restriction, that they should not engage the community in any expence, without consulting the council. The podesta, at the same time, fortified *Bologna* as strongly as the nature of its situation would admit.

A new league against the emperor, A. D. 1226.

In the month of *March* the emperor came into the *Romagna*, and held his *Easter* at *Ravenna*. From thence he went to *Imola*; but understanding how strongly *Bologna* was fortified, he did not approach it. When he entered *Lombardy*, deputies from most of the confederated states attended him, and performed to him their several homages and duties. Arriving at *Cremona*, he found the assembly he had summoned to that city very thinly attended. From *Cremona* he went to *Verona*; and understanding how very assiduous the confederates were in concerting measures for supporting their league,

who comes to the Romagna.

he gave encouragement and countenance to many of the pope's enemies. His holineſs, on the other hand, then declared himſelf to be the patron of the confederated ſtates and cities; fomented factions againſt *Frederick* in *Naples*, and threatened him with a freſh excommunication, if he did not perform the oath he had taken to go to the *Holy Land*. *Frederick* had now no longer any excuſe; and conſulting the humour of the age and people, he was obliged once more to make his ſubmiſſions to the pope, and to ſwear that, under the pain of excommunication, he would paſs the ſeas to the *Holy Land*, within two years after the enſuing *Auguſt*. This new accommodation afforded matter of triumph to *Honorius*, whom the emperor made umpire of all the differences between him and the confederated ſtates. Being attended by the pope's legate he came to *Vienna*, where his reſentment againſt the *Bologneſe* influenced him ſo far, that he publiſhed a reſcript in favour of the *Modeneſe*, who were no parties in the confederacy; and annulled the arbitration concerning boundaries that had been proclaimed againſt the *Modeneſe*, whom he reinſtated in their ancient boundaries, poſſeſſions, and privileges, both by land and water; adding, at the ſame time, great encomiums upon their loyalty and fidelity. The *Milaneſe* made the cauſe of the *Bologneſe* their own; and both cities being now more refractory than ever to the imperial authority, *Frederick* had an interview with the pope at *Rieti*, a ſmall town in the duchy of *Spoleto*, after pronouncing the *Milaneſe* and the *Bologneſe* to be guilty of rebellion, and obliging the pope's legate to lay both cities under an interdict.

Greatneſs of the pope.

Caſtel Franco *built.*

ALL this did not daunt the *Bologneſe*, who raiſed an army, and built a ſtrong caſtle upon the frontiers of the debateable lands, for defending their liberties; and which, on that account, is to this day called *Caſtel Franco*[a]. *Honorius* died in the beginning of the year 1227, and was ſucceeded by *Gregory* IX. a near relation to *Innocent* III. and to the greateſt enemies the emperor had in *Naples*. He began his pontificate by iſſuing a bull, granting to the biſhop of *Bologna* new and unuſual privileges; and by more furiouſly preſſing the emperor, than any of his predeceſſors had done, to begin his expedition into the *Holy Land*, which, though the time he had ſworn to ſeems not to have been yet expired, *Frederick* was obliged to comply with; ſo great an aſcendency had the papal authority then obtained in *Italy*. When he came to *Catana*, in *Sicily*, he publiſhed a kind of manifeſto, at the

[a] SIGONIUS, pag. 101.

request, or rather by the command, of the pope, in which he pardoned all the *Longobardic*, and other states and cities that were confederated against him, as he likewise did *Gottifred*, and the marquis of *Montferrat*, who were now his enemies. As to the *Bolognese*, he expressly restored to them the privilege of their university. All those compliances were far from satisfying the inordinate pride and ambition of the pope, whom nothing but the entire departure of *Frederick* out of *Italy* could appease. Under pretext that *Frederick* had not performed the oaths he swore to pope *Honorius*, and was making no preparations for his expedition to the *Holy Land*, he stirred up, as far as he could, not only all *Italy*, but all *Europe* against him; till *Frederick*, apprehending that the affair was no longer to be trifled with, ordered his fleet to be got ready, and to rendezvous at *Brindisi*, the ancient *Brundusium*, with an intention, as he pretended, to carry him to *Greece*, from whence he was to march to the *Holy Land*, but without any real design to perform his vow if he could evade it.

The pope hastens the crusade.

The truth is, that emperor entertained more loose notions of religion than were common in those days; and yet, though religion was the object of his contempt, it always kept him in awe, and distressed or frustrated his measures. Though he had taken a vow to fight against the infidels, yet he transported a large number of them from *Sicily* to fight for him in *Italy*, where he settled them at *Lucera*; and at this very time he was secretly negociating a truce with *Meledin*, the sultan of *Egypt* in *Syria*. His affairs, however, were so circumstanced, that though he pretended sickness, and a variety of excuses, he was obliged to sail from *Brindisi* on the 11th of *August*; but he had scarcely put to sea, when, under colour of a return of his disorder, and that the winds were contrary, he returned with his family to *Brindisi*, but ordered his army to proceed. The pope would accept of no apology for this dilatory conduct; and *Frederick* was again not only put under excommunication, but declared incapable of the imperial dignity. This incensed him so much, that he joined with the *Frangipani*, at that time a powerful family in *Rome*, and after driving the pope from that city, he declared open war against his holiness, and all his abetters. The animosities between the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*, raged now more fiercely than ever. They were not confined to independent states or cities, but almost every state and city in *Italy* was divided within itself, between the same factions; so that all *Italy* became instantly a scene of civil confusion, confiscations, and carnage. The pope being driven from *Rome*, retired to *Perugia*;

Aversion of the emperor to the pope; who is driven out of Rome.

rugia; and it is hard to say, to which party the *Bolognese* inclined. But at this time they were afflicted at once with famine and pestilence to such a degree, that when the bishop distributed, as usual, a certain portion of bread to the poor at a high festival, twenty-four of them were trod to death, so great were the numbers who crowded to receive it.

Commotions in Bologna.

THOSE calamities did not render the *Bolognese* the less active in providing for their own safety. They fortified their new castle *Franco*, whilst the *Modenese* raised another against it, called *Loiano*. In the year 1228, *Uberti Visconti*, was podesta of *Bologna*. By this time count *Gottifred* had declared for the emperor, and had surprized *Mancicoli*, a castle belonging to the *Bolognese*, in the *Romagna*. The podesta of this place escaped to *Bologna*, where he filled the citizens with apprehensions and suspicions against the government, and accused the podesta of *Bologna* and his council of treason, and of having conspired to betray the place to the enemy. The people were at this time far from being upon good terms with their magistrates; and being headed by one *Joseph* of *Tuscany*, a bold enterprising demagogue, they took arms, and marching to the public palace, they demanded from the podesta the standard of the state, and insisted upon his resigning his office; both which he refused to do. The insurgents upon this waited till it was dark, when, with *Joseph* at their head, they broke into the palace, forced open all its doors and repositories, and making themselves masters of whatever they wanted, *Joseph* ordered the great bell to be rung, as a signal for a general assembly of the citizens.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

The Form of Government in Bologna, *changed from ariſtocratical to popular.* Joſeph, *the* Tuſcan, *choſen Prefect of the People.* Antiani *choſen. War between the* Bologneſe *and the* Modeneſe: *the former defeated with great Loſs. A Peace for eight Years.* Caſtel Franco *fortified. Diviſions between the* Bologneſe *and their Biſhop. The* Bologneſe *interdicted. The Diſpute terminated. Tumults in* Bologna, *and a new War with the* Modeneſe, *and with the Emperor* Frederick. *They aſſiſt the Pope in taking* Ferrara. *The Univerſity of* Bologna *transferred to* Padua. *New Regulations in* Bologna. *Differences with* Florence. *Great Succeſſes of the* Bologneſe. *They beſiege and take* Modena. *Death of the Emperor* Frederick. *Farther Succeſſes and Regulations of the* Bologneſe. *The Office of Prefect of the People reſtored.* Faenza *delivered to the* Bologneſe. *State of their Republick at the End of the Year* 1257.

Alteration of the government of Bologna.

IT is certain that the people of *Italy* in general, at the time we now treat of, inclined to democratic government. The emiſſaries of the pope on the one hand, and of the emperor on the other, claimed the ſovereignty over them; and both endeavouring to invalidate the rights of the governing powers, the people began to think them to be little better than uſurpers, and that the true right was in themſelves, if it was neither in the pope nor the emperor. In ſome caſes, thoſe notions perhaps were confirmed by the wrong uſe which their magiſtrates made of their power; but be that as it will, the ſtate of *Bologna* in 1228, underwent a fundamental revolution. *Joſeph*, the *Tuſcan*, was made prefect of the people; and as in *Florence* twenty-four of the inhabitants, called *Antiani*, were choſen for the government of the four wards, two councils were here inſtituted. One, called the little council, conſiſted of the *Antiani*, the conſuls of the merchants, the maſters of the companies of ſilverſmiths and armourers, the gonfaloniers of the people, and their counſellors: the other was the great council, and conſiſted only of a greater number of counſellors, choſen from the people, being added

to it; and from that time the *Bolognese* designed themselves by the title of the Community and people of *Bologna*: the power of the podesta, however, was re-established after *Joseph*'s year of prefecture was expired.

The emperor crowned in Jerusalem.

THE emperor *Frederick* remained still in *Italy*, but under a sentence of excommunication, which distressed his affairs, and dispirited his friends so much, that he was at last obliged to embark; and, after touching at *Cyprus*, he landed at *Acon*, where, after a sham negociation, the truce between him and the sultan was published, by which the kingdom of *Jerusalem* was not only ceded to him, with some small territories round it, but he actually was crowned in that city, which gave him a handle to boast, that he recovered the kingdom of *Jerusalem* without bloodshed. He could not, however, impose upon his holiness, who had foreseen all that had happened, and had even disapproved of *Frederick*'s voyage, as knowing that if he had staid in *Italy*, he would have been deserted by all his friends and followers. He sought, however, to make the best advantage he could of his absence, and even employed his father-in-law, the late king of *Jerusalem*, to make war upon his subjects in *Naples*, while the imperial generals as vigorously pressed the *Guelphs*, in the marquisate of *Ancona* and the duchy of *Spoleto*. The heads of the *Longobardic* confederacy, who equally hated both parties, laid hold of this opportunity to attack the imperial party in *Lombardy*. The people of *Guastalla* had not yet acceded to the confederacy, and therefore were considered as its enemies; and those who were chosen guardians of the confederacy, ordered the *Bolognese* immediately to begin hostilities against the *Modenese*. The *Bolognese* accordingly, being relieved by a plentiful harvest, laid siege to *Bazano*, or as others call it *Badiano*, a town formerly belonging to the countess *Matilda*, but is now scarcely known by name, though at the time we write of, a place of great importance. According to the chronicle of *Parma* [b], the *Bolognese* were joined by the people of *Imola*, *Faenza*, *Romania*, and *Ferrara*, with one thousand horse from *Lombardy*, and some *Florentine* soldiers. The *Modenese* had for their auxiliaries the people of *Parma*, who took the field with their standard and one thousand horse, and the *Cremonese*, who brought to the field four thousand foot. The two armies encamped near each other, but without coming to action. The *Bolognese* surprized *Vignola*, as the *Modenese* did *Plumati*, a place now scarcely known; and both parties returned to their station before *Bazano*, into

War between Bologna *and* Modena.

[b] Apud MURAT. vol. ix. p. 765.

which

which the *Modeneſe* found means to throw large ſupplies of men and proviſions. The *Modeneſe*, after this, made incurſions into the *Bologneſe*, where they laid all waſte with fire and ſword to the very gates of *Bologna*; while the *Bologneſe*, intent upon the ſiege, gave them no interruption. Upon returning to their camp before *Bazano*, the *Modeneſe*, and their auxiliaries, fell in with a ſtrong detachment of *Bologneſe* horſe, at the village of *Santa Maria*, and an action followed, in which the *Cremoneſe* cavalry at firſt were defeated; but the *Parmeſans* behaved ſo bravely, that after a long and obſtinate diſpute, the *Bologneſe* were intirely defeated, and all the *Modeneſe* priſoners retaken (B). After this the *Modeneſe* took ſeveral places of importance from their enemies, which obliged the *Bologneſe* haſtily to abandon the ſiege of *Bazano*, with the loſs of all their tents, baggage, and warlike engines. This inglorious expedition was followed by a cruel murder; for the people tumultuouſly put to death, in their great ſquare, the governor of *Plumati*, on ſuſpicion of having ſold that place to the *Modeneſe*.

Defeat of the Bolognese.

In the year 1229, the emperor *Frederick* returned from *Syria* to *Naples*, where he found his father-in-law, *John de Brienne*, at the head of a papal cruſade againſt him, and maſter of many important places in that kingdom. *Frederick*, however, ſoon recovered them; and his *Gibelines*, who were diſtinguiſhed by a croſs upon their ſhoulders, drove the *Guelphs*, who bore two croſs keys, out of *Capua*, and forced them to take refuge in the papal dominions. Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, *Frederick* was afraid of puſhing his good fortune, while the confederated ſtates, in a general aſſembly which they held at *Verona*, came to a reſolution of cutting off all communication and traffick with thoſe who were not in their confederacy. The *Bologneſe*, at this time, had two wars upon their hands, the *Imoleſe* and the *Modeneſe*. The firſt was of little or no conſequence, and committed to the *Faventines*; the other was more important. The *Bologneſe* laying aſide all thoughts of reſuming the ſiege of *Bazano*, made greater preparations than they had done the year before, for beſieging *San Cæſario*, belonging to the *Modeneſe*, who made equal preparations to defend it. The *Bologneſe* general, however, made his diſpoſitions ſo judiciouſly, that he took the place in a few days, in the ſight of his enemies, who were unable to relieve it. The *Modeneſe*, and their auxiliaries of *Cremona* and *Parma*, ſtung with this diſgrace, reſolved to be revenged,

The emperor returns to Italy.

The Bologneſe *defeated.*

(B) *Sigonius*, page 103, mentions this battle without owning the defeat of the *Bologneſe*.

revenged, and attacked the intrenchments of the *Bologneſe* army with great fury. They were received with equal intrepidity by the *Bologneſe*, who pointed their efforts againſt the *Parmeſan* ſtandard, from which, by their engines and miſſiles, they drove all the *Parmeſans*, but one *James Haveri*, whoſe name hiſtory has preſerved for his honour, and who ſwore he would rather die upon the ſtandard of his country than yield it up, and defended it ſo bravely, that the *Cremoneſe* had time to come up and reſcue it. They were followed by the reſt of their army; and while the *Parmeſans* and *Cremoneſe* were preſſing hard upon the *Bologneſe*, the *Modeneſe*, by a reſolute attack, became maſters of the *Bologneſe* ſtandard. This was the greateſt diſgrace and loſs that could happen to any people in thoſe days, and diſpirited the *Bologneſe* ſo much, that few of them eſcaped being either killed or taken priſoners. As to the ſtandard, the *Modeneſe* were for carrying it in triumph [d] to their capital; but the *Parmeſans* either envying them that glory, or unwilling farther to provoke the *Bologneſe*, abſolutely refuſed them that honour; and thus the ſtandard being ſtripped of all its finery, after undergoing the greateſt indignities, was left at *Plumati*. The *Parmeſans* carried the fine train of engines, ſome of which were of a new conſtruction, which the *Bologneſe* had carried in triumph, to *Parma*, where they were repoſited as trophies in the principal churches of the city. After this the *Modeneſe*, meeting with no reſiſtance in the field, erected large banks, cut out a new canal, by which they diverted the courſe of the *Scultemna*, and thereby deprived the *Bologneſe* of all benefit from that river.

A truce concluded. So many misfortunes coming ſo quick, diſpirited the *Bologneſe*. Pope *Gregory* aimed at uniting all thoſe ſtates with his own intereſt, ſo that they might compoſe a formidable barrier againſt the imperial power in *Italy*. He therefore, on the 12th of *October*, addreſſed a bull from *Ponegſa* to the biſhop of *Reggio*; by which he charged that prelate to labour to the utmoſt in compoſing the differences between *Bologna* and *Modena*, by repairing to both cities, and negociating a peace, or at leaſt a long truce; and if he found either of them refractory, to lay it immediately under a ſevere interdict. The biſhop executed his commiſſion, and found both cities ſo tractable, that their podeſtas ſwore to ſtand by his arbitration; which he pronounced upon the 19th of *December* following. It imported, that there ſhould be a truce for eight

[d] Sigonius, p. 104. Chronicon Parmenſe, ubi ſupra, p. 766.

years,

years, to commence on the first of *January* ensuing, between the two states, during which time they were to forbear all hostilities, and to live in civil intercourse together; that if any differences should arise, they should be compromised by two arbiters chosen on each side; that the *Bolognese* should be reconciled to the *Modenese*, the *Parmesans*, and *Cremonese*, and they to the *Bolognese*; that no new fortifications should be raised on the borders of either state; and that the river *Scultenna* should be restored to its ancient channel, during the time of the truce.

THIS award, which was published with great formality, and under the penalty of an interdict to the offending party, for some time restored peace to *Bologna*; and the deputies of the *Longobardic* alliance, renewed the same in the beginning of the year 1230. This year was remarkable for prodigious inundations all over *Lombardy* and the *Romagna*; but the *Bolognese* proceeded to fortify *Castel Franco*, with stone walls. This year the woollen manufacture was introduced into *Bologna*, where the workmen had great encouragement, and many privileges. The renewal of the *Longobardic* league crossed the emperor's views; and having intelligence that his son, the king of the *Romans*, was practising against him in *Germany*, it rendered a peace necessary for his affairs in *Italy*. He was the more inclined to this by the solicitations and entreaties of *St. Lewis*, king of *France*, and his best friends in *Germany*. He accordingly sent the patriarch of *Aquileia*, and *Leopold*, duke of *Austria*, with a most magnificent train of bishops, and other attendants, to the pope; but their reception was so cool, that it was next to a repulse, and they returned without effecting any thing. *Frederick* made another tentative, which was much more successful, by the great master of the *Teutonic* order, and the same duke of *Austria*, who brought his holiness to agree to accept of one hundred and twenty thousand golden ducats by way of indemnification for the damage his cities had received; in consideration of which the pope was to take off *Frederick*'s sentence of excommunication, which he accordingly soon after did at *Anagni*, where they met and parted in seeming friendship. The *Bolognese*, in the mean time, were employed in repairing the ravages of the late war, and the fortifications of their strong places. Next year, 1231, many families in *Lombardy*, where the war still raged, notwithstanding the late reconciliation between the pope and the emperor, retired with their effects to the *Bolognese*, where they paid two thousand marks for certain lands on which they settled; and the podesta, at the same time,

The Lombardic alliance renewed.

time, assigned them ground for building houses in the city. *Lavellengo* of *Brescia*, was then podesta of *Bologna*.

State of parties in Italy.

AMONGST other articles of agreement between the pope and the emperor, the latter had promised to assist his holiness against his rebellious *Roman* barons, which *Frederick* had neglected to do, and thereby gave great cause of complaint to his holiness; so that in the consequences, he was a sufferer by his compromise with the pope, whose cause in *Italy* at this time was that of public liberty, and therefore the most natural for the people to embrace. Few of the *Italian* states or cities sided with the emperor out of principle; and they who did it out of fear, could persevere no longer than they were supported by his power. Thus, upon the whole, through all the *Romagna*, *Tuscany*, and *Lombardy*, the *Gibelin* cities contained many *Guelphs*, but the *Guelph* cities few *Gibelins*. The pope, and the heads of the *Longobardic* league, were sensible of this, and stood by one another, with greater spirit than ever; so that *Frederick*, with all his abilities, spirit, and power, saw himself again in danger of being shut out of *Italy*. He found means, however, to retain the cities of *Modena*, *Reggio*, *Parma*, *Cremona*, and *Pavia*, in his interest; and the *Gibelins* there, after long and violent struggles, expelled all the *Guelphs*.

Quarrel between the Bolognese and their bishop.

IT is difficult to pronounce whether the *Bolognese*, at this time, were *Guelphs* or *Gibelins*. They had opposed the *Gibelin* states in the field, and all circumstances considered, the pope had obtained for them an honourable truce; but all of a sudden they were seized with a most violent spirit of contumacy against their bishop, to whom they refused any longer to pay his tithes, though his right to them had been immemorially established. The bishop, upon this, applied to the pope, who commissioned *Palmerio*, an *Augustine* canon, to take cognizance of the affair. In the mean while a felony was committed within the castle of *St. John*, and the bishop sent his officers to enquire into the matter. This coming to the ears of the podesta, he sent his officers to maintain his right of trying felonies in that castle, (though, as we have seen, that right had been clearly adjudged by former popes in favour of the bishop) and they made use of threatenings towards the bishop's ministers, which obliged them to retire; and the podesta obliged above one hundred of the inhabitants of the castle to appear before him, and take an oath of fidelity to him in the city. The pope being informed of those proceedings, ordered *Palmerio* immediately to pronounce sentence; upon which the podesta, by advice of the council, took possession by force of the castle of *St. John*, and five others,

others belonging to the bishop, and, in short, stripped him of almost all his temporalities in the city and territory of *Bologna*; and a proclamation was issued, prohibiting any layman for the future to act as bishop's steward, and that no agent should thereafter be employed by the clergy for collecting their tithes. *Palmerio*, upon those violent proceedings, laid *Frederick*, the podesta, *Omniboni*, and *Osbert de Lens*, his judges, with all the council and magistrates, ordinary and extraordinary, in the city and territory of *Bologna*, under an interdict; which was promulgated by the bishop, who hating the *Bolognese* as much as they did him, fled to *Reggio* on the first of *September*.

THE commotions in *Italy* soon brought the emperor back to that country, and he indicted a meeting of all the heads of his party at *Ravenna*, where he appeared with the imperial crown on his head on *Christmas*-day. It is probable he was in hopes that the *Bolognese* would declare for him; but tho' he remained at *Ravenna* till the *Lent* season, the *Bolognese* still persisted in their independency, and without violating their confederacy with the *Longobardic* states, their contumacy increased every day against the pope and their bishop. In *January* 1232, *Rainero*, a *Venetian* nobleman, being podesta of *Bologna*, the pope, who was then at *Rieti*, ordered his legates in *Lombardy* to do all they could to effect an accommodation between the bishop and magistrates of *Bologna*, that he might not be obliged to proceed to still greater extremities against them. This proceeding served only to exasperate the *Bolognese* the more; and they appointed podestas of their own, to take possession of, and exercise jurisdiction in all their episcopal states. *Gregory* then ordered the bishops of *Spoleto*, *Parma*, and *Mantua*, not only to promulgate the sentence of excommunication against *Rainero* and *Frederick*, with all who obeyed them, and against all the state of *Bologna*; but that the same sentence should be promulgated through all the cities of *Lombardy*, *Tuscany*, the *Romagna*, and *Ancona*. He likewise ordered that the students at *Bologna* should, under the pains of ecclesiastical censures, leave that city, and not return thither before the feast of *St. Peter*.

IN the mean while the emperor, who was but indifferently attended at *Ravenna* by the *Italian* deputies, consulted the few who appeared about the future operations of the war; and it was agreed, that from thenceforth none of the imperial cities or states, should chuse their podestas from cities or states of the opposite faction. He then departed to *Aquileia*, that he might avoid meeting with two legates, whom the pope had dispatched to treat with him concerning peace, being now

Disappointment of the emperor.

now more exasperated at his holiness than ever. Having finished his business at *Aquileia*, he returned by sea to *Naples*, without being able to make the smallest impression upon the *Longobardick* confederacy. This year the finishing the works of *Castel Franco* was celebrated by the *Bolognese* with great demonstrations of joy, and a pardon was given to all malefactors; but the fruits of the ground suffered greatly by worms and locusts.

A plague and famine.

THIS calamity rendered the year 1233, when *Uberto Visconti* was again chosen podesta, extremely uncomfortable to the *Bolognese*. A scarcity of all provisions, but especially wine, prevailed; so that mutual distress disposed the magistrates and the bishop to listen to terms of accommodation. Their differences were soon compromised. The bishop, for the present, relinquished his claim to the tithes, and was again put into possession of *Cento*, a castle lying upon the confines of the *Ferrarese* and the *Bolognese*, together with all his temporal jurisdiction in the same. Upon this the bishop took off, by the pope's command, the ecclesiastical censures that had been imposed upon *Bologna*, and was most joyfully received into that city by the people; all other matters in dispute, being left to a future cognizance.

John Vicenza comes to Florence,

IT is certain, that the calamities which the *Bolognese* suffered, while they were under those censures, made a great impression upon their minds, and gave a fair handle for the pope's agents to construe them into judgments from heaven for their contumacy to the holy see. One *John* of *Vicenza*, an eminent preacher, happening to come at this time to *Bologna*, gained such an ascendency, not only over the people, but the podesta and all the magistrates, that he became the absolute master of their lives, fortunes, and government. The people followed him every-where with standards and trophies. The differences between the magistracy and the bishop were submitted to his arbitration; both parties entering into recognizances, before archdeacon *Tancred* and *James Baldwin*, the two greatest lawyers in the university, under the penalty of one thousand marks of gold, to stand to his award. The same preacher's power extended even to the giving liberty to all civil debtors, to passing an act of insolvency, and to revising the laws of the state, not only without opposition from any, but with the approbation of all concerned. Innumerable were the bare-footed processions which he headed, and the regulations he introduced, especially in the dress and appearance of the females; and one day, when he was preaching against usury, the people were so moved, that they pulled down the house of an usurer in the neighbourhood. This

John of *Vicenza*, however, seems to have made a moderate, nay a laudable, use of this vast influence he had acquired over the minds of the people. The whole of his doctrine was calculated for the reformation of their manners, for unanimity amongst themselves, and for exercising such acts of devotion as might best appease the divine wrath. The time now approached for his pronouncing the sentence of arbitration, in the great cause between the state and the bishop, who claimed the exercise of a capital jurisdiction in no fewer than nine castles, besides that of *Cento*, within the territory of *Bologna*. Accordingly, on the 19th of *June*, all the councils, magistrates, judges, consuls, masters of companies, and others, being formally assembled in the town-house, *John* pronounced sentence in favour of the city. He then set out for *Lombardy*, continuing his pious exercises wherever he went. But, indeed, *Italy* was at this time full of preachers, enthusiasts, and pretenders to miracles, who were greatly favoured by the public distresses; and this year is particularly designed, in the annals of *Bologna* and other states, the year of devotion.

Gives sentence against the bishop.

VIDO of *Faenza* was the *Bolognese* podesta in the year 1234, which happened, like the preceding, to be filled with pestilence and natural calamities; for the cold and inclemency of its seasons were such, as drove even wolves and wild beasts into their cities and towns: neither was *Bologna* free from civil discord. One *Lambertacci* killed another citizen, *Sanctio*, both of them men of consequence; and though the podesta, for the present, kept the city quiet by banishing the murderer, yet the affair was afterwards attended with great consequences. *Icilino Romano*, descended of a *German* family, had acquired a considerable interest in the *Paduan* and the *Cremonese*, and was of the *Gibelin* faction. At his instigation, the emperor, who had for some years remained in *Naples*, prepared to march with a great army into *Lombardy*. This being known to the confederate states, they instantly took the field against the *Gibelins*. The *Bolognese* were the most forward; and though the time of their truce with the *Modenese* was not yet expired, they drew out their standard, and wasted the *Modenese* territory about *Bazano* and *San Cesano* with fire and sword; and, without daring to attack either of those places, they returned home about the beginning of *July*. The *Milanese*, in the mean while, invaded the *Cremonese*, with whom they came to an engagement near *Zenevolta*, without much advantage on either side; but at last both parties agreed upon a short truce. In the month of *November*, the province of *Frignano*, belonging to the *Modenese*, famous for mineral waters, situated at the foot of the *Appennines*, in a country both strong and populous,

Famine and pestilence continue.

The Bolognese invade the Modenese.

pulous, declared for the *Bolognese*; being thereto prevailed upon, either by fear or money, or both. The *Modenese* had been in possession of it by conquest about thirty years; and two of their chief noblemen now came to *Bologna*, where, in the name of all their community, they promised to the *Bolognese* obedience and subjection, and surrendered to them all their towns, fortified and open; promising to serve them in their wars, and to pay the ordinary taxes. The podesta and syndic of *Bologna*, on their parts, promised to take the *Frignanese* into their protection for ever; to defend them against all their enemies, the *Modenese* especially; and to insure them against all harm. This agreement was afterwards solemnly ratified in the public councils of *Bologna* and *Frignano*. We are not here to omit, that the famous *Dominic* had been solemnly reburied by *John* of *Vicenza*, his first burying-place being too obscure, at *Bologna*, where his magnificent church is still to be seen; and he was this year canonized by the pope, upon the strength of the miracles he had performed, both alive and dead.

Frignano *submits to them:*

they assist the Faventines.

CARNEVARIO, of *Milan*, was podesta of *Bologna* in 1235. This year proved more auspicious than the two or three preceding ones had been to the *Bolognese*, whom we may suppose to have been warranted by the pope in their infraction of the truce with *Modena*, with whom they were still at war. Some differences arising between their old confederates, the *Faventines* and the people of *Forli*, the former, as usual, applied to the *Bolognese* for assistance, which was immediately granted; and they recovered *Solari*, which had been taken by the *Forlese* from the *Faventines*, and this was followed by a peace between the two people. The *Faventines* then joined the *Bolognese*, with great spirit, in their war against the *Modenese*, which, in fact, was no better than a war of robbing and plundering the defenceless country. In this, the *Bolognese*, meeting with no opposition, passed the *Scultemna*, and advanced within two miles of *Modena* itself, where they defeated a party of their enemies. The *Modenese* resolved to take a very extraordinary revenge for those insults. They summoned together their allies from *Parma*, *Cremona*, *Piacenza*, and *Pontremoli*; but, instead of meeting their foes in the field, they set about digging a great canal for turning the bed of the *Scultemna* against *Castel Franco*, so as to overthrow that fortification. They laboured upon this great work with such incredible assiduity, that no man of any rank whatsoever was excused from either digging or carrying burdens. While they were intent upon this project, they laid siege to the castle of *Monzo*, within the district of *Frignano*; and having taken it, they

they put to death six of the principal persons they found in it for their desertion. The *Bolognese*, to be revenged, increased their warlike preparations; and, in consequence of the late regulations, they obliged their subjects in the country to contribute equally with those in the city to the expences of the war; and they were the more encouraged to this, as they received certain intelligence that *Frederick* had been obliged to return to *Germany*, to prevent a formidable rebellion, under his son the king of the *Romans*, from breaking out against him there; but nothing this year happened decisive on either side.

The emperor returns to Germany.

FREDERICK returned time enough to *Germany* to re-establish matters before they came to extremities. The marquis of *Baden* had subdued such of the rebels as were in arms; and *Henry* summoned a diet of the empire at *Mentz*, where his son threw himself at his feet; and many acts of great popularity were passed in favour of the *Germanick* body, to keep the people there quiet, that the emperor might have leisure to return to *Italy*. The pope, hearing of his intention, sent his nuncio, a man of the greatest address of any about his court, to persuade him to remain in *Germany*. His holiness endeavoured to alarm the emperor with the extent of his son's conspiracy against him, and he even offered to reduce the confederated states to a sense of their duty. There is reason for believing, that both the *Bolognese* and the *Milanese* at this time held a secret correspondence with the king of the *Romans*, against whom his father intended no other punishment than to remove him from *Germany* to the vice-royalty of *Sicily*. *Poltroni*, a *Mantuan*, was podesta of *Bologna*, when *Frederick*, in the year 1236, returned to *Italy*, where, having settled the affairs of *Naples*, he summoned all the states, who still adhered to him, to join him at *Verona*. Perceiving that all arguments, but those of violence, were now useless, he resolved, by the persuasion of *Icilino Romano*, to attack the confederates in their vitals; a resolution from which *Robert Sbesoleri*, a *Bolognese*, and then podesta of *Padua*, endeavoured to divert him. *Frederick*, after plundering the *Mantuan*, made himself master of *Vicenza*; but all his mighty hopes of reducing *Lombardy* were now interrupted, by the intelligence he received that the *Venetians* had entered into the *Longobardic* confederacy, and that his son the king of the *Romans* had now renewed his rebellious practices. He was therefore obliged again to return to *Germany*, after making himself more odious than ever to the *Guelphs*, by the severities he had exercised against their party in *Vicenza* and *Verona*. His arms had not yet reached the *Bolognese*, who were, all this while, employed

His progress there.

Returns to Italy.

ployed in raising money and making warlike preparations; but they received a great blow by *Icilino*, in *February*, 1237, making himself master of *Padua*, where he committed many cruelties. *Frederic* remained in *Germany* but a few weeks, and then he returned to *Lombardy*, where the terror of his arms obliged the *Mantuans* to submit to him; and, every day adding to his force, he became master of *Monte Chiaro* in the *Brescian*. He then laid siege to *Ponte Vico*, a place of so great importance, that the *Milanese* and the *Bolognese*, having joined their forces, determined, at all events, to relieve it. A battle accordingly followed, in which the allies were totally defeated; but the loss fell heaviest upon the *Bolognese*, who formed a great part of the confederate army, and most of them were either taken or killed. *Frederick*, however, did not think proper to pursue his victory, and went to *Cremona*. This defeat of the *Bolognese* seemed to give them new spirits for continuing the war; and having made great provisions for that purpose, they again entered the *Modenese*, where they laid siege to *Castel Loiano*; and, though it was then the end of *November*, they battered it for eight days with so much fury, that obliged it to surrender at discretion. The materials of the castle, which was demolished, were laid up at *Castel Franco*, and the garrison were sent prisoners to *Bologna*. The *Bolognese* soldiers, however, made an unmanly use of this great advantage they gained over their enemies; for they again passed the *Scultenna*, and filled all the defenceless country with their ravages.

He is victorious.

The Bolognese *defeated.*

They ravage their enemy's country.

In the year 1238, *Robert* of *Parma* was podesta of *Bologna*. As the *Bolognese* were the protectors of *Faenza*, they were this year deeply interested in the dissentions of that city between the *Guelphs* and the *Gibelins*. The *Guelphs*, at first, had the advantage, and expelled *Guido Rauli*, the head of the *Gibelin* faction, out of their city; but he returned soon after, surprised it, put its garrison to the sword, and expelled *Albergotti*, the head of the *Guelph* faction. His triumph did not last long; for *Albergotti*, in his turn, soon forced his way into the city, made both *Rauli* and *Acarisio*, another head of the *Gibelin* faction, prisoners, and regained *Faenza*. *Frederick*, during those transactions, being elated with his late victory, laid siege to *Brescia*, which lies on the river *Garza*, and is defended by a castle on an eminence. This siege continued for three months; during which the *Milanese* defeated the *Pavians*, and obliged the emperor to retreat without taking the city. Though the *Bolognese*, both by troops and money, had contributed greatly to those events, yet they were now intent upon an expedition that more immediately touched their own honour and interest. Their new subjects of *Frignano* had been

They again assist Faenza.

been prevailed upon to return to their duty under the *Modeneſe*. Upon this, the *Bologneſe* invaded that province, which they ravaged, and took the ſtrong caſtle of *Seſtola*, which they reduced to aſhes; but being informed that *Frederick* threatened to invade the *Bologneſe*, they returned home, and repaired the fortifications of their capital.

THE *Milaneſe* and the *Bologneſe* could not have ſo long, and with ſuch effect, have reſiſted the emperor, had not the pope formed ſuch intrigues in *Germany* as were perpetually calling the emperor's attention to that empire. At laſt, finding out the whole depth of his ſon's conſpiracy, but perhaps without ſuſpecting the part which his holineſs had in it, he offered to compromiſe matters with *Gregory* upon the terms the latter had formerly offered, provided he would join with him in cruſhing the conſpiracy. The pope did not ſeem to diſcourage this propoſal; and the emperor ſoon defeated the duke of *Auſtria*, who had joined with his ſon, took *Vienna* itſelf, and, making his ſon priſoner, he ſent him in confinement to a caſtle in *Naples*, where he finiſhed his days in captivity. But all *Frederick*'s ſucceſſes, which anſwered the high and juſt reputation he had acquired, gave him no advantage over the firmneſs of the *Longobardic* league. He procured his ſecond ſon, *Conrade*, to be elected king of the *Romans*, in the room of his elder brother; and perceiving that the diſſimulation of the pope was not inferior to his own, after he had, with great glory, ſettled all his concerns in *Germany*, he collected all his forces, and returned to *Lombardy*, with an intention to finiſh the *Longobardic* war in one campaign. By this time, through variety of jarring intereſts, the quarrel between the pope and the emperor became perſonal; but the pope, who excelled in all the arts of his predeceſſors, found means to employ *Frederick*'s arms in ſo many places at one time, by the rebellions he fomented againſt him, that *Henry* never had it in his power, though victorious every where elſe, to reduce either *Rome*, *Milan*, or *Bologna*, which he conſidered as the three neſts of rebellion againſt him. He had of late conquered the iſland of *Sardinia*, and given it in ſoveraignty to *Entio*, or *Enzo*, his natural ſon; and the pope conſidered this as a freſh violation of the rights of the holy ſee, to which, as he pretended, *Sardinia* was ſubject. In ſhort, *Gregory*, this year, twice excommunicated the emperor, abſolved his ſubjects from their allegiance, and all foreign princes from their engagements with him. Not contented with this, he likewiſe publiſhed a circular letter, dated *July* the 1ſt, in which he accuſed *Frederick* of not believing in the divinity of *Jeſus Chriſt*. "We "have proofs, ſaid he in that letter, that he has publicly de-

Conſpiracy againſt the emperor, who defeats it.

A. D. 1239.

He is excommunicated.

" clared how the world has been impoſed upon by three im-
" poſtors, *Moſes*, *Jeſus Chriſt*, and *Mahomet*. But he places
" *Chriſt* far beneath the other two; for he ſays that they
" lived in the midſt of ſplendour and glory; whereas *Chriſt*
" was only a man of the dregs of the people, who preached
" only to ſuch as himſelf. The emperor, continues he,
" maintains, that the one only God, creator of the univerſe,
" could not be born of a woman, and eſpecially of a virgin."
The emperor was not behind his holineſs in his recrimina-
tions; for he charged him with ſimony, hereſy, uſurpation,
impiety, and every vice that could enter into the compoſition
of a wicked pontiff.

THUS ſtood affairs this year between the pope and the em-
peror; ſo that it was difficult to determine whether the arts
and authority of the one, or the power and arms of the other,
were the moſt prevalent. His holineſs, having had the addreſs
to engage the *Venetians* in his quarrel, prevailed with them to
join with him in an invaſion of *Naples*; and he ſent his pro-
thonotary, *Montelongo*, through all the confederated ſtates of
Lombardy, to confirm them in their union. Having excom-
municated the *Modeneſe* and their allies, the *Bologneſe* renewed
Bologna *prepares for war.* their war againſt them; but, above all things, they reſented
the defection of their new ſubjects the *Frignaneſe*, who, as it
now appeared, had ſubjected themſelves only out of pecuniary
motives; and, having received a large ſum from the *Bologneſe*,
had returned to their allegiance to *Modena*. A public decree
was therefore made this year, when *Uberto Viſconti* was po-
deſta, that every future podeſta ſhould attempt to recover the
money that had been advanced by the community of *Bologna*
to the people of *Frignano* and their aſſociates; and that they
ſhould levy the ſame from their eſtates, or thoſe of their ſuc-
ceſſors; and that it ſhould not be in the power of the preſent
or any future magiſtrates of *Bologna* to re-admit them into
their ſociety. It was likewiſe enacted, in order to raiſe the
more money for the purpoſes of the war, that, from thence-
forth, no countryman ſhould be free from paying his taxes,
or from any public duty, under pretext of his maintaining a
horſe or horſes, unleſs he ſhould have the commands of the
community for ſo doing.

The Bo-
logneſe
march to
Modena. THIS decree being paſſed, *Jacopino Prendiparte* took the
command of the *Bologneſe* army, and led it as far as to the
gates of *Modena*. He went ſo far as even to ſet the gate of
St. Peter on fire, and to put to the ſword numbers of the in-
habitants of the ſuburbs; but he was recalled from his great
deſign of beſieging the city, on the following occaſion. The
Gibelin faction at *Faenza* had prevailed with the counts of

Mutiliana and *Balneocaballi* to raise troops for delivering *Guido Rauli*, and the other heads of the *Gibelin* party, from prison at *Faenza*; and had, for that purpose, actually besieged that city with a considerable force, during the expedition of the *Bolognese* army. The *Faventine Guelphs*, sensible of their danger, applied for relief to the *Bolognese*, who immediately recalled their troops, and sent them in three divisions, with their standard, to the relief of *Faenza*. The besiegers were defeated: count *Mutiliano* himself was taken prisoner, with two hundred of his men, who were all carried in triumph to *Bologna*. The success of this action gave the *Bolognese* such spirits and reputation, that they entered into an alliance with *Paul* of *Treviso*, the head of the *Guelph* party in *Ravenna*, for renewing the war against *Modena*. Accordingly the *Bolognese* and their allies again entered the province of *Frignano*, where they took several places, and marched against *Vignola*, an ancient town on the river *Panaro*, to which they laid siege. This undertaking proved a matter of great difficulty; but at last, the place being furiously battered with all the engines then in use, it surrendered about the end of *September*. Mean while, *Frederick* had removed from *Pavia* to *Vicenza* and *Verona*; and marched, though without much success, against *Alberic*, a *Guelph* general, who had surprised some places in *Lombardy*. From thence he returned to *Cremona*, and made an irruption into the *Bolognese*, where he ravaged the open country, and, without much difficulty, made himself master of *Plumati*, which was surrounded only by a wooden wall. He then marched to *Crepacori*, which he took and demolished; and, about the middle of *September*, he returned to the *Milanese*, which he ravaged for twenty-four days, there being no army in the field to oppose him. After this, he marched towards the *Po*, where he was in great danger of being drowned as he was passing that river; but he escaped to *Cremona*.

War in Lombardy.

The siege of *Vignola* still continued; and the *Modenese*, calling to their assistance their allies of *Parma* and *Ferrara*, undertook to relieve it. Their army was greatly superior to that of the *Bolognese*, whom they attacked about the middle of *October*. It does not appear that the *Bolognese* made any notable resistance. They lost all their battering artillery, and half of their army, part being put to the sword, and part of them drowned by the swelling of the rivers as they attempted to fly. In short, they were completely defeated. This overthrow of the *Bolognese* gave *Frederick* leisure to march to *Naples*, then harrassed by the *Venetians*. As he drew near *Rome*, the pope ordered the heads of saints to be exposed, and public

The Bolognese defeated.

proceſſions to be made, to avert the impending danger. The diſtreſs of the ſovereign pontiff, and the rigour exerciſed by *Frederick* againſt all the *Guelphs*, touched the princes of *Europe* with compaſſion; and the pope, by the advice of his general *Montelongo*, formed a freſh confederacy againſt the emperor, in which the *Bologneſe* and the *Longobardic* ſtates were included. Not contented with that, he preached up a croiſade againſt him, upon the ſame terms and principles as thoſe that had been undertaken againſt the infidels; and he at laſt made a tender of the imperial crown to *Robert d'Artois*, brother to St. *Lewis* of *France*; but the offer was rejected. Upon the whole, however, the ſpirit and firmneſs with which the pope acted, on this occaſion, ſaved himſelf and the holy ſee. For though *Frederick* had expelled out of his dominions the papal militia, conſiſting of the *Dominicans*, *Franciſcans*, and other religious orders; and though he had forbidden his ſubjects of *Naples* and *Sicily*, under pain of death, to receive any bulls from his holineſs; yet he found the ſpirit that had been raiſed againſt him too ſtrong to be maſtered, and, inſtead of marching to *Rome*, which was his real intention, he turned off towards *Benevento*, which he ravaged.

AFTER this, *Azo*, the marquis of *Eſte*, one of the moſt powerful princes then in *Italy*, the ſenate of *Venice*, *Alberic*, brother to *Icilino*, who was in poſſeſſion of *Treviſo*, *Paul* of *Ravenna*, and all the ſtates of the *Longobardic* confederacy, with the *Bologneſe* at their head, joined their forces together; and, by the advice of *Montelongo*, they prepared to beſiege *Ferrara*, which was then in poſſeſſion of *Salinguerra*. Previous to this, the council of *Bologna*, by the advice of their podeſta *Uberti*, and the directors of the *Longobardic* league, on the 1ſt of *January*, 1240, paſſed two ſolemn laws. The firſt was, "that neither the directors of the league, nor any of the confederates, ſhould admit into their aſſemblies or councils a *Cremoneſe* or *Pavian*, nor any of the emperor's party." The ſecond was, "that no native of the confederated ſtates ſhould, from thenceforth, be ſuffered to be podeſta of a ſtate or city in the oppoſite faction;" and both thoſe laws were enacted under the penalty of exile, and forfeiture of eſtate.

Ferrara *beſieged, and taken.*

IN the beginning of *February*, this year, the ſiege of *Ferrara* was undertaken by the confederates; but defended by *Salinguerra* with a ſtrong garriſon of *Modeneſe*, *Reggians*, and *Parmeſans*. The ſiege laſted four months; but at laſt the place was taken, and *Salinguerra* was ſent priſoner to *Venice*, where he died ſoon after. As to the city itſelf, the pope knew that he could not keep poſſeſſion of it, and therefore granted the inveſtiture of it, as a fief of the holy ſee, to *Azo*

de Este, who thereby became his intire friend. This important conquest had been chiefly owing to the powerful assistance brought by the *Bolognese* to the confederacy, and therefore they insisted upon the city of *Ferrara* entering into the same, which *Badoari*, a *Venetian*, the podesta, accordingly did, in the name of the *Ferrarese*. The terms were, that the latter should hold all the enemies of the church, but especially the *Modenese* and the *Parmesans*, to be their enemies, and make war upon them accordingly. About this time the *Genoese* joined the same party, and the kings of *France* and *England* liberally supplied the pope with money for his defence.

Successes of the emperor.

FREDERICK now saw all his towering designs on the point of being crushed. He therefore committed the care of the war in *Naples* to his generals, and marched in person into the marquisate of *Ancona*, where the *Guelphs* were very powerful: there he took *Ascoli*, the ancient *Asculum Picenum*, a city between the rivers *Trento* and *Castellano*. He next marched into the *Romagna*; and, hearing of the death of *Paul*, he surprised *Ravenna*, to the great terror of the confederates; and, in the month of *August*, he laid close siege to *Faenza*. *Frederick* was at this time at the head of a great army; but he was so much distressed for money, that he was obliged to stamp, with the imperial signature, pieces of leather, which he forced his soldiers and the inhabitants of the country to take for money; but with a promise to indemnify them, by exchanging them for real money at the conclusion of the war.

Constancy of the Bolognese,

THE pope and the confederates, but above all the *Bolognese*, bore the progress of the emperor with wonderful constancy and resolution. His holiness, to apply some remedy to their misfortunes, summoned a council to meet at *Rome*, and sent the cardinals of *Piastrina* and *St. Nicholas* across the *Alps*, to solicit the assistance of *France*, *England*, and other *European* powers. Towards the end of this year, *Henry* bishop of *Bologna*, after creating great troubles to that state, resigned his bishopric into the hands of his holiness, to the great joy of the *Bolognese*, and was succeeded by *Ottaviano Ubaldini*, a *Florentine*. The confederates, however, about the middle of *April*, 1241, received a severe check, by the emperor becoming master of *Faenza*, after a siege of about eight months. He then prepared to strike at the chief root of the *Italian* confederacy against him, by attacking *Bologna*. The *Bolognese* had foreseen this attempt, and made such dispositions for his reception, that, despairing to take the city, he wreaked his fury upon their open country, by destroying their houses, corn, vines, and trees, with various other acts of barbarity. He

who are threatened.

likewiſe iſſued a decree, depriving the *Bologneſe* of their right to their univerſity; and transferred the ſame to *Padua*, as a reward for the attachment of the *Paduans* to his intereſt. Receiving intelligence, that the pope's legates beyond the *Alps* had prevailed with the courts of *England* and *France*, and other potentates, to ſend biſhops to the council at *Rome*, he ordered his natural ſon *Entius*, to whom he had given part of *Sardinia* in ſovereignty, to intercept them by ſea; which he accordingly did, by the aſſiſtance of ſome ſhips ſent him by the *Piſans*; and all of them, amongſt whom were ſeveral cardinals, were ſent priſoners to *Naples*.

Severity of Frederick. AFTER this, *Frederick* appointed *Entius* to be his lieutenant, or imperial vicar in *Lombardy*; and was ſo ſtung by the obſtinacy of the pope, and the conſtancy of the *Longobardic* confederacy, that he redoubled his fury againſt all their abettors. His chancellor and favourite, *Peter de Vignes*, is accuſed of having been an atheiſt, and of having inſpired his maſter with the ſame principles. This charge, however, ſeems to have been intirely owing to the hatred of the *Guelphs* and *Papalins* againſt *Frederick*, who was a prince of great virtues, but ſtrong paſſions, and an encourager of learning, though the unintermitting practices of his enemies made him ſometimes guilty of barbarity. In a ſhort time, he reduced all the *Romagna* to his obedience; and, after falling upon the marquiſate of *Ancona*, he plundered *Peſaro* and *Fano*, two conſiderable ſea-ports in the dutchy of *Urbino*. He then made himſelf maſter of *Todi* and *Narni*; and was preparing to fall upon the Church's patrimony, without giving quarter to any he found in arms, when *Gregory* IX. died of heart-break, as was ſuppoſed. He had filled the papal chair, with the true ſpirit of an aſpiring pontiff, for fourteen years, againſt one of the greateſt and moſt warlike princes of his age, merely by the ſkill with which he employed the thunders of the vatican. Before his death, he had ſummoned the emperor to appear before the council he had indicted, and there to reſign the imperial dignity. This propoſal, ridiculous as it was, did no harm, in that age of ignorance and ſuperſtition, to the papal cauſe. They who, by their learning, particularly the *Bologneſe*, were the moſt capable to refute thoſe inſolent claims, were on the ſide of his holineſs; and the numerous enemies of the emperor found their intereſt in, at leaſt, ſeeming to believe them.

Death of the pope.

A new election. *GREGORY* IX. was ſucceeded by *Celeſtine* IV. who filled the papal chair no more than eighteen days, and then a long vacancy of the pontificate enſued. *Frederick* would willingly have aboliſhed even the dignity of pope, or have re-

reduced it to that of a plain priest or bishop. But he was unable to surmount the prepossessions of his contemporaries, and even of his own subjects; and he therefore pressed the cardinals who were assembled at *Anagni* to fill the chair. They pleaded, that the election could not be free, while he continued with his army in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, and in possession of the church's patrimony. They likewise insisted upon his setting free such of their brethren as were his prisoners. According to *Sigonius*[a], *Frederick* yielded to all they desired, by withdrawing his troops from the church's patrimony, and setting the cardinals at liberty; and then they shut themselves up in a conclave at *Anagni*, for the election of a pope.

THOUGH the flames of war raged all round *Bologna*, yet this year the *Bolognese* new-paved their city, and adorned it with other works of utility and ornament. The emperor all this time was pushing the war with great vigour in *Lombardy*, where he retook *Ronchaglia* upon the *Po*, and a great number of other places, from the *Milanese*. The *Bolognese* this year built and fortified the castle of *Occilini*, on their borders towards the *Ferrarese*; but they lost the castle of *Montesi*, in the province of *Frignano*. A. D. 1242.

IN the year 1243, the cardinals at *Anagni*, chose for their pope cardinal *Fiesque*, a *Genoese*, who took the name of *Innocent* IV. This pontiff, while he was cardinal, had remarkably distinguished himself in the imperial interest; and the *Italians* were now in hopes of seeing an end to the dreadful quarrel between the imperial and papal authority, that had so long desolated their country. *Frederick*, however, no sooner heard of his election, than he said, that *Fiesque* was his friend, but the pope would be his enemy; a prediction which was remarkably fulfilled. Both parties pretended to be zealous for restoring tranquility to *Italy*, though neither of them meant it but upon his own terms. The principles of *Innocent* were the same as those of *Gregory* had been; and he was resolved, if possible, to wrest from the emperor all that he had seized in the *Romagna*, and the church's patrimony, while *Frederick* as obstinately resolved to make them good, and both parties once more took the field. This year, we perceive, from the chronicle of *Parma*[b], that a treaty was entered into between the *Bolognese* and the *Parmesans*, for the mutual exchange of prisoners; and the *Bolognese* are accused of not having punctually performed their agreement, and *which falls upon* Innocent IV.

[a] SIGONIUS, pag. 112. [b] Apud MURAT. tom. ix. pag. 768.

of having, through their obstinacy, suffered such of their countrymen, as had been taken prisoners at *Vignola*, to lie in a most miserable condition in captivity at *Parma*.

Neutrality of the Bolognese.

BUT though the war between the pope and the emperor was on the point of breaking out, by the former preparing to besiege *Viterbo*, the *Bolognese* had the address to preserve themselves, for some time, in a state of neutrality, when they were once more disturbed by domestic dissentions. In the middle of *August* this year, one *Ameo*, or *Amadeo*, a man of consequence there, killed in the public market-place, one *Grifoni*, who was his enemy. Those villainous assassinations, to the reproach of that age and country, were seldom punished; the criminal generally finding means either to escape or to defend himself against the pursuits of justice. This *Amadeo*, however, was taken and put to death, to the great offence of his party. In the *October* following, *Azo Bonacursi* of *Frignano*, and his brother, put to death *Giberti* and *Barnfaldini*, of the family of *Castel Nuovo*, and then took refuge in a neighbouring castle, which they held out by force. The podesta of *Bologna*, who was that year *Peroano* of *Milan*, resolved not to suffer so daring an insult to escape with impunity; and, by the advice of the council, raised some companies, with which he besieged the castle, and took it with all who defended it. The common people were immediately hanged, but *Azo* was quartered; and the podesta left a garrison in the castle.

THE reader is to observe, that the feudal law, which then prevailed in *Italy*, and almost all over *Europe*, was an enemy to the internal tranquility of a state, because it kept up the hereditary animosities amongst families. The magistrates in the ordinary course of justice seldom had it in their power to punish the offenders; and all they could do, was to proscribe them, or declare them rebels. Hence it was, that those exiles were found all over the country in great numbers, where they commonly fortified themselves in their family castles. Two of them, *Henry Zachi* and *Bonifacio Panici*, had long suffered a state of proscription; and resolving to do something to merit the pardon of their country, they secretly repaired to *Verona*, with an intention to assassinate *Icilino a Romano*, the capital enemy of the pope in *Lombardy*; but being detected in their attempt, they were both of them put to death by him.

Mischiefs of the feodal laws.

Preparations of the Bolognese.

IT was now evident, that *Bologna* could not long preserve its neutrality, and the *Bolognese* prepared to face the approaching storm. They therefore, in a great council, this year, imposed a general tax upon their city, territory, and castles; and

and their militia was ordered to be drawn out, with an exception, however, to the doctors and scholars of their university, which, notwithstanding the imperial edicts, continued still to flourish. An act, both of the general and the special councils, passed, exempting all such from military duties, both in the field and garrisons; but they were to continue subject to all the ordinary taxes equally as other citizens. Scholars, however, who were citizens, and held private lectures, and those citizens who attended the public colleges, were obliged to contribute to military expences; but were at liberty to serve in the army by their substitutes. In the year 1244, the war between the pope and the emperor, notwithstanding the mediation of other Christian powers, appeared inevitable. *Ardoin* of *Piacenza* was then podesta of *Florence*. *Baldwin* emperor of *Constantinople*, together with the count of *Thoulouse*, came this year to *Italy*, to assist in the mediation; and at *Frederick*'s desire they repaired to *Rome*, where they prevailed with his holiness to promise to meet the emperor at *Citta di Castello*, to accommodate all matters in difference between them; and the pope, in the month of *June*, actually left *Rome*; but while he was on his journey he discovered, or pretended to discover, that the emperor had formed a design upon his life or liberty. He therefore turned off towards *Sutri*, and from thence to *Civita Vecchia*, where he took shipping, which carried him to *Genoa* in the end of *June*, with an intention to take refuge in *France*, and to summon a general council at *Lyons* for deposing the emperor. In the mean while *Frederick*, hearing of the pope's flight, seized upon the church's patrimony, and reduced all *Tuscany* to his obedience. The departure of his holiness threw the affairs of *Bologna* into such disorder, that a civil war must have broken out, had it not been for the arrival of the good father *Vicentio*, whose authority and mildness, seconded by the bishop, the podesta, and the chief citizens, reconciled the differences that had long subsisted amongst the most eminent families, whose names were the *Delfini* and *Malatasci*, *Torelli* and *Andali*, *Grifoni*, *Antenisi*, and *Castrobritti*, *Galuci* and *Carbonesi*, *Lambertini* and *Scannabecci*, and the *Pepuli* and *Tettalasina*. The two last-mentioned families had been at difference together forty years; but they were now reconciled by the famous match between *Romeo Pepuli* and a lady of the *Tettalasina*, from which descended *John*, *Taddeo*, *Gerra*, *Andrew*, and *Tarlati Pepuli*, all of them men of eminence.

Council of Lyons *summoned.*

Regulations in Bologna, *and its university.*

The tranquility of the city being thus provided for, the magistrates applied themselves to secure that of the university; and upon the application of its heads, it was enacted, that if any

any person should be exiled, for murdering or maiming a scholar, it should not be in the power, even of the state itself, to recal him, without leave from the next relations of the party injured.

Antiani restored. THIS year, according to *Sigonius*[a], mention is made of the *Antiani*, the institution of which we have already taken notice under the year 1228, and which, after disuse, seems to have been revived on account of a dispute which happened between *Ardoin* the podesta, and the bishop of *Bologna*, and which was compromised under the authority of the *Antiani*, the consuls of the merchants, and the silversmiths, the masters of the wards, and the gonfaloniers of the colleges. The

Proceedings of the council of Lyons. council of *Lyons* was now assembled, and is called the thirteenth general council. *Frederick* was summoned to attend it, and he sent thither commissioners to plead his cause, a proof of the vast sway the papal power then had in *Europe*. Amongst the numerous prelates summoned to attend it, was *Octavian* bishop of *Bologna*, who resigning his see at this time, was succeeded by *James Buoncambi*, a native of that city, *Ugo* of *Brescia* being then podesta. In the mean while the emperor, after wasting all the *Guelph* lands wherever he came, retired to *Pisa*; from thence he moved to *Parma* and *Verona*; and, at this last city, in order to counterbalance the council of *Lyons*, he summoned a meeting of all his friends, amongst whom was his son *Conrade* king of the *Romans*, and *Baldwin* emperor of *Constantinople*. He at the same time sent his two natural sons *Entius* and *Frederick*, with an army into the *Piacentine*. Upon the breaking up of the assembly at *Verona*, *Baldwin* repaired to *Lyons*, with offers from the emperor to compromise matters.

Debates there. ABOUT 144 prelates appeared at *Lyons* with a great number of temporal princes; but his holiness did not find the assembly so well disposed in his favour as he expected. A bishop, whom the emperor had driven out of *Naples*, acted as his accuser, and charged him with atheism, polygamy, corresponding with infidels, adopting the opinions of the *Arabian* physician *Averroes* about *Jesus Christ*, and a heap of such other inconsistent particulars, which either were destitute of proof, or if proved, could infer no penalty on a crowned head. The emperor's commissioners refuted them with as much acrimony and spirit, as they were urged with zeal and ignorance; and the pope, on this occasion, received many severe mortifications, particularly from the *English* ambassadors, who reproached him to his face for his avarice and rapaciousness.

[a] SIGONIUS, pag. 114.

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His holineſs, however, ſoon gave the aſſembly to underſtand, that he was there to judge and not to argue, and actually ſolemnly pronounced the ſentence of deprivation and excommunication againſt the emperor, by which he was declared convicted of ſacrilege and hereſy; and the electors of the empire were by him ordered to proceed to the election of a new emperor.

The emperor excommunicated.

FREDERICK was at *Turin*, on his way to *Lyons*, when he heard of this ſentence. He immediately called for his imperial crown, which the *German* emperors in thoſe days always carried along with them, and placing it on his head, "Many a life, ſaid he, ſhall be loſt, before the pope deprive "me of this." He then ordered his miniſter *de Vignes*, to write a kind of circular letter to the other princes of *Europe*, upbraiding them for their tamely ſuffering themſelves and him to be maltreated by ſuch a worthleſs ſet of men as the clergy of thoſe days were, who were guilty of every thing that was criminal and abandoned, and who, he ſaid, ought to be ſtripped of all their riches, to bring them to a ſenſe of their duty. Soon after, *Frederick* encamped near *Pavia*, where he began a freſh war againſt the *Milaneſe*, and the remains of the pope's party in *Italy*. In this war, *Entius* was taken priſoner by the *Milaneſe*; but was ſoon exchanged for *Simon* the *Milaneſe* general. Excepting this check every thing went proſperouſly for the emperor this year; and all the *Guelphs* were expelled from *Modena*, *Reggio*, and *Parma*; and even the pope's friends and relations ſcarcely eſcaped with their lives.

Oeconomy of the Bologneſe.

THE *Bologneſe* were ſo happy that they were not yet involved in thoſe calamities; but their magiſtrates proceeded to lay up proviſions for the worſt that could happen. *Philip*, who was then podeſta, about the middle of *March* had ſummoned both a general and a ſpecial council, to deliberate upon the manner of proceeding with regard to the epiſcopal tenants, who pretended that they were not amenable to the taxes impoſed by the civil government, nor to the duties of the other ſubjects. Several other cities and places pretended to the like immunities. Upon this, a committee of ſix judges was appointed to enquire into the grounds of thoſe claims, and an advocate was aſſigned to the claimants for their defence. After mature deliberations, the people of *Montibelli*, *Roccaviço*, and a few other inconſiderable places were adjudged to be entitled to their claims; but all the reſt were rejected. About the middle of *June*, the people of *Cento* endeavoured to put themſelves under the juriſdiction of the biſhop of *Bologna*; upon which the podeſta applied to him not to

to ſuffer the ſtate to be injured by ſuch a transference of allegiance, and the biſhop promiſed that he would protect none who were liable to pay taxes, or to perform public ſervices to the community, or who lay under ſentence of exile. The ſame podeſta contributed greatly to the public ornament and utility of the ſtate, by appointing certain overſeers to take care of the roads; and he laid the foundations of a moſt magnificent palace, that was to ſerve for the reſidence of the *Antiani*. About this time the *Bologneſe*, who ſeem to have had always a particular regard to the populouſneſs of their ſtate, ſheltered the *Gibelins*, though of a contrary faction, who were driven from the *Breſciano*, and aſſigned them part of the public revenue for their ſubſiſtence.

A new emperor choſen.

IN the year 1246, *Otho Viſconti* was podeſta of *Bologna*, which gained a breathing time, by the troubles which the pope on all hands excited againſt the emperor. His holineſs, after *Frederick*'s excommunication, iſſued his bulls, directed to the *German* princes, for electing a new emperor; and tho' they neither were unanimous amongſt themſelves, nor did they proceed regularly, yet they choſe *Henry* landgrave of *Thuringia*, who was called king of the prieſts, and who defeated *Conrade* the king of the *Romans*, *Frederick*'s ſon; but was himſelf ſoon after killed at the ſiege of *Ulm*. *Entius*, at this time, commanded for *Frederick* in *Lombardy*, while he himſelf was employed in quelling the commotions raiſed againſt him by the papal party in the kingdom of *Naples*. The *Bologneſe*, this year, built the caſtle of *Scaricaleſi*, at the foot of the *Appennines*, for a bulwark againſt the *Florentines*; and at laſt completed the exchange of priſoners with the *Parmeſans* and the *Modeneſe*. They likewiſe ſent aſſiſtance to the *Breſcians* againſt *Entius*. Their open country being greatly expoſed, by the inhabitants taking refuge in the city, a law was paſſed, obliging all who had left it within the five years preceding, to return to their habitations, under pain of being deprived of all the privileges of a *Bologneſe* citizen; nor were they even ſuffered to remain in *Bologna*, or to enjoy any poſt of honour or profit there. A revolution, which at this time happened at *Parma*, now gave a great turn to the affairs of *Italy*.

Siege of Parma *by the emperor.*

MANY of the *Parmeſans* had been *Guelphs*, and were expelled from their country by the imperial faction. The emperor, according to the *Parmeſan* chronicle[a], had ſeized the epiſcopal palace and tower, with all the biſhop's revenues, and none durſt preſent a bull or writing from the pope, under

[a] Chronica Parmenſo apud MURAT. tom. ix. pag. 769.

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the penalty of losing a hand and foot. *Entius* was, at this time, employed in besieging a castle in the *Bresciano*; and *Frederick*, having finished his affairs in *Naples*, had returned to *Turin*, where he assembled a council of all his friends, and was busy in drawing up propositions for a peace with the pope. The *Parmesan* exiles, who were at *Piacenza*, thought that to be a favourable opportunity to attempt a return to their country. They were headed by *Gerard de Corrigio*; but *Montelongo*, the pope's general, planned the conspiracy, and furnished the exiles with arms and money. Assembling on a certain day at *Piacenza*, they set out in a body for *Parma*, but were opposed by *Henry de Testa*, the imperial podesta there, at the head of the *Gibelins*. The *Guelphs*, however, prevailed; and after killing *de Testa*, with a number of his friends and followers, they entered *Parma*, from whence they expelled all the *Gibelin* faction, and chose *Corrigio* their podesta. As soon as this revolution came to the ears of the emperor and his son *Entius*, both of them hastened to *Parma*, and encamped on different sides of the city. *Montelongo* was equally alert; and after performing a very troublesome march over the mountains, arrived at *Parma* with one thousand choice soldiers. He was followed by count *St. Boniface*, who in his march destroyed the *Cremonese*; and at last the marquis of *Este* himself, with a body of *Ferrarese*, arrived on the same account. In short, all the military force of *Lombardy* repaired thither, either to defend or besiege the city. Part of the *Guelphs*, however, were encamped without the walls; but strongly entrenched, and posted so as to interrupt the operations of the emperor against the city. The emperor was joined by *Boateri*, who was a strong *Gibelin*, and by *Icilino a Romano*, with all the *Gibelins* of *Cremona*, *Reggio*, the *Bergamasco*, and *Tuscany*, with a great body of *Neapolitans* and *Sicilians*, so that the whole of his army amounted to sixty thousand men.

Bazano taken.

While those mighty preparations were making on the side of *Parma*, the *Bolognese* took that opportunity of renewing the war against the *Modenese*, the strength of whose state was in the imperial army before *Parma*. *Guido* the podesta, and *James Lambertacci*, were the generals of the *Bolognese*, who brought their standard of state to the field, and vigorously besieged *Bazano*, which had so often proved fatal to their arms. On receiving this news, the *Modenese* who were in *Frederick*'s camp chose *Icilino* for their general, and marched to the relief of *Bazano*; but found the *Bolognese* so numerous, and so strongly posted, that they durst not attack them, but encamped in the neighbourhood, in daily expectation of being

being reinforced by *Entius*. In the mean while, the ſiege went on with ſuch ſucceſs, that the garriſon, loſing all hopes of relief, propoſed to capitulate, and for that purpoſe they had a conference with the podeſta *Guido*, and the chief of the *Bologneſe*. The terms were ſoon ſettled. It was agreed, that the beſieged ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of all their effects, and have the liberty to ſettle either in the *Bologneſe* or the *Modeneſe*; and that if the capitulation was not approved of, the *Bologneſe* ſhould protect the garriſon. This capitulation being ſigned, it was ratified by the *Modeneſe* generals; and the *Bologneſe* entering the caſtle of *Bazano*, they burnt it down in ſight of *Icilino* and his army. Next day, the *Bologneſe* ſuddenly attacked their enemies; and after defeating them, they reduced ſeveral places in the *Modeneſe*, and returned home with a large booty, and in great triumph. The general and ſpecial councils being aſſembled, a full account of the campaign was laid before them; and the capitulation being ratified, it was entered into their archives, and an act made, that the podeſta and the people of *Bologna* ſhould, on every feſtival of *St. Iſaiah*, the day on which *Bazano* was ſurrendered, preſent forty wax tapers to his church.

Siege of Parma *continues;*

In the mean while, *Frederick* was furiouſly bent upon the reduction of *Parma*; and the chronicle of that city is filled with the cruelties he inflicted upon ſuch of the inhabitants as fell into his hands. Not only men but women were put to death, with exquiſite tortures, till at laſt the *Pavians* interceeded for the lives of thoſe who ſurvived; and their interceſſion procured ſome abatement of his cruelty. We are, however, to make great allowances in reading the repreſentations of the *Guelph* authors, with regard to this great prince; and perhaps the cruelty of their faction gave riſe to that of the *Gibelins*; for we learn, that the ſmalleſt intercourſe between any of the beſieged and the imperialiſts was puniſhed with death; and all who found means to introduce themſelves into the city, were immediately put to the ſword; and ſo great was the enthuſiaſm of the beſieged, that they gloried in the deaths of their party, as if the emperor had made ſo many martyrs. The *Bologneſe* did not fail to improve their late advantages; for though the ſeaſon was now far advanced, they again took the field, being joined by the *Ferrareſe* and the *Mantuans*; and after forcing an imperial poſt upon the *Po*, at *Brixello*, they marched to *Colorno*, from whence they threw a reinforcement of men, and great ſupplies of proviſion, into *Parma*, which now began to be greatly diſtreſſed by famine. Soon after, *Montelongo* forced his way through the imperialiſts, into the ſame city, and gave the citizens and inhabi-

habitants fresh spirits, by assuring them of a speedy relief. Winter coming on, the imperialists made a furious assault upon the city, but were repulsed by *Boniface*; as was *Enzius*, in an attempt he made upon *Colorno*, which was garrisoned by the *Bolognese*. A few days after, the besieged found means to turn the course of their river against the camp of the imperialists, who were obliged first to remove, and at last to abandon the siege for that year. In *December* the *Bolognese* assigned *Sabiniano* to be inhabited by the *Guelphs* of the *Modena*, who had been expelled from that city.

In the year 1248, *Boniface de Cario* of *Piacenza* was podesta of *Bologna*. *Frederick* had not yet given over thoughts of taking *Parma*, and had his head-quarters at *Victoria*; a city which he himself built, from whence he used sometimes to make excursions. *Montelongo* then commanded in *Parma*; and one day while *Frederick*, for the recovery of his health, was taking the diversion of hawking, *Montelongo* surprised *Victoria*, put the garrison which had been left in it to the sword, and took a vast booty, in which was the imperial crown, the military chest, and all *Frederick*'s plate and rich furniture, together with the *Cremonese* standard of state; and afterwards, partly through wantonness, partly through resentment, the victors set fire to the place. *Frederick*, by this time, returning from his diversion, had assembled some troops, and attempted to recover the town; but he was repulsed with the loss of almost all his men, and obliged to fly to *Cremona*. *but is raised.*

This success, by which the *Guelphs* made three thousand of their enemies prisoners, and delivered all their own party from the chains of the *Gibelins*, inspired the pope, who had been extremely active in supporting his party, with fresh courage. He had made *Octavian Ubaldini*, then bishop of *Bologna*, a cardinal; and he sent him to *Bologna*, to excite the inhabitants there to the continuance of the war, and to concert the military operations of the ensuing year. After mature deliberation it was agreed, that the *Bolognese* should first attempt to reduce all the towns and castles in the *Modenese* territory, and then march to recover those which *Frederick* had taken from his holiness in the *Romagna*. This heroic resolution was dictated chiefly by the hopes of renown which they were to acquire, by being the deliverers and protectors of the church. They were, perhaps, likewise influenced by the bad state of the emperor's affairs in *Lombardy*. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the affairs of the *Bolognese* were, at this time, in a very prosperous condition; and their podesta, in the beginning of *May* this year, marched against the *Modenese* *Bishop of* Bologna *created a cardinal.*

Success of the Bolognese, *neſe* with a very fine army. His firſt acquiſition was the rich abbey and territory of *Nouantola*, which ſubmitted to him. He then reduced *Panſani* and *San Ceſaric*, and demoliſhed them by the advice of cardinal *Octavian*. He then paſſed the *Scultemna*, and triumphantly entered the *Romagna*, where he reduced *Dulci* and *Foligni*, and then marched againſt *Imola*; the inhabitants of which, being in no condition to reſiſt, propoſed an accommodation, which was granted them on the following terms; "that the *Imoleſe* ſhould be at peace with the *Bologneſe*, and ſurrender to them their city, which the *Bologneſe* were to preſerve as long as the *Imoleſe* continued in their obedience to the holy ſee." The reader is to obſerve, that during this expedition, and probably in former ones, a committee of councils and magiſtrates of *Bologna* attended the army, with full powers to act for the whole, becauſe no capitulation or agreement was valid till ratified by them. On this occaſion, therefore, a general and ſpecial council with the attending magiſtrates, were ſummoned in the camp, where the articles that had been ſworn to by the podeſta were confirmed. From *Imola* the *Bologneſe* army marched to *Faenza*, *Bagnacavalli*, *Forim Popoli*, and *Forli*, and obliged the inhabitants of all thoſe cities to take an oath of obedience to the church, and the city of *Bologna*; a proof that, notwithſtanding their zeal for the pope, they durſt not loſe ſight of either their own importance or intereſt. They even obliged all thoſe, and many other places, to accept of *Bologneſe* podeſtas, governors, and garriſons. They then marched towards the ſea-coaſt againſt *Cervia*, a place famous for its ſalt-

who take Cervi. works. The *Cervians* were obliged to ſubmit, as the other cities had done, and conſented, not only to furniſh the *Bologneſe* with ſalt for ten years, at a certain price, but to diſpoſe of none to any other ſtate or people. In ſhort, during this campaign, the *Bologneſe* reduced all the *Romagna*; and though [a] the particular capitulations they made with each city are not now extant in their records, yet there can be no doubt as to the fact; becauſe an ancient law, ſtill in force in that city, commands the *Imoleſe* "to perform their engagements with their neighbours, in the ſame manner they uſed to perform them before the *Bologneſe* reduced the *Romagna*, in the podeſtate of *Boniface*." About the middle of *September*, *Boniface* being about to return with his army to *Bologna*, obliged the *Imoleſe* magiſtrates again to ſwear that they would fight for the *Bologneſe* againſt all their enemies, but eſpecially againſt the emperor *Frederick*.

[a] Sigonius, pag. 118.

In the year 1249, *Philippo Ugo* was podesta of *Bologna*, when a civil discord broke out between the two principal families, the *Briti* and the *Minduli*, which the podesta was afraid might be of service to the imperial interest. He therefore ordered the heads of both families to repair to *Bologna*, where he obliged them to swear, that they would obey his orders till the first of *January* ensuing; to find twenty good and sufficient sureties for the performance, and not to leave the city but by his permission. A public act then passed, that *Medicina*, and two thirds of *Argelata*, should from thenceforth be considered as part of the *Bolognese* territory; that the inhabitants should be subject to public duties, in the same manner as their other towns and castles; and that if they should remove to *Bologna*, they should not enjoy the privileges of the city, but be ranked with the inhabitants of the places they came from.

The affairs of the emperor in *Lombardy*, continued still to wear a very bad aspect. In the beginning of the year he attempted to rebuild *Victoria*, but was obliged again to abandon it, to the great joy of the *Parmesans*. The pope, after the council of *Lions*, had offered the empire of *Germany* to several princes; but at last it was accepted of by *William*, count of *Holland*, whom almost half of *Germany* recognized. The emperor's interest, however, continued to be supported by his son the king of the *Romans*. The pope, according to most authors, sought to deprive him of life, as well as empire; and for that purpose had bribed his chancellor, chief counsellor, and favourite *Peter de Vignes*, and his first physician, to poison him. But *Frederick* having the good fortune to detect the conspiracy, put the physician to death, and ordered his chancellor's eyes to be put out; upon which he beat his brains out at *Pisa*, to prevent a more cruel death from the *Pisans*, who were his mortal enemies. The truth of this conspiracy, however, is very questionable; and it is more probable, that *de Vignes* fell a sacrifice to the intrigues of courtiers (A). Whatever may be in this, it is certain that his holiness found means to oblige *Frederick* to leave *Lombardy* to the care of *Entius*, and to go to *Naples*. Cardinal *Octavian*, who was

Frederick goes to Naples.

(A) The chronicle of *Francis Pipini*, an author of credit, who wrote soon after this time, and was himself a native of *Bologna*, takes no notice of this story about the poisoning, but seems to suppose, that *de Vignes* had been provoked to some infidelity against the emperor, by the latter's stripping him of his money; of which, as we have seen, *Frederick* stood in great need. Vide *Muratori*, tom. ix. p. 660.

an active agent for the pope, improved that opportunity for ſpiriting up the *Bologneſe* in favour of the holy ſee. By his perſuaſion, *Simon Manfredi*, whom the *Gibelins* had expelled from *Reggio*, ſurpriſed the caſtles of *Novo*, *Arola*, and *San Stefano*, lying within that territory; and aſſembling all the *Guelphs*, who had been baniſhed from thence, he put ſtrong garriſons into them all. *Entius*, upon this, laid ſiege to *Arola*, and having taken it, he hanged all the garriſon, by way of terror to the other *Guelphs*. Cardinal *Octavian* now redoubled his applications, to make the *Bologneſe* ſenſible, how favourable the opportunity was for irretrievably ruining the imperial intereſt in *Lombardy*. He repreſented both *Frederick* and *Entius* as weak and diſpirited, by repeated loſſes and diſgraces, and gained ſo much credit, that the *Bologneſe* reſolved to exert all their force againſt them. But they proceeded cautiouſly, by keeping their reſolution ſecret, and ſending private orders for aſſembling all their friends and dependents in the *Romagna*, and the marquiſate of *Ancona*. The fineſt army that *Bologna* had ever ſeen, was raiſed; and the ſtandard of ſtate was carried to the field, accompanied by cardinal *Octavian*, the whole being commanded by *Philip* the podeſta. The *Modeneſe* applied to *Entius* for relief; and he immediately aſſembled all the troops he could raiſe amongſt the *Pavians*, *Cremoneſe*, and the *Reggians*, with the *Ferrareſe*, and *Parmeſan Gibelins*, and his *German* ſoldiers, who compoſed the flower of his army. The diſpoſition of the *Bologneſe* troops ſufficiently indicated that they intended to attack *Modena* itſelf; and they might have been diſtreſſed in their march, had it not been for the backwardneſs of the *Gibelins* in joining *Entius*. Being arrived at *Modena*, he was in hopes that he might be able to diſpute the paſſage of the *Scultenna* with his enemies, and accordingly marched towards that river; but when he arrived at it, he found the *Bologneſe* had begun their paſſage at a place called the *Deep ditch*, where, ſtung with rage and diſappointment, he immediately attacked his enemy on the 23d of *May*. The battle continued with various ſucceſs for about twelve hours; but, at laſt, the *Modeneſe* were entirely defeated, only a few of them eſcaping to the wood, and back to their capital, which was about three miles diſtant from the place of action. This victory of the *Bologneſe* was the more illuſtrious by the capture of *Entius* himſelf, and *Boſo Douaria*, governor of *Cremona*. *Guido*, governor of *Reggio*, in endeavouring to eſcape, was ſuffocated in a common ſewer. *Gerardo Pio* and *Thomaſini Gorſano*, the heads of the *Modeneſe* nobility, were made priſoners near their capital, together with a great number

King Entius defeated and taken by the Bolognese,

her both of cavalry and infantry; so that, upon the whole, this victory of the *Bolognese* was the most complete of any that had been obtained during the course of that long and bloody war.

who return home;

THE cardinal and podesta of *Bologna* judged it adviseable, as their soldiers were loaded with booty, and encumbered with prisoners, to return to *Bologna*, which they entered with all the pomp of an ancient triumph, attended by pageants and captives. The noblest object, however, was the person of *Entius* himself, who was not above twenty-five years of age, but exceeding in tallness and gracefulness of figure all his cotemporaries; so that his fate drew tears from the soldiers as he passed along. The captives were thrown into prison, and a law was enacted, that *Entius* should never be set free, but be maintained, during his life-time, at the public charge. It was decreed at the same time, that as this signal victory was obtained on *St. Austin*'s day, that the *Augustine* nuns, who lived without the gates of *Ravenna*, should receive for ever on that day one hundred measures of corn.

and take Modena *by capitulation,*

THE rejoicings for this victory being finished, the *Bolognese* turned their thoughts towards the conquest of *Modena* itself, which now appeared practicable. For this purpose, cardinal *Octavian* and the magistrates secretly engaged the *Parmesans* to attack *Reggio*, while they besieged *Modena*, that the one city might not be able to afford any assistance to the other. Accordingly, in the beginning of *September*, both cities were besieged. The *Bolognese* were joined by the *Modenese* exiles; and their army, which was very numerous, was well provided with all necessaries for a siege, particularly a large train of battering engines; so that they soon obliged the *Modenese* to shut themselves up within their walls, which they prepared to defend to the last extremity. The *Bolognese* not being very expert in the art of besieging towns, tried all means to provoke their enemies to give them battle, by treating them with scoffs and opprobrious language; burning their suburbs, and, by the help of their engines, throwing the carcasses of dead animals into their city, particularly that of an ass, which fell into one of the principal wells of the city. This indignity exasperated the besieged so much, that they could be no longer contained within their walls; but made a sally, in which they took the engine which had discharged the carcass of the ass, and carried it in triumph into the city. The *Bolognese* then had recourse to mining, by which the besieged were so much distressed, that they were obliged to listen to the terms offered to them by the cardinal and the podesta of *Bologna*. Proper deputies being named on both sides, about the middle of *September* the capitulation was

ſettled, in the following manner, at the town-houſe of *Modena*:

"THAT there ſhould be a perpetual league and friendſhip between the communities of *Modena* and *Bologna*; that they ſhould, for ever, have the ſame friends and enemies; that the *Modeneſe* ſhould, in peace and war, aſſiſt cardinal *Octavian*, the pope's legate, againſt all perſons; that they ſhould make no alliance with any other people, without conſent of the ſaid cardinal, if preſent, or the podeſta of *Bologna* for the time being, and the *Antiani* of the people, and the conſuls of merchants and ſilverſmiths for the time being, and the community of *Bologna*. All the places deſtroyed on the other ſide the *Scultemna*, were to remain demoliſhed for ever; and even the places undemoliſhed, were to be demoliſhed if the *Bologneſe* ſhould think proper. The inhabitants were allowed to rebuild their dwelling-houſes, but not upon ſpots where caſtles had formerly ſtood. If *Frederick*, the depoſed emperor, or any other for him, within the territory of *Reggio* and *Modena*, ſhould attempt to regain *Modena*, then ſuch a number of *Modeneſe* as the cardinal, the podeſta, and the other magiſtrates of *Bologna*, ſhall think proper, ſhall, at the expence of the community of *Modena*, repair to *Bologna*, or its territory, there to remain eight days after ſuch an attempt ſhall be made. The community of *Modena* ſhall reſtore to ſuch as were citizens of *Bazano*, at the time that place ſurrendered to the *Bologneſe*, all their eſtates: the *Modeneſe* ſhall likewiſe ſuffer a canal of water to be carried through their territory to the *Scultemna*, and mills to be built upon the ſame. The *Modeneſe Guelphs*, who reſide within or without the city, were to chooſe ſuch a podeſta from amongſt the *Bologneſe*, as ſhould be recommended to them by the cardinal, the podeſta, the *Antiani*, and the conſuls of *Bologna*; or thoſe within the city were to chooſe one, and thoſe without it another; or the cardinal, and others of the *Bologneſe* magiſtrates were to name one or two conſuls, as they thought proper, for the government of *Modena*. Thoſe governors of the city, caſtles, and poſts, who ſhould be ſent to the *Modeneſe* by the cardinal and other magiſtrates of *Bologna*, were to be maintained at the expence of the community of *Modena*; and the ſaid caſtles and poſts might be at any time viſited by the cardinal and magiſtrates of *Bologna*, and receive ſuch governors, as ſhould be by them appointed. The *Modeneſe Guelphs* were to be reſtored to their country and eſtates. A reconciliation was to be effected between them and the *Graſulfori*, or the *Gibelins*, upon ſuch terms as the cardinal and the magiſtrates of *Bologna* ſhould preſcribe. On the other hand, the community of *Bologna* were to be at peace with that of *Modena*, and with the *Modeneſe*

deneſe Gibelins, for ever, and to defend them againſt all other perſons, but with a ſalvo to the *Longobardic* league. Both parties were to be maintained in the city; and if the one ſhould expel the other, the latter was to be reſtored by the *Bologneſe*, who were to puniſh the tranſgreſſors. The *Modeneſe* were to have the rights of gathering the fruits of their lands beyond the *Scultemna*, in the ſame manner as formerly. The *Modeneſe* were to have the ſame ſuperiority over *Nouantola*, as they had before that place came under the juriſdiction of the *Bologneſe*; but they were not to moleſt the inhabitants of *Nouantola* for their revolt. The *Bologneſe* were to do their endeavours, that the *Modeneſe* ſhould not be diſturbed in the enjoyment of their tithes, fees, and improvements of ground, of which they were debarred by the pope's bull, for their adherence to *Frederick*. All the eccleſiaſtical eſtates which they had loſt by the papal bulls, were to be reſtored to the *Modeneſe* clergy. All the *Ferrareſe* captives, who had been taken in the late battle, or during the ſiege, were to be ſet at liberty without ranſom, as were all the *Bologneſe* priſoners; and the *Modeneſe* captives were, in like manner, to be ſet free. The peace was to be ratified by the community and people of *Parma*, *Milan*, the other *Longobardic* ſtates and cities, and, laſtly, by the pope himſelf."

THE peace being thus concluded by the plenipotentiaries on both ſides, it was ſolemnly confirmed by their publickly embracing one another. The diſpute concerning the property of *Frignano*, which both ſtates claimed, remained ſtill to be adjuſted, which it was by the interpoſition of the *Parmeſans*, who favoured the *Modeneſe*. They propoſed, that *Seſtola* ſhould be given up to the *Bologneſe*, but that the other places of *Frignano* ſhould remain with the *Modeneſe*; and that if any diſpute ſhould hereafter happen on that account, the ſame ſhould be referred to an umpire, who was to be choſen by the pope. About the middle of *December*, the agents of *Bologna* and *Modena*, in the preſence of cardinal *Octavian* and the biſhop of *Bologna*, promiſed, under a certain penalty, to ſubmit to *San Vitelli*, the deputy of *Parma*, and the ſyndics of the ſame city, all the diſpute between the *Bologneſe* and the *Modeneſe*, concerning the poſſeſſion of *Frignano*; and this agreement was, within two days, ratified by the common council of *Modena*, which ſoon after was freed from the interdict that had been laid upon it by his holineſs. *which is ratified.*

THE family of *Manfredi*, about this time, ſurprized *Faenza*, through the negligence of the *Bologneſe* within, who were puniſhed accordingly; but the *Bologneſe* perſiſted obſtinately in their oppoſition to the emperor; for when *Frederick* *Revolutions in Italy.*

heard of his ſon's captivity, he wrote a letter, filled with menaces againſt the *Bologneſe*, if they did not inſtantly ſet him at liberty. They treated his threatnings with great contempt, and they ſerved to render the unhappy prince's fate ſtill more deplorable, by his being more ſtrictly confined than before. In the year 1250, *Ricardo* was podeſta of *Bologna*, and cardinal *Octavian*, who ſeems then to have had great ſway in the direction of public affairs, was very active in extinguiſhing the remains of family diſſentions amongſt the citizens. The people of *Parma* had, for ſome years, been ſo much diſtreſſed by famine, that their city loſt a vaſt number of its inhabitants, who were forced to ſettle elſewhere: but it was now generouſly relieved by the *Bologneſe*; for though it was on all ſides beſet with *Gibelin* enemies, who waited to intercept all their convoys of proviſions, yet the *Bologneſe* not only purchaſed for their uſe a large quantity of corn, but eſcorted it to their territory with their own army, and delivered it to that of the *Parmeſans*, which waited to receive it. In the mean time the *Reggians* burnt the ſuburbs of *Nuova*, and took *Campagniola*, carrying off with them a number of priſoners, and a great booty in cattle. About the ſame time *Ugo San Vitelli* ſurprized *Carpi*, a town belonging to the *Modeneſe*, on the canal of the *Secchia*, by the favour of the archbiſhop. Upon this the *Modeneſe* declared war, and obliged the *Carpians* to expel *Ugo*, and both parties within the place to renew their oath of allegiance.

Death of the emperor Frederick.

THE emperor *Frederick* remained ſtill in *Naples*, and, from threatenings, he now deſcended to intreaties and offers for the delivery of his ſon. It is even ſaid, that he offered for his ranſom a circle of gold that ſhould ſurround the city of *Bologna*. This ſtory, however, carries its own confutation with it: the offer itſelf was ridiculous, and the *Bologneſe*, who knew that emperor's neceſſities and want of money, muſt have treated the propoſal with contempt. It is certain, that the *Bologneſe* obſtinately refuſed to depart from their reſolution of never giving their royal priſoner his liberty; and that he died under his confinement twenty-two years after. *Frederick* is ſaid to have been buſied in making preparations for reſcuing his beloved ſon by force, when he died on the 13th of *December*, this year, in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age. In the year 1251, while *Boniface*, of *Breſcia*, was podeſta of *Bologna*, many excellent laws paſſed, to preſerve the inhabitants of the open country of *Bologna* in a due ſubordination, by inſtituting amongſt them new courts of juſtice, and appointing proper judges, who were to hold courts certain days in the year, eſpecially on thoſe of their annual fairs.

WE

WE have, in the history of *Florence*, treated of the general revolutions which happened in *Italy*, after the death of *Frederick* II. Pope *Innocent*, who had for some years resided at *Lions*, under the protection of the *French* king, who revered his character, while he condemned his ambition, no sooner heard of that great event, than he came to *Genoa*, where he was waited upon by deputations from all the cities of the *Longobardic* league; and, amongst the rest, by those of *Modena*, who not only sent their deputies, but their *Bolognese* podesta *Andali*, to pay him their compliments. It soon appeared that their real business was to complain of the *Bolognese* still keeping possession of part of the province of *Frignano*; and in an audience they had of the pope on the 15th of *June*, they requested of his holiness to do them justice in that matter, by injoining the deputies of *Frignano*, who were then present, to return to their ancient allegiance. The pope returned no answer to their complaints, but proceeded to *Milan*, where he took measures for strengthening the league. From thence he went to *Mantua*, and then to *Ferrara*, where he made a solemn harangue to the people, in which he claimed that city as his own property, and exhorted the citizens to unanimity. From *Ferrara* he went to *Bologna*, where he was met without the gates by a solemn procession of the magistrates and citizens, preceded by their standard of state, and followed by great numbers of the other inhabitants. His holiness took up his lodging in the episcopal palace, and his cardinals resided in the houses of the *Prendiparte* and the *Rangone*. Next day he bestowed the signal honour on the city of *Bologna*, of consecrating two new-built churches, one belonging to the *Dominicans*, or preaching friars, the other to the *Franciscans*, or minor friars. Those orders, though but lately instituted, were of signal service to the holy see, and are justly termed its militia. Though both the founders and the institutions of them differed in their manners and doctrines, yet each vied with the other in their zeal for the service of the popes, who politically winked at their differences, that they might increase their devotion to their see. After this consecration, the two founders were chosen by the *Bolognese* to be their tutelar saints, and their members were not only caressed in private families, but had a great sway with the magistrates themselves, who privately consulted with them upon their public measures.

Complaints of the Modenese.

The pope's proceedings in Bologna.

AFTER eight days stay at *Bologna*, the pope having ordered *Boso Douaria*, of *Cremona*, to be delivered from prison, left *Bologna* in some disgust with the citizens, who, presuming on the merit of their services done to the holy see, had gar-

riſoned *Medicina*; and had given his holineſs to underſtand, that they expected he would confirm them in the poſſeſſion of it. Being arrived at *Perugia*, he wrote a letter to the council and podeſta, deſiring that the friars penitents, a ſort of out-lying brothers, belonging to the two orders of the ſaints *Dominic* and *Francis*, and not confined within any abbey or religious houſe, ſhould be exempted from military labours, and all the duties of the field, which was accordingly enacted, upon their names being properly entered in the public regiſters. This year the *Bologneſe* preſented their podeſta *Boniface*, as a mark of their approbation of his conduct, with the freedom of their city; and he, and his family, accordingly fixed their reſidence at *Bologna*.

The Lombardic *confederacy renewed.*

IN the year 1252, while *Henry Morra* was podeſta, cardinal *Octavian*, the pope's legate, ſummoned at *Breſcia* a meeting of deputies from all the confederate ſtates in *Lombardy*, the *Romagna*, and all the other places of *Italy*, in the pope's intereſt, and *Henrigetto Caſtelli* and *Petrizolo Ocelletti*, attended on the part of the *Bologneſe*. The purpoſe of this meeting was to renew the confederacy, and the deputies accordingly ſwore to the ſame in expreſs terms. At the ſame time they agreed to a propoſal made by the legate, for raiſing ſix hundred men at arms, the expence to be proportionably defrayed by the ſtates and cities of the confederacy. The number to be raiſed by the *Bologneſe* amounted to ſixty men at arms; but every man at arms was a gentleman, and of thoſe ſixty, forty-three brought three well-mounted horſemen to the field, and each of the remaining ſeventeen brought two; ſo that the whole number of horſe which the *Bologneſe* were to maintain was two hundred and twenty-two, the expence of which amounted annually to four thouſand marks of *Bologna*. Thoſe horſe were to be under the direction of the pope's legate; and half of them were to be in continual ſervice on one ſide of the *Po*, and half on the other.

New regulations in Bologna.

ABOUT this time the *Benedictine* monks in the *Mantuan*, brought an action before his holineſs againſt the community of *Bologna*, for having demoliſhed the town of *San Ceſario*, the church of which they had received from *Innocent* II. but as this demolition was ordered by the pope's legate, and was then thought to be neceſſary for the affairs of the confederacy, the pope ordered the monks to drop the proſecution. About the 21ſt of *July* that ſame year, it was enacted by the council of *Bologna*, that a podeſta and a governor, to be choſen in the ſame manner as their ordinary magiſtrates were, ſhould be every ſix months ſent to *Caſtel Franco*. The method of that choice was, that three electors were choſen by lot out of

of the council, and those three electors named the magistrates. The same precaution was taken with regard to *Imola*, and other places in the *Bolognese*, with a view probably that those magistrates should not continue long enough in office to form cabals against the state, and to shake off their dependency upon their constituents, as happened in most other parts of *Italy*. The city of *Milan*, at this time, was torn by domestick factions; and having deposed all their magistrates, they chose for their podesta *Beno Gozani* of *Bologna*, as the *Siennese* did *Bagnolo*, another *Bolognese*, for their general, and he served them with great success against the *Florentines*.

Examples of public justice.

In the year 1253, during the podestates of *Petro Grilli*, who lived but three months in office, and *Allemanno Torriano*, a confederacy was formed between the *Bolognese* and the people of *Ravenna*, which gave the *Bolognese* great influence in that city; for they were made the guarantees of all its rights and territories, and admitted into all its immunities. Some of the towns having made interest with *Grilli* to be excused from public services, the council of *Bologna* ordered that all such dispensations should thenceforth be void. This year was likewise remarkable for some eminent examples of public justice. *Raineri*, the gonfalonier, and *Peter Asinelli*, a *Bolognese* of great interest, being convicted of having suffered a *German* nobleman, who had been made prisoner along with *Entius*, to escape, the former was punished by death, and the latter by exile, and the estates of both were confiscated. One *Peter Sagino* about the same time confessed, that he had thrown his grandson into a well, where he was drowned, and suffered death by being shut up within a vessel stuck in the inside with iron nails, which was rolled about in the streets till he expired. In the year 1254, *Uberto Uzeni*, of *Milan*, being podesta, a war broke out between the *Cervians* and the *Bolognese*, upon the former refusing to fulfil the salt contract they had entered into with the latter, to whom it was very beneficial. The *Bolognese* having raised an army, the *Cervians* fled to the *Venetians* for protection, which was readily granted them, and an armament was ordered to be fitted out for that purpose. The *Bolognese*, however, being first in the field, defeated all the intentions of the *Venetians*, and obliged the *Cervians* once more to submit. The latter were now considered by the *Bologheſe* as a conquered country, and part of their own dominion, and they sent a podesta to govern them in the same manner as they did to their other towns. Great part of the year was spent in religious processions; and a law passed, that the podesta should annually, attended by the council, solemnly present wax tapers in the chief

chief churches of *Bologna*. Great sums were likewise expended in repairing and rebuilding churches, and other religious edifices. The city of *Bologna*, at this time, exercised a right of superiority over that of *Modena*, whose two consuls disagreeing between themselves, this year resigned their office. In the year 1255, while *Ricardo Villa* was podesta, the government of *Bologna* underwent a material alteration, by admitting of a popular podesta, who had the cognizance of all affairs relating to the commons, the power of the other podesta being confined to the council or the nobles. Thus the government of *Bologna* was partly aristocratical, and partly democratical. This new officer was termed the captain of the people [a], though chosen by the authority of the council. The first nominated was *Giordano Lucio*. *Sigonius*, however, [b] is of opinion, that this office was only a renewal of that of the ancient popular prefect. The podesta had jurisdiction over all the city, and presided in the common councils; but the captain of the people had the command of the army, presided in the councils of the people, and administered justice at the head of the *Antiani*, of whom he was, in fact, no other than the president.

Alteration in the Bolognese *government.*

An arbitration concerning Frignano.

THE affair of *Frignano* was still in dependence between the *Modenese* and the *Bolognese*, and, by consent of both, at last it was referred to *Giberto de Gente*, the podesta of *Parma*. About the 20th of *May* he sent messengers to *Bologna*, to require the podesta *Ricardo*, the *Antiani*, and the council, either to relinquish *Frignano* to the *Modenese*, or to send procurators to *Parma*, properly authorized, and there to stand the award of the podesta. The *Bolognese* did not chuse to comply with this summons, and sent agents to *Modena*, offering to compromise the matter without the intervention of the sentence of a foreign tribunal. The *Modenese*, however, refused to hear any proposal of that kind; upon which the *Bolognese* sent a deputation, to request the podesta of *Parma* to delay passing sentence. This request was judged to be nugatory; and the *Parmesan* podesta sent a fresh summons, requiring *Ricardo* and the *Bolognese* to appear before him by their procurators or proxies by a certain day, and to answer to the charge brought by the *Modenese*. Upon this, when the time was almost elapsed, *Ricardo*, and the council of *Bologna*, being afraid that judgment would go against them, commissioned *Bartolomeo Picciolpassi* to repair to *Modena*, and there to apply to the podestas and the council to revoke the

[a] Capitaneus Populi. SIGONIUS, p. 125. [b] SIGONIUS, ibid.

arbi-

arbitration, and to recal their proxies from *Parma*, that the matters in debate might be amicably terminated. He was likewiſe inſtructed, if this requeſt ſhould be denied, to inſiſt upon the *Modeneſe* demoliſhing their caſtles on the other ſide of the *Scultenna*, as had been agreed by treaty. He then was to go to *Parma*, and again to requeſt the podeſta and council there, to defer pronouncing ſentence, and to appoint a ſafe place for the *Bologneſe* deputies to appear in; which they did not conceive they could do at *Parma*, becauſe they were in danger of being intercepted by the *Reggians*. The procurator executed his commiſſion with the greateſt punctuality at *Modena*, by applying to the podeſta, the council of the *Antiani*, and the other tribunals there; but all was to no purpoſe. Next day he ſet out for *Parma*, where he applied to *Giberto* the podeſta, who told him that he muſt deliberate upon the matter; and, after various trifling adjournments, the *Modeneſe* inſiſting upon his pronouncing ſentence immediately. *Giberto* rejected the petition of the *Bologneſe* for adjourning the place; and told them, that there was no reaſon to be afraid of the *Reggians*. The deputy was confounded at this harſh treatment, and demanded, that the podeſta ſhould aſſemble a general and ſpecial council, which requeſt was flatly denied him. At laſt, about the middle of *Auguſt*, a general council only being convoked, the proxies of the two cities, *Bologna* and *Modena*, were ſummoned; and the *Modeneſe* only appearing, the podeſta pronounced the following ſentence: "We, *Giberto de Gente*, podeſta of *Parma*, arbiter between the community of *Bologna* and that of *Modena*, in the diſpute concerning *Frignano*, having duly obſerved the ſolemnities of law, pronounce, that *Frignano*, its inhabitants, towns, places, juriſdictions, belong to the community of *Modena*; and that, without the ſmalleſt exception, they ought to be given up by the community of *Bologna*. We likewiſe command the ſaid community of *Bologna* to evacuate the ſame within the ſpace of one month, otherwiſe they ſhall pay the penalty expreſſed in the compromiſe."

A. D. 1256.

ABOUT this time the *Manfredi* again got the upper hand at *Faenza*, and were commanded by the *Bologneſe* to fill up the ditches of their city. This they complied with; but on the 1ſt of *January*, 1256, *Manfredi Marengo* of *Aleſſandria* being podeſta of the council of *Bologna*, and *Giordano Lucino* captain of the people, the *Faventines* again broke out into tumults, which were headed by the counts *Azo* and *Rogerio*, in the town of *Bagnacavalli*. Upon this, *Giordano* ſummoned a council of the people, where it was debated, whether an army ſhould not immediately be ſent againſt the *Faventines*. This queſ-

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queſtion was carried in the negative; but the people bound themſelves by an oath to drive the *Faventines* from *Faenza*, unleſs they gave up that city, and *Bagnacavalli* likewiſe, to them that very month; and orders were given, in the mean while, to raiſe an army, which ſhould be ready to take the field in the ſpring, in caſe the *Faventines* ſhould continue to be refractory. This oath was ſworn, in the preſence of the people, by *Viviano*, their common cryer. That very day *Manfredi*, the podeſta, held a general and ſpecial council upon the ſame affair; and the queſtion being put, the members came to a reſolution to ſtand by a decree of the people, which was read in both aſſemblies. This reſolution being divulged, the *Bagnacavallians* were ſo daunted, that, on the 28th of *January*, they ſent a deputy to *Bologna* with a formal ſurrender of the town to the podeſta, and the captain of the people there. Upon this, the *Bologneſe* received *Bagnacavalli* into their protection and government, aſſigning it a podeſta and a garriſon, with free acceſs to the magiſtracy and council of *Bologna*, as often as they ſhould have occaſion to apply, either for their better government, or redreſs of their grievances. On the 1ſt of *February*, *Manfredi* again aſſembled a general and ſpecial council, which ratified all that had been done by the people in the affair of *Bagnacavalli*, ſo far as was conſiſtent with the laws of the ſtate, and the oath of the podeſta. In the ſame month, the captain of the people made his report of the manner of government of the *Bagnacavallians*. It was agreed, that twelve pieces of paper, diſtinguiſhed by a certain mark, ſhould be put into a balloting-box, with as many other pieces of paper as (including the twelve) there were members of the council, the *Antiani*, conſuls, and prefects; that every one of them ſhould draw a piece of paper, and they who drew the twelve marked pieces were to be the electors of the podeſta of *Bagnacavalli*; but the whole proceeding was to be under the controul of the general and ſpecial council of *Bologna*; but ſtill with a ſalvo to the laws of the ſtate.

Method of electing magiſtrates.

Letter of the Faventines *to the* Bologneſe.

In the mean while, the *Faventines*, being diſtracted with civil animoſities, on the 25th of *February* wrote the following letter to the magiſtracy of *Bologna*. "To the podeſta, the "captain of the people, the *Antiani*, the conſuls of the city "of *Bologna*, the council and community of *Bologna*, *William* "*Goſo*, the podeſta, and *Rainerio Liazari*, the captain of the "people of *Faenza*, their council and community, wiſh "public proſperity. Relying upon your power and wiſdom, "and conſidering you as our lords, we fly to you, at a time "when one part of our city rages for the deſtruction of the "other

"other part, and ſeems prepared to reduce our ſtate to total "deſtruction; begging of you, as being our fathers and maſ- "ters, to give us aſſiſtance, and to relieve the city of *Faenza*, "which is your own. You may be aſſured, that we are fully "intentioned to obey whatever you ſhall command, and we "beg you to receive this city into your protection and ſub- "jection; which if you ſhall delay to do, we are utterly un- "done."

THIS very extraordinary letter created ſome difficulties in *Bologna*, and a demur was made about anſwering it; ſo that no army was directly ordered to march for *Faenza*. This gave an opportunity for the *Manfredi* to expel the *Acariſii* and the podeſta *Goſo* out of *Faenza*; while *Rogerio* made himſelf maſter of *Bagnacavalli*, by which it was ſecured to the *Bolognese*. About the middle of *March*, *Odorico Abaluffi*, upon whom the election of the podeſtate of *Bagnacavalli* had fallen, received that town into the protection of the podeſta, and the general and ſpecial council of *Bologna*, together with a power of exerciſing juriſdiction there, equally as at *Bologna*, in public and private cauſes, and in commanding armies and expeditions, in the ſame manner as the community of *Bologna* did within their own territory.

BONACURSIO, of *Milan*, ſucceeded *Giordano* as captain of the people of *Bologna*; and, during his podeſtate, on the 28th of *March*, an ambaſſador came from *Azo*, marquis of *Eſte*, demanding a great council to be called, which was accordingly very formally complied with. The ambaſſador, being introduced into it, made vaſt profeſſions of his maſter's affection towards the *Bolognese*; but inſiſted upon ſome immediate reſolution being taken concerning *Faenza*, and that an ultimate ſettlement ſhould be made of that ſtate. This propoſition was far from being agreeable to the *Bolognese*, who voted, not to depart from their ordinary forms of public proceeding; but to take the *Faventines* under their protection, if they ſhould voluntarily ſubmit themſelves, if it ſeemed proper to the general council, the *Antiani*, and the conſuls. This meſſage from the marquis of *Eſte* ſeems to have been deſigned to weaken the power of the nobility in *Bologna*, by taking from them the privilege of judging in the laſt reſort, by throwing the ſame into the ſcale of popular power. When the reſolution of the *Bolognese* was known at *Faenza* and *Bagnacavalli*, the councils of both places appointed one *Beltali*, a lawyer, to be their procurator, for ſubmitting to *Bonacurſio* all complaints of injuries, breaches of the peace, loſſes, and damages between *Manfredi* and the community of *Faenza*, on the

complied with.

matter being agreed on, another general council was ſummoned on the 23d of *Auguſt*, where the podeſta and the captain declared, that the price to be paid for all ſlaves, at or above the age of fourteen, ſhould be ten marks each, and eight marks for thoſe who were under that age; that the ſaid money ſhould be paid to their maſters at three different payments; that the ſlaves, thus freed, ſhould be enrolled as above, and ſubject to public duties, as free citizens. *Sigonius* acquaints us, that in his time the names of all ſlaves, thus enrolled, were ſtill to be read in the public regiſters. Though this muſt be acknowledged to have been a very public-ſpirited meaſure, and muſt have greatly added to the ſtrength of the ſtate; yet it was a ſevere blow upon the nobility, and could not fail of laying the land-holders under great difficulties: add to this, that ſome of the free peaſants had reaſon for complaining, that they had been obliged to purchaſe with money the ſame privileges that their ſlaves had received for nothing.

The Bologneſe threatened by the pope.

THE arbitration that had been pronounced by *Giberto*, podeſta of *Parma*, againſt the *Bologneſe* in the affair of *Frignano*, had never yet been executed by them; and the *Modeneſe*, at this time, plied the pope with daily ſolicitations that he would confirm the award. His holineſs, therefore, iſſued his bull, directed to the biſhop of *Mantua*, acquainting him of the complaint of the podeſta and community of *Modena*, together with the contumacy of the *Bologneſe*; and requiring him, that, without further appeal, he ſhould compel the *Bologneſe* to fulfil the terms of the award, under the penalty expreſſed in the agreement; but that he ſhould not lay the univerſity of *Bologna* under any eccleſiaſtical cenſure, without an expreſs order from him for that purpoſe. This year the Friars Penitent, which now began to make a conſiderable figure, were received and entertained in *Bologna*; and the magiſtrates and people there ſhewed themſelves very generous in relieving the wants of the *Florentines*, the *Lucqueſe*, and other *Tuſcan* ſtates, which were preſſed with famine.

The regulations ratified.

IN the year 1267, *Bonacurſio* of *Sutri* was podeſta, and *Gregorio Freddo* captain of the people. In a ſpecial general council held in *March*, the affair between the *Bologneſe* and *Bagnacavallians*, concerning their reciprocal indemnification, and the ſubjection of the latter to the former was reſumed, and *Bonacurſio* pronounced ſentence, that each people ſhould thenceforth conſult the good and the intereſt of the other; that they ſhould have the ſame friends and enemies; that the *Bagnacavallians* ſhould have in readineſs the arms and horſes they were

to

to furnish as long as the *Bolognese* should think proper; that they were not to open their ditches without consent of the people of *Bologna*; that they were to have a free trade every where, but that they should not dispose of their corn to any but to the *Bolognese*. In *June* this year, a public law passed, which appears to be not a little arbitrary with regard to the peasants who had purchased their freedom, and which obliged them to furnish the public every year with a certain quantity of corn. Podestas were, at the same time, appointed for receiving this tax; and they were named podestas of the sack. This law, with others enacted at the same time, were solemnly promulgated in a council of the people regularly summoned.

NOTWITHSTANDING the pope's bull, directed to the bishop of *Mantua*, the *Modenese* had as yet received no satisfaction in the matter of *Frignano*. For this reason they applied to the states of the *Longobardic* league; and they interested themselves so far in their favour, that the *Milanese*, the *Brescians*, the *Mantuans*, the *Ferrarese*, the *Parmesans*, and the *Reggians*, named their deputies, who attended the podesta and deputies of *Modena* to *Bologna*. They had their audience in a general council; but though the suit of the *Modenese* was there very strongly pressed, they could obtain no satisfactory answer. This year the *Bolognese* completed several noble public works. They built a magnificent bridge over the *Reno*, near the ancient *Æmilian* way, and appropriated a large estate for keeping it in repair. The suburbs of the city being now very spacious, the walls and gates of the ancient city were taken down, and all was inclosed within one wall. The *Bolognese* were, at this time, in such high reputation, that the cities of *Genoa*, *Milan*, *Perugia*, and *Modena*, chose their podestas out of *Bologna*. *Alberto Malavolta* was the podesta of *Genoa*; but soon after entering on his magistracy he resigned it, because the popular faction at *Genoa* imposed upon him a colleague, a native of their own state. *Rena Gozana* was podesta of *Milan*; but was publicly put to death, for not being able to give a satisfactory account of the public money.

Public works completed.

THIS year the *Imolese* fell off from their friendship with the *Bolognese*, and seized upon *Monte Catino* by surprize; but the *Bolognese* soon retook it by force of arms. Some difficulties remained with regard to the late regulations, which *Alberto* the bishop of *Bologna* at first refused to ratify; but at last he was persuaded to do it, with a salvo to his episcopal right, and those of his churches. *Sigonius* is of opinion, that the affairs of the *Bolognese* were now in so flourishing a way, that the two famous horse races, which are still continued at *Bologna*,

and races instituted.

logna, were instituted about this time; the first being celebrated on the festival of *St. Peter*, the other on that of *St. Bartholomew*: the victor in the former was rewarded by a scarlet robe; and in the other, by a palfrey and a hawk. At this period the history of *Bologna*, by *Sigonius*, concludes; and it has from henceforth little or nothing that does not fall within the history of the other *Italian* states.

We shall, however, for the sake of order, endeavour to give the reader a general idea of it. The differences between the *Lambertazzi* and the *Jeremies* raged to such a degree in *Bologna*, that no fewer than fifteen thousand of the former were driven out of the city. This diminution of inhabitants, with the civil dissentions that reigned amongst the prevailing party itself, reduced the *Bolognese* so low, that, in the year 1324, they applied to pope *John* XXII. for protection and relief. His holiness sent them a cardinal legate, who bridled them with the citadel of *Galeria*, and exercised the most inhuman cruelties upon them, by murdering or banishing all who were not in his interest; so that, in the year 1334, the *Bolognese* drove him out of their city, and resumed their ancient form of government. Being apprehensive, however, of the legate's return, they chose *Taddeo Pepoli* for their governor; and he obtained a confirmation of his power from *Benedict* XII. who was satisfied with that recognition of his sovereignty. *Pepoli* held his power for about twelve years, and left it to his two sons, *John* and *James*, who, not possessing their father's abilities, sold their government to *John Visconti*, archbishop of *Milan*, who built a new citadel, in which he placed one *John* of *Oliggio* as its governor. This *Oliggio* proved a cruel tyrant; and, about the year 1360, the *Bolognese* returned to the subjection of *Egidio Carillo*, legate to pope *Innocent* VI. This prelate ruled with great moderation; but he was succeeded by another legate, who proved a tyrant, and alienated the *Bolognese* territory, so as to reduce it to less than one half of its original revenue. The *Bolognese*, tired with his government, again revolted, and put themselves under a gonfalonier, sixteen antiani, and twelve tribunes. At the same time they fortified their city, and recovered the rights and possessions they had lost; but, in process of time, they fell under the power of *Bentivoglio*, who is said to have been a descendant of king *Encio*, who died in the prison of *Bologna*. Upon his being murdered, two years after, the citadel was again demolished; and *Galeazzo Visconti* claimed the possession of *Bologna*, in right of the grant which had been made to the archbishop. They soon grew tired of his government, and they again put themselves under the protection of the pope.

Inno-

Innocent VII. named the famous *Balthazar Coſſa*, who was himſelf afterwards pope *John* XXIII. legate of *Bologna*, and he immediately rebuilt the citadel of *Galeria*. Six years after, this legate likewiſe was driven out, the citadel was again demoliſhed, and the people inſtituted a new form of government, from which the nobles were excluded. In the year 1412, the nobles again prevailed; and pope *John* XXIII. arriving at *Bologna*, perſuaded the *Bologneſe* to return to his allegiance. Next year the exiles, who had been driven out under the late revolutions, diſplaced the pope's governor, and again demoliſhed the citadel; but, about the year 1420, they ſubjected themſelves to *Martin* V. upon condition that the citadel never ſhould be rebuilt, and that the people ſhould have the choice of their own magiſtrates. *Martin*, who was a pontiff of great ſpirit, diſliked thoſe conditions; and his legate drove ſix ſcore of the principal inhabitants out of *Bologna*, amongſt whom was *Antonio Galeazzo Bentivoglio*. Thoſe exiles, however, at laſt prevailed againſt the legate, impriſoned him, and choſe a new ſet of magiſtrates. Upon reflection, it was found that the papal government was preferable to any other; and in the year 1429 they received a new legate, who did not continue long in office. In the year 1434, pope *Eugene* IV. ſent them for their legate his nephew, *Marc Condulmiere*, who took ſo great ſtate upon him, that he treated with *Gattamala Malateſta* to introduce foreign troops, and to make himſelf ſovereign. His deſign was ſuſpected by the *Bologneſe*, and he was expelled the city; ſo that they once more returned to their former government. *Eugene*, however, in the year 1437, reduced them to their duty; but his legates behaved ſo ill, that the *Bologneſe* put themſelves under the protection of the famous *Nicholas Piciſino*. He likewiſe, aſpiring to ſovereign power, rebuilt the odious citadel, changed the magiſtracy, and, partly by force, partly through perſuaſion, he had almoſt made himſelf abſolute; when the people, reſuming their ſpirit, drew *Annibal Bentivoglio*, whoſe father had been put to death by one of the legates, out of priſon, and put in his place *Francis Piciſino*, the ſon of *Nicholas*, who had been left by his father to govern them. Again the citadel was demoliſhed; but *Bentivoglio* was himſelf murdered in 1445. The reader, in the hiſtory of *Florence*, will ſee the ſurpriſing revolution which happened after his death.

In the year 1507, that warlike pontiff, *Julius* II. drove the *Bentivoglio* out of *Bologna*, and eſtabliſhed a new form of government under his own and forty hereditary ſenators,

and the citadel was again rebuilt. The *Bologneſe* could not endure the ſight of that hated monument of their ſubjection, and they recalled the *Bentivoglio* family in the year 1511, who put themſelves under the protection of *Lewis* XII. of *France*; but his party declining in *Italy*, the *Bentivoglios* were obliged to retire from *Bologna*.

In the year 1515, pope *Leo* X. re-eſtabliſhed the council of forty ſenators, and renewed the government of the legate. Ever ſince that time the *Bologneſe* are to be conſidered as part of the pope's dominions; but they have the vanity ſtill to boaſt of ſome remains of their ancient liberty, particularly the privilege of not being bridled with a citadel.

END of the History *of* BOLOGNA.

The

The HISTORY of PARMA and PIACENZA, or PLACENTIA.

SECT. I.

Containing the general Deſcription of Parma *and* Piacenza; *with the Hiſtory of the ſame from the Year* 1038 *to* 1309.

THOSE duchies have been always united. Towards the North and Weſt they border upon the *Milaneſe*; towards the South, on the territories of *Genoa*; and Eaſtward, on the duchy of *Modena*. The extent of both is but ſmall, being from Weſt to Eaſt no more than about fifty-ſix *Engliſh* miles in extant, and about forty-four from North to South. The ſoil of both duchies is extremely fertile. The paſtures and cattle are fine. Salt works and minerals every where abound; and in ſome places, particularly towards the *Apennines*, or Highlands, mines of copper and iron have been diſcovered. The revenues of the two duchies amount to about one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling a year. *Parma* itſelf is a large and well peopled city, and divided by a river of the ſame name. Its citadel is ſtrong, though the city itſelf is weak. The ducal palace ſtands on the ſouth ſide of the river, and has a communication by a bridge with the citadel. The greateſt curioſity in *Parma* at preſent is its noble playhouſe, which is built in the form of a *Roman* amphitheatre. Its churches are ſpacious, and arched; and it has an univerſity, together with an academy for the nobility, under the direction of the Jeſuits. Its chief manufactures conſiſt of ſilk, which is fabricated into ſtockings; and the dukedom of *Parma* is famous for containing *Caſtello Guelfo*, which lies on the river *Taro*, and is ſaid to have given name to the party of the *Guelphs*. *Deſcription of* Parma *and* Piacenza.

THE city of *Piacenza*, or *Placentia*, diſputes with *Parma* itſelf the pre-eminence in point of rank. It is moſt delightfully ſituated near the *Po*; and the church of the *Auguſtines* in it, is of the architecture of the famous *Vignola*. Both cities contain within them a great number of other curioſities; and each has ſeveral towns dependent on itſelf.

THE cities of *Parma* and *Placentia*, ſo far as we can trace hiſtory, formed part of the *Roman* empire; and its modern *Their hiſtory.*

history commences from the year 1038, when it was burnt down by *Conrade*, a *Longobardic* prince. The like calamity befel it about the year 1055. Nothing remarkable is recorded of *Parma* for several years after; but according to its chronicle, it suffered many vicissitudes of earthquakes and other public calamities; and in the year 1121, the people of *Parma* defeated those of *Cremona*, and made one thousand three hundred of them prisoners. Soon after they had a war with the *Placentines*, whom they defeated; and in the year 1152, they invaded and subdued the *Reggians*; as next year they did the *Cremonese* and *Placentines*, and took their strong fortress of *Guastalla*. In 1167, the *Placentines*, *Cremonese*, *Brescians*, and *Mantuans* were confederated against *Parma*; but were defeated; and for some years after *Parma* and *Placentia* followed the fate of the other cities of *Italy*, as the popes or the emperors prevailed. In the year 1180, the city of *Parma* suffered a great deal by an inundation; and about the same time we find that, like the other *Longobardick* states, the *Parmasans* so far recovered their liberties, that they were governed by podestas and magistrates of their own. The first podesta we meet with, was *Niger Grasso* of *Milan*; and he held his office for three years. This magistrate, however, was only occasional; for the constant course of justice and government in the city was administered by consuls. In the year 1182, the *Parmesans* were at war with the *Reggians*, whom they defeated, and brought many of them prisoners to *Parma*. From that year to 1199, we know little or nothing of the history of *Parma*, but the names of the podestas and chief magistrates, which can convey no information to the reader. In the last-mentioned year, we find the *Parmesans* in a confederacy with the *Cremonese*, the *Reggians*, and the *Modenese*, against the *Placentines*, the *Milanese*, the *Brescians*, and many of the neighbouring people, who besieged *Borgo di San Domino*; but were defeated by the *Parmesans* and their associates. For some years after this, nothing remarkable occurs in the history of *Parma*, but what is to be found blended with those of the other *Italian* states. In the year 1216, when *Isaac Dovaria* of *Cremona* was podesta of *Parma*, the *Parmesans* defeated the *Placentines* at *Ponte Nura*, and made an inroad as far as *Montale*, where another action happened, to the advantage of the *Parmesans*. Two years after they defeated the *Pavians* and the *Placentines*; and in the year 1221, they built a magnificent town-house. We have, in the history of *Bologna*, given an account of the *Bolognese* being defeated by the *Parmesans* near *Bazano*, in the year 1228; in which year they entered into a confederacy with the *Florentines*.

rentines. Next year they again defeated the *Bolognese*, and took their ſtandard of ſtate. In the years 1230 and 1231, the *Parmeſans* had wars with the *Maleſpini* of *Pontremoli*, in which they had the advantage. Two years after friar *Cornetti*, of the new order of preaching friars, was admitted with great pomp into *Parma*, and compoſed all the inteſtine differences in that city. Next year, while *Rainerio* of *Monte Marlo* was podeſta of *Parma*, a war broke out between the *Parmeſans*, the *Cremoneſe*, and the *Pavians*, on the one ſide; and the *Placentines*, *Milaneſe*, and *Breſcians*, on the other; and a drawn battle enſued; but the difference at laſt ended in a truce. In the year 1236, the people of *Parma* ſided with the emperor *Frederick* II. againſt the *Milaneſe*, the *Breſcians*, the *Bolognese*, and the *Mantuans*, and obtained many advantages over the *Longobardic* confederacy. This year is remarkable for the puniſhment of an eccleſiaſtic, who had been guilty of murder, and who, being diveſted of his clerical habit and character, was boiled alive in a cauldron in the open ſtreet of *Parma*. The ſubſequent ſucceſſes of that emperor, which have been mentioned in other parts of this work, were in a great degree owing to the *Parmeſans*. In the year 1239, *Parma* ſeems to have been entirely under the imperial juriſdiction, and was governed by *Simon*, a *Neapolitan* count, as the emperor's podeſta. This year they defeated the *Bolognese* at *Vignola*, and took *Plumati* and *Crevacori*, with a great number of the *Bolognese*. In the year 1241, a peace was made between the *Parmeſans* and the *Bolognese*; but next year domeſtic diſſentions broke out in *Parma*, and were with difficulty quieted by the emperor's authority, who, to ingratiate himſelf with the *Parmeſans*, ordered the fortifications of *Pontremoli* to be demoliſhed; upon which occaſion a ceſſation of arms took place between the inhabitants of *Pontremoli* and *Parma*. In 1244, *Guido Maritini* was podeſta of *Parma* for the emperor; but in his magiſtracy the people began to be uneaſy under the imperial yoke, and plundered the houſe of *Henrico Vaghi*; for which offence *Ugo de Sancto Vitale*, the preſident of the merchants, was depoſed and fined in four marks of *Parma*; and the community was bound to make every thing good to *Vaghi*. This ſeverity, however, was far from quieting the people; and the imperial intereſt ſeems, for ſome time, to have loſt ground at *Parma*. In the year 1245, the *Lupi*, the *Correggii*, and the *Rubei*, and ſeveral other *Guelph* families, were driven out of *Parma* to *Piacenza* by the imperial faction, who likewiſe ſeized the epiſcopal palace, and appropriated to themſelves all the revenues of the church; and puniſhed, with the loſs of a hand and a foot, all

Cruelty of the emperor Frederick.

all who brought any papal bulls or letters into the city. The reader has already, in the history of *Bologna*, seen the great revolution which happened to the imperial interest by this impolitic cruelty, and in what manner *Frederick* first lost *Parma*, and how he was obliged to abandon the siege of it. In the year 1248, the *Parmesan Guelphs* were defeated by those of the opposite faction, who were then exiles; and *Bernard Rubei*, one of the leaders of the *Guelphs*, being taken prisoner, was put to death; on which account the *Guelphs* executed four of the principal *Gibelins*, who were imprisoned in *Parma*. This brought on cruel reprisals on the part of the emperor; so that no quarter was given for some time on either side. This year all communication was stopt between *Parma* and *Mantua*. Nothing remarkable happened at *Parma*, but what has been already mentioned in the history of *Bologna*, till the year 1250, when the *Guelph Parmesans* were again defeated by the *Gibelin* exiles; but they afterwards obliged *Alverio*, the imperial general, to raise the siege of *Bazano*. This year was fatal to *Parma*, by a number of fires that happened in the city, which burnt down three hundred and seventy-three houses. Next year the *Cremonese Gibelins* took *Brixello*, and carried the garrison prisoners to *Cremona*. In the year 1252, *Montelongo*, the papal legate and general, at the head of an army of *Parmesans* and *Placentines*, marched to the relief of the castle of *Mendaxo*, which was besieged by the *Gibelin Cremonese* and *Parmesans* under *Uberto Palavicini*, and obliged them to raise the siege. After which *Montelongo* took *Castel Bercito* by capitulation, the garrison being suffered to march with their arms to *Borgo di San Domino*; and in like manner he reduced *Castel Miari*.

Cubo dies. THE death of the emperor *Frederick* II. somewhat abated the cruelties exercised by the two parties, the *Guelphs* and the *Gibelins*, upon each other; and in the year 1253, a nobleman, one *Giberto de Gente*, being made podesta of *Parma* for six years, found means at last to effect a reconciliation. A mutual amnesty passed on both sides, and all prisoners were released. It is remarkable, however, that few on either side survived the cruelties of the prisons in which they were shut up; for no more than three hundred and eighteen *Gibelin Parmesans* returned alive to that city, out of some thousands who had been made prisoners. This year likewise the salary of the podesta was settled; but the undetermined denominations of money, at that time, renders it difficult to ascertain the sum (A).

An amnesty in Parma.

(A) *Salarium vero primum dicti podestatis fuit librarum quingentarum quinque millium Imperialium* (1).

(1) *Chronicon. Parmense ad Ann.* 1253.

By

By the neareſt computation we can make, it amounted to above one thouſand two hundred pounds ſterling a year, which is equal to about two thouſand imperial marks. This *Giberto*, however, by a long poſſeſſion of power, degenerated at laſt into a tyrant, and ſeized on all the revenues both of the church and ſtate; ſo that the *Parmeſans*, for ſome years, made very little figure. In the year 1257, *Uberto Palavicini* made himſelf maſter of *Piacenza* and *Pavia*. Next year all *Italy*, *Parma* eſpecially, was afflicted with famine, which obliged the podeſta to be very ſevere againſt ingroſſers of corn and victuals of all kinds. He is, however, accuſed of great partiality towards the *Gibelins*, and for ſuffering none of that faction to be puniſhed for the death of a *Guelph*. In the year 1259, the city of *Breſcia* was ſurpriſed by *Icilini a Romano* and *Uberto Palavicini*, who afterwards quarrelled and fought. *Palavicini* was conqueror, and carried *Icilino* in chains with him to *Cremona*. *Palavicini* then attempted to become maſter of *Parma*; but though he was diſappointed in his ambition, he had ſufficient intereſt to remove *Giberto* from the podeſtate, after he had enjoyed it ſix years and ſix months. The year 1260 was remarkable for the good diſpoſition which the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins* all over *Italy* manifeſted towards a reconciliation, and which had been long oppoſed by the late podeſta. *Palavicini* affected to be very active in promoting this reconciliation all over *Lombardy*. The people of *Reggio* and *Modena* paid a formal viſit to thoſe of *Parma*; and nothing was any where ſeen but religious proceſſions, on account of this new pacification. Thoſe in *Parma* were headed by the podeſta *Franzelaſta*, a *Piſtoian*, who diſciplined himſelf in public with a whip, his example being followed by the reſt of the people. *Palavicini*, however, thought that the ſpirit of reconciliation ran too favourable for the *Guelphs*; and neither he nor the *Cremoneſe* encouraged it. In the year 1263, the animoſities between the two parties broke out with freſh fury, through the intrigues of *Palavicini*, whoſe faction was very ſtrong in *Parma*. At laſt an accommodation being propoſed, it was agreed, that the *Parmeſans* ſhould always ſtand by and aſſiſt *Palavicini* and his heirs, and pay him every year one thouſand imperial marks. He on his part agreed, never to come to *Parma*, without the conſent and good liking of the inhabitants. The truth is, fear ſeems to have been more prevalent than any other motive in bringing about this accommodation; and it is remarked, that *Palavicini*'s friends embezzled his ſalary, ſo that he never enjoyed any part of it. This year the city of *Parma* was put under an interdict by pope *Urban*; and next year, when the marquis of *Eſte*, and count

Guelphs *prevail.*

Icilini *conquered.*

An agreement with Palavicini.

count *St. Boniface*, marched to the assistance of the *Modenese Guelphs*, the *Parmesans* apprehending that their city might be surprised, put themselves under arms for a whole week, and kept watch and ward under the command of four of their chief citizens. The *Guelphs* being defeated, *Baldichini* the imperial general attacked the *Guelphs* of *Parma*; but was himself driven out of the city. After this *Manfredi* and *Matteo de Gorzano* were chosen joint podestas of *Parma*, as *Gilbert de Gente* and *James Tavernier* were the next year, the former a *Gibelin*, the latter a *Guelph*; so that matters continued quiet there for some time, both parties solemnly swearing, on the high altar of the great church, to maintain the peace.

Dissentions in Parma.

In the year 1266, towards the end of *March*, the public dissentions were again renewed; and both parties taking arms, the imperialists were entirely driven out of *Parma*; and the houses of the chief amongst them being set on fire, the flames spread so as to endanger the whole city. Those disorders continued with vast fury for three days, *Palavicini* again endeavouring but in vain, to recover his influence in *Parma*. At last both parties, by tacit consent, suspended their hostilities; and a new set of magistrates, composed of the heads of the people, took upon them the government; though it does not appear that the podestate had been formally abrogated. In *August* the year, the *Gibelin* faction surprised *Colorno*, a town in the neighbourhood of *Parma*, and made the garrison prisoners; but in a few days, the people of *Parma* being joined by a party of the *Reggians*, and another of the *Modenese*, who being tired with their long march, were left in garrison at *Parma*, marched out under the command of their podesta *Albizi*; and retaking *Colorno*, they burnt it to the ground, after putting to death such of the citizens and garrison as they thought to be in the imperial interest.

Conquests of the Parmesans.

After this the *Parmesan* army marched to *Monte Palerio*; but the season was so bitter, that they could not besiege it. Upon their return, however, they came up with a detachment of *Palavicini*'s army, whom they defeated at *Viaroni*, and reduced the castles of *Saragno* and *Nuceto*, with several other places of less importance to the power of the church. This weakened *Palavicini* so much, that his rival *Boccio Dovaria* drove him out of *Cremona* itself, and obliged him to take refuge in *Borgo di San Domino*. Next year *Alberto de Fontana*, a *Placentine*, being podesta of *Parma*, the *Parmesans* undertook the siege of *Borgo di San Domino*, which appears to have been part of *Palavicini*'s private fortune. While they with their associates of *Modeno* and *Reggio* were pressing this siege, they had intelligence that *Boccio* had attempted to expel the pope's legate from *Cremona*, because he

e was endeavouring to reconcile the two parties. Upon is they abandoned the siege, and marched directly to *Cre-ona*, from whence they expelled *Boccio*'s party, and demo-ished their houses. After that they took and demolished the stle of *Monte Palerio*, which they took and razed to the ound, hanging up all the garrison excepting three noble-en, whom they beheaded. The garrison of *Borgo di San nino* surprised the castle of *Medixano* by a stratagem. The *rmesans*, on the other hand, took and demolished *Castel de rola*, belonging to *Palavicini*, and hanged thirty-six of the rrison; but beheaded their officers. They likewise de-oyed several other castles belonging to the same leader; d the war in those parts was carried on with the utmost rbarity and rancour.

IN the year 1268, *Roberto de Roberti* podesta of *Parma* be-ged *Borgo di San Domino*, with an army which is said to ve amounted to thirty thousand men. But if this number not mistaken, it must have chiefly been composed of *French*, hich about this time marched to the assistance of *Charles* of *njou* king of *Naples*, whose party was very powerful in *Par-a*. While this siege was carrying on, the wife of *Charles Anjou* came to *Parma*, where she was received with great nour; and soon after, on the twenty-first of *October*, *Borgo San Domino* was surrendered by capitulation to the com-unity of *Bologna*; an accommodation at the same time tak-g place between the *Parmesan Guelphs* and *Gibelins*. It is served, that when this pacification was proclaimed and ra-ied at *Parma*, the croud was so great in the town-house, at many persons were trod to death. In *November* the po-sta and captain of the people went to *Borgo di San Domino*, nder pretence of building a fortress, which had been men-oned in the capitulation; but in reality to remove from ence *Uberto Palavicini*, which they did, and appointed *ghierio de Henzola* to act as their podesta in the place. hile the podesta and captain of *Parma* deliberated upon ilding the fort, and upon seizing into their own hands the wn and castle, the podesta, and some of the chief in-bitants of *Borgo di San Domino*, repaired to the church, here the *Parmesan* podesta and deputies were assembled, and ere made a formal surrender of the keys of their town and stle to the *Parmesans*, waving all the terms of the capitu-tion, and submitting without reserve to be subjects of *Par-a*. This act was not unusual in those days, because the ndition of towns bridled by garrisons, was the most deplor-ble of all others; and the inhabitants of the *Borgo*, as the rice of their submission, required only that no fort should be

Borgo San Domino *taken.*

built

built over them. The *Parmesans*, after mature deliberation reflecting, as they pretended, that *Borgo* had been always a bone of contention between them and their neighbours, *and demolished.* came to a resolution to demolish all the fortifications. This resolution was ratified and carried into execution by the community of *Parma*, who made a law, that the said place never should be refortified, and strengthened it with severe penalties and penalties. We have given this event, as it is recorded in the chronicle of *Parma*; but there is great room for suspecting, that the proceedings of the *Parmesans*, on this occasion, were not quite void of art, if not treachery. As *Palavicini*, who seems to have had the greatest reason to complain, he died soon after overwhelmed with trouble.

Divisions in Parma. In the year 1269, the civil commotions of *Parma* were renewed, and continued all that and the next year; but they afford little or nothing for history to record, only that in the year 1270, the house of *Giberto de Gente* was plundered and destroyed. In the year 1271, *Philip* king of *France* came to *Parma*, the first of *April*, and generously laid out a sum of money to repair some damages which the town of *Colorno* had suffered from his subjects. This year the *Placentines* supplied *Parma*, which was distressed by famine, with corn by land and water. The *Cremonese* likewise gave the *Parmesans* leave to supply themselves from their territory. Towards the middle of the same year, the *Parmesans* besieged the castle of *Corvaria*, in the district of *Reggio*, which was held out by some of the *Gibelin* exiles; and having taken it, they razed it to the ground, by the advice of the bishop of *Parma*. In the year 1273, a difference broke out between *Simon Donati* the podesta of *Parma* and *Uberto*, which ended in the death and banishment of many of *Uberto*'s friends. The same year the *Parmesans*, at a great expence, built two ships, for the convenience, probably, of supplying their city with provisions; but they proved unserviceable. Next year the podesta and army of the city of *Parma*, with some *Reggian*, *Cremonese*, and *Modenese* troops, marched to the assistance of the *Guelphs* of *Bologna*, as far as *Rimini*, where they endeavoured to accommodate matters; but with so little success, that after they had returned to *Parma*, they were again summoned to the assistance of their *Bolognese* friends, and a desperate war ensued between the *Geremei*, for so the *Bolognese Guelphs* were called, and the *Lambertazzi*, which was the denomination of the *Gibelins*: the former, however, prevailed, and delivered their friends out of the prisons which they filled with their enemies. The rest of the services done on this occasion by the *Parmesans* to the *Bolognese*, are mentioned in the history of the latter. In the year 1275, the

Par-

rmesans again marched to the assistance of their *Bolognese* nds, who, on that occasion, were defeated and lost their dard of state. That year the city of *Parma* had the ho- r of a visit from pope *Gregory* X. and the community, in blic assembly, swore allegiance to his holiness, and to the eror *Rodolph*. Next year *Rolandino Testa* assassinated *Ansel- de Zesso*, upon the streets of *Parma*; but the assassin was ed in the church of the monastery of *St. John*. He was iended by the soldiers, who intimidated the podesta from ceeding against him in the common course of justice; but people took upon them his office, and publickly be- ed the assassin near the place where he had committed murder. This year was remarkable for an inundation of river of *Parma*, which arose to such a height, as to threa- the destruction of the whole city. This inundation was wed by a general mortality and famine. In the year 7, the castle of *Petra*, in the district of *Pavia*, was be- d by the *Gibelins* of *Pavia*, *Milan*, *Montferrat*, and r states. The *Parmesans*, however, immediately raised rmy for the relief of the place, and marched to *Piacenza* that purpose, where they understood that the siege was d. This year *Guastalla*, a fortified town on the river *llo*, and the capital of the duchy of that name, was rized by the exiles and banditti of *Parma* and *Cremona*, took it from the *Guelphs*. But they soon after recovered and the aggressors being taken, they were all sent prison- o *Cremona*, except one of the banditti, who was hanged *arma* for the murder of an inhabitant of that city. After the community of *Parma* banished *Pino de Gente*, for ng betrayed *Guastalla*, and confiscated his estate. In *ember*, this year, the podesta of *Parma* marched to the ance of the *Bolognese*, with an army of *Parmesans*, *Mo- e*, and *Reggians*, and kept the field for thirty-three days. same year *Passoni de la Turre*, surprized the city of in the month of *June*. The *Milanese* and the *Pavian lins*, endeavoured to recover it; but the patriarch of *leia*, who was of the family of *Turre*, applied for as- nce to the *Parmesans*, who with their allies obliged the *anese* to raise the siege. During the absence of the po- a and the army, some of the *Gibelin* prisoners found means orrupt their keepers, and to make their escape; for which offenders were condemned to banishment. Next year *Milanese*, and the marquis of *Montferrat*, renewed the e of *Lodi*; but were again obliged by the *Parmesans*, and r allies, to abandon the same. This year *Francesco de ena* was assassinated by one of the family of *Zessa*; upon which

which assists the Bolognese.

Guastalla *surprized.*

which the podesta marched at the head of his troops to Pr... *rocelli*, the residence of that family, and laid the whole town... and all that was in it, in ashes. Next year the heads of th... common people of *Parma* were turned, by the great opinio... they had of a *Cremonese* porter, who died with such reputa... tion of sanctity, that his picture being brought to *Parm*... was said to cure all kinds of diseases; and the magistrat... raised a large sum, which was applied to public uses, fro... the credulity of its votaries. This year the marquis of *Mon...*

War with the marquis of Montferrat.

ferrat, and the *Milanese*, attempted to take *Lodi*, by divert... ing the course of the river *Adda*; but they were interrupte... by *James de Rodelia*, then podesta of *Parma*, who oblig... them to retire with precipitation, while the *Parmesans*, a... their allies, marched to *Pizzighitone*. This year a lady w... burnt alive in the public street of *Parma* for heresy. Soo... after an insurrection happened in *Parma*, and the mob brok... violently into the house of the preaching friars, whom th... plundered, and otherwise abused; one very old man bein... killed in the riot. Upon this the friars left *Parma*, to mak... their complaint to the pope's legate at *Florence*: they we... followed by the podesta, the captain of the people, the *Anti... ani*, and the canons of the church of *Parma*, who used th... utmost intreaties to persuade them to return, promising t... repair all their damage; but all was to no purpose. Th... good friars proceeded to *Florence*, where they complained o... the whole community of *Parma*, as being accessary to th... insurrection, which was false, for the community had don... every thing in their power to prevent it. They established... court of inquiry, and severely punished all who had been con... cerned in the insurrection by exile, imprisonment, and eve... the loss of limbs, and voluntarily made good all the damage... the brotherhood sustained in their houses and effects.

Injustice of the pope to the Parmesans.

NOTWITHSTANDING this ample reparation, the complain... of the friars was so well received, that the legate ordered th... podesta, the captain of the people, the *Antiani*, the coun... cil, and twelve of the chief citizens of *Parma*, with an advo... cate for, who was to be a lawyer, to appear before him at *Flo... rence* by a certain day, with full powers to stand by his award... Upon this the *Parmesans* appointed *Bartolini* of *Brescia*, them... their captain of the people, six ambassadors, and one syndic... but without being furnished with the powers that were re... quired, to appear before the legate, and to inform him truly... of the state of the case. The haughty prelate refused to give... them so much as an audience, laid their city under an inter... dict, and excommunicated their magistrates; and his sentence... was published at *Parma* on the 14th of *December*. That... com...

ommunity then ordered four deputies to attend the pope, ad to make their defence; but all they could obtain, was o be allowed an auditor to take legal cognizance of their ause. This cenſure, however, had no conſequences; for he *Parmeſans* continued to act for the *Guelphs* at *Bologna*, *odi*, and other places; ſo that his holineſs and his ſucceſſors id not proſecute their cenſures.

THE infamous practice of aſſaſſination was now very common at *Parma*, where one *Calzolari*, a man of figure, was murdered by one of the family of *Putali*. This exaſperated the public ſo greatly, that the podeſta, the captain of the people, and the other magiſtrates, at the head of the inhabitants, utterly demoliſhed all the houſes belonging to the *Putali*, and made ſeveral ſtrict laws againſt the dangerous powers of the nobility. Another expedition was this year undertaken by the *Parmeſans*, to ſuccour the *Geremei* of *Bologna*, in which they were ſucceſsful. *Aſſaſſinations puniſhed at* Parma.

IN the year 1280 the caſtle of *Caſſadeo* was built by the *Parmeſans*, and conſiderable privileges allotted to thoſe who were willing to inhabit the ſame. This year the *Bologneſe* loſt *Faenza*, but freſh aſſiſtances coming from *Parma*, they ſoon recovered it. Next year the *Parmeſans*, who went to aſſiſt the family of *Turre*, were defeated by the *Milaneſe*, with a conſiderable loſs. This year was attended with another ſcarcity of grain, and it was enacted, that every citizen who was poſſeſſed of three hundred marks, ſhould lend twenty of them to the community, to buy corn for ſupplying the public. In the month of *Auguſt*, a general meeting of deputies from the *Guelph* ſtates and cities of *Lombardy*, was held in the town-houſe of *Parma*, where it was agreed to ſend freſh troops to the relief of *Lodi*, now again beſieged by the marquis of *Montferrat*. At this time the *Parmeſans* and the *Cremoneſe* exchanged the chariots of ſtate which each had taken from the other; and that of *Parma* was introduced next day into that city by a grand proceſſion of the clergy and magiſtrates. In the month of *September* the army of *Parma* took the field, and encamped near *Pizzighitone*, while their allies rendezvouſed at *Cremona*; and the two armies, after obliging the marquis of *Montferrat* and the *Milaneſe* to raiſe the ſiege of *Lodi*, with conſiderable loſs, returned to their reſpective habitations. About the middle of *December*, *Boccio Dovaria*, at the head of eight hundred men, ſurprized *Cremona*; upon which the podeſta of *Parma* marched with all his troops, and thoſe of the *Placentines* and *Breſcians*, to ſecure *Cremona* itſelf. In the year 1282, ſome of the *Placentine Gibelins* ſurprized the town of *Petra Scarmona*, but it was ſoon retaken *Peace with* Cremona.

retaken by the *Placentines*, with the assistance of the *Parmesans*. Shortly after a general assembly, or parliament, was held at *Cremona*, consisting of deputies from the *Parmesans*, the *Placentines*, the *Reggians*, the *Modenese*, the *Bolognese*, the *Ferrarese*, and the *Brescians*, all of them in the interest of the see of *Rome*; and a resolution was taken, to send ambassadors directly to solicit his holiness to become a party in the league.

The Lombardic *confederacy renewed.*

The great end of this meeting appears to have been to guard the *Cremonese*, which had generally served the imperialists as an inlet into *Italy*. About the same time, *Boccio Dovaria*, at the head of some *Cremonese* exiles, surprized the castle of *Toncino*, belonging to *Cremona*; upon which the *Parmesans* summoned together all their allies, and, with their podesta at their head, set out for *Cremona*, to prevent its being suprized likewise. They also demolished *Senaza*, for a murder that had been committed upon one of its citizens by the lord of it, and sent two hundred foot soldiers to *Modena*, to bring to justice one of the *Guidotti*, who had been guilty of another murder, which they did by striking off his head, and those of several others of his associates, in the market-place. This, however, created a dangerous mutiny at *Modena*, which was with difficulty quieted by the *Parmesans*. After this the armies of *Parma* and *Cremona* marched against *Toncino*, which was still in the hands of *Boccio*. About the same time the *Parmesans* sent *Matteo Corregio*, and *Andrea de Morano*, a doctor of laws, to make their peace at the court of *Rome*, and to procure absolution from the interdict, and excommunication that had been laid upon them upon account of the preaching friars; both which they obtained by the friendship of the cardinal of *Parma*, but not till after they had undergone many, and some mortifying formalities. His holiness even required them, to give security for their future obedience to his will, and to stand by the award which he was to pronounce in the case of the friars; but the whole of the allegations were so false and frivolous, that the affair went no farther. The *Parmesans* then sent a solemn deputation to *Bologna*, to request the provincial prior of the preaching friars, to send such of the brotherhood as had left *Parma* back to that city, there to celebrate divine offices.

War continues with the marquis of Montferrat.

In the beginning of *June*, the marquis of *Monferrat* made a new irruption into the *Cremonese*, with a large army of the *Milanese* and other people. The people of *Cremona*, as usual, had recourse to those of *Parma*, who sent them three hundred cross-bows, a weapon then greatly in request. These were followed by the podesta of *Parma* with the main army, which encamped at *Aqualonga*, as the *Cremonese* did at *Padarno*;

upon the frontiers of the *Cremoneſe*. In a few days after they were joined by the *Reggians*, *Modeneſe*, *Ferrareſe*, and the *Placentines*, beſides other allies, and their appearance was ſo formidable, that the marquis durſt not attack them, though both armies lay in ſight of each other four weeks. On this occaſion, the people of *Parma* ſent ambaſſadors to the marquis of *Eſte*, to the *Florentines* and other ſtates of *Tuſcany*, to rouſe them to a ſenſe of their danger, if *Cremona* ſhould fall into the hands of the *Gibelins*; and all of them promiſed to ſend their complements of troops to its defence. It afterwards appeared, that the marquis could not prevail with the *Milaneſe* to act in earneſt againſt *Cremona*, on account of the diffidence they had of the imperial power, and the oath they had taken to be true to the *Longobardic* league; ſo that the *Parmeſans*, and their allies, marched back to their reſpective capitals in triumph. A part of the *Parmeſan* army, however, was left at *Cremona*, for the ſafety of that city and territory, till their enemies went into winter quarters. *Garſoni* of *Modena* was, at this time, podeſta of *Parma*, and *Guidotti* arch-deacon of *Cremona*, was captain of the people.

In *Auguſt*, this year, the *Longobardic* league was ſtrengthened; and there was a great reſort of nobility at *Parma*, where the two ſons of *Jacobino Rubei* were made knights, and married *Parmeſan* ladies; ſo that, for ſome time, all civil diviſions ſeem to be aboliſhed in that capital, and for a whole month nothing took place there but feaſting and diverſions. The ſame year an act paſſed in the general council of *Parma*, that all their ſubjects without the city, who were willing to pay a tithe of their goods, ſhould be admitted citizens of *Parma*; but not to be members of the council. This law brought into the public treaſury eleven thouſand imperial marks; and the new citizens admitted by it amounted to three thouſand. The reader, from this, may have ſome idea of the wealth of thoſe inhabitants; though there is reaſon to believe, that the tax was not rigorouſly levied, as the whole, at an average, did not amount to four marks a-head. The author of the Chronicle tells us likewiſe, that the terms were very ill obſerved by the community.

THOUGH it was now the beginning of winter, a freſh aſſembly of the *Longobardic* alliance was held at *Cremona*; and the *Cremoneſe*, by the aſſiſtance of their *Parmeſan* confederates, that very year recovered *Toncino* from *Boccio*, and obliged him to retire with diſgrace to *Crema*. In the beginning of the year 1283, the ſtate of *Parma* was in a flouriſhing condition, and their capital adorned with ſeveral noble public edifices. On the 5th of *February*, this year, in a general council, held

in the town-houſe of *Parma*, a perpetual truce and peace was ſworn between the magiſtrates of that city and the *Mantuan* deputies; and, what is pretty remarkable, each promiſed to ſatisfy the demands of the other, without going to law, and without delay. On the 7th of the ſame month, the podeſta of *Parma*, at the head of a thouſand foot-ſoldiers, appointed to that ſervice by the community, inveſted the palace of the *Adigheri*, one of whom, *Ubertino*, had been guilty of a murder, and razed the ſame to the ground. This year the affairs of the popedom were likewiſe in high ſplendor, by the ſubmiſſion of almoſt all the cities of the *Romagna* and *Lombardy* to the authority of his holineſs; and the people of *Parma* were amongſt the moſt forward. The bridge of *Galeria*, which the *Parmeſans* had been for many years building between the palace and the citadel, was now finiſhed, at the expence of ſixteen hundred imperial marks. In proportion as the power of the church increaſed, ſo did that of the eccleſiaſtics; for, in the year 1284, we find a *Florentine* cardinal podeſta of *Bologna*; and he ſeems to have given full ſcope to his revenge, by demoliſhing, upon a private pique, the palace of *Gerard de Sancto Marco*. He likewiſe, at the head of one thouſand ſoldiers, deſtroyed and plundered the houſes of four other noblemen, whom he thought not to be well affected to his intereſt. His violences ſeem to have given ſome umbrage to the other magiſtrates of *Bologna*; for we find, in the ſame year, the *Antiani*, and the other heads of the people, entered into a combination together, by oath, to ſupport one another, and to maintain the rights and privileges of *Parma*. At this time, the civil diſſentions in *Modena*, between the *Boſchetti* and the *Savignani*, broke out ſo fiercely, that the *Parmeſans* were obliged to ſend two hundred foot-ſoldiers to maintain their intereſt there. The former, however, got the better, expelled their antagoniſts out of the city, and ſtript them of their eſtates. The exiles ſeized upon *Saxola*, *Savigni*, and ſeveral other places; and preſſed the other party ſo hard, that the *Parmeſans* were obliged to call together the deputies of the *Longobardic* league, to reduce the *Modeneſe* to peace. The *Boſchetti* proved ſo refractory, that the aſſembly came to a reſolution to abandon all communication with them; while the *Reggians* and the *Parmeſans* united together more cloſely than ever. At laſt, the pope's legate interpoſed, and prevailed with the *Parmeſans* to make another effort for reſtoring the peace of *Modena*; but it was found impracticable. An open war then broke out between the *Parmeſans* and the *Modeneſe*. The latter intercepted convoys of proviſions that were coming to *Parma*, with a large quantity of ſalt. The *Parmeſans*,

Public buildings in Parma.

A. D. 1284.

at

at first, sent deputies to reclaim their property; but the *Modenese* justified what they had done, and appealed to a general assembly of the *Longobardic* league.

Affairs of Lombardy continued.

THE distractions of *Lombardy*, about this time, rendered *Parma* the common refuge of the harrassed and unfortunate. In the year 1285, no fewer than twelve deputies were sent from that city; and being joined with those of *Reggio*, *Bologna*, and *Ferrara*, they repaired to *Modena*, where they made a new demand of reparation for injuries; but they met with a fresh repulse, through the obstinacy of the *Boschetti*. The *Parmesans*, after this, endeavoured to raise a mutiny in *Modena*; but that scheme likewise failed them, and they again had recourse to negociation, in which they had better success, because they received half their demand, and a time was fixed for repaying the remainder. A formal treaty of peace between *Modena* and *Parma* ensued. In the year 1286, two ambassadors came from the contending parties in *Modena* to *Parma*, there to negociate a mediation between the *Boschetti* and their antagonists; but the demands of the *Boschetti* were so extravagant, that the negociation came to nothing. The *Parmesans* then applied to the *Bolognese* to join with them, in preventing the intire ruin of *Modena*, through the civil dissentions of its inhabitants; but the *Bolognese* declined intermeddling in the affair. The *Parmesans* then threatened to declare war against the *Boschetti* of *Modena*, unless they sent deputies, properly instructed, to terminate all differences. Very little regard, however, was paid to that or any other application for composing the dissentions of *Lombardy*, which the people of *Parma* seemed to have had greatly at heart. This year the *Boschetti* attacked their antagonists the *Savignani*, who were supported by the *Parmesans*. The *Modenese*, on the other hand, invaded the *Reggians*, who were the confederates of *Parma*; but the latter were so well supported by the *Parmesans*, that the aggressors were defeated with great loss. This defeat seems to have brought the *Boschetti* of *Modena* to a pacific disposition, especially as the *Parmesans*, at this time, had on foot a considerable army. They were seconded by the deputies of *Cremona*, *Brescia*, and *Placentia*, who, in the names of their masters, threatened to declare war against the *Modenese*, if they did not submit to the *Parmesans*. The *Modenese* accordingly sent deputies, with their captain of the people, to *Parma*, where a peace was concluded. In *June*, this year, the pope made a demand upon the *Parmesans* for satisfaction, on account of the Preaching Friars; but this demand was so absurd, and so ill-supported, that it appears to have fallen to the ground. This year was remarkable for a

Succeſs of the Parmeſans,

great mortality in the *Parmeſan* territory. In the year 1287, the podeſta of *Parma*, whoſe name was *Barufaldini*, marched at the head of one thouſand men to *Flaviano*, which they demoliſhed, and put to death *Carolo de Palude*, whoſe eſtate was likewiſe confiſcated, on account of his murdering *Henry de Toretto*, and another perſon. After that, the podeſta and his army marched to *Reggio*, where ſome civil diſſentions had broken out; and being there joined by other deputies of the *Longobardic* league, they reſtored the public tranquility. On the death of pope *Honorius*, the *Parmeſans* ſent ambaſſadors, who, after great difficulty, prevailed upon the provincial prior of the Preaching Friars to return to *Parma*. Their entrance was very magnificent; and ſo great was the benefit reſulting to the community, from the reſidence of thoſe friars amongſt them, that the podeſta and the magiſtracy not only gave them a ſumptuous entertainment, but ſettled on them annually two hundred marks for five years, to enable them to build a church.

who are alarmed for their liberties.

THIS year a kind of a panic ſtruck the people of *Parma*, as if their liberties had been endangered; ſo that the podeſta, and all the chief citizens, took an oath to ſtand by one another in defence of their rights and privileges. On the 17th of *May*, *Pino*, the ſon of *Giberto de Gente*, was murdered in *Parma* by his grand-children; but, having been proſcribed as a *Gibelin*, the aſſaſſins were not proſecuted. In *September*, the ſame year, the *Gibelin* exiles of *Modena*, being joined by a great number of the ſame faction from various parts of *Italy*, made an attempt to get poſſeſſion of that city; but the *Guelph Modeneſe* were ſo ſeaſonably ſupported by the podeſta and people of *Parma*, that the *Gibelins* were defeated, and their ringleaders, who were found in the city, were publicly executed. This ſervice to the papal cauſe ingratiated the *Parmeſans* ſo greatly with the *Bologneſe*, that deputies were appointed on both ſides, who met at *Caſtel Franco*, and ſwore to a new union. The year 1288 affords little remarkable, excepting that *Manfred*, marquis of *Maleſpina*, ſurpriſed *Pontremoli*, belonging to the *Parmeſans*, and expelled their podeſta there. After that, he ſent a meſſage, with great profeſſions of his friendſhip towards the community of *Parma*, promiſing to keep *Pontremoli* for their benefit. The *Parmeſans*, however, renewed their leagues with the *Reggians*, the *Cremoneſe*, and the *Bologneſe*, and recovered the place. In the year 1289, the *Parmeſans* took up arms in defence of their allies the *Ferrareſe*, who had been inſulted by *Roland*, the lord of *Anciſa*; and they lent three regiments to the *Florentines*, while they were at war with the biſhop of *Arezzo*.

The *Reggians*, at this time, again splitting amongst themselves, the *Guelph* party applied to the *Parmesans* for assistance. Two hundred soldiers immediately marched to their aid, under the command of the podesta. This force not being sufficient, a stronger body was sent; upon which the people of *Reggio*, according to our authority [a], surrendered the keys of their gates and citadel, together with all their power, civil and military, into the hands of the podesta of *Parma*, who took possession of the same, as well as of the standard and common seal of the city. The *Parmesans* seem to have made a most unmerciful advantage of this acquisition. They put to death some of the heads of the *Guelphs* at *Reggio*, and demolished their houses: they carried others in chains to *Parma*, where they kept them close prisoners. This tyranny giving umbrage to the other allies of the *Longobardic* league, the states of *Bologna* and *Cremona* interposed, and obliged the *Parmesans* to restore the *Reggians* to their liberty. Notwithstanding this pacification, the *Parmesans* kept in their hands the castle of *Razoli*, which was besieged by *Guido de Tripoli*, a *Reggian*, who set fire to the place; and so obstinate were the *Parmesans* in defending it, that most of them chose to be burnt alive, rather than surrender it.

They take Reggio;

but lose it.

In the year 1290, the *Reggians*, tired of the tyranny of the *Parmesans*, unanimously offered to put themselves under the protection of the marquis of *Este*. He seemed, at first, to decline their suit; and pretended, that he would do nothing without the consent of the community of *Parma*. He accordingly sent a solemn embassy to consult the *Parmesans* on that head; and, as he was at that time master both of *Ferrara* and *Modena*, the *Parmesans* found it in vain to stand out; so that he directly entered upon the sovereignty of *Reggio*. *Rainerio*, a *Florentine*, was then podesta of *Parma*; but, behaving arbitrarily in his office, the syndics of the common council amerced him in a fine of two hundred and fifty marks. This proceeding exasperated the merchants of *Parma*, who were the podesta's friends, so greatly, that the syndics durst not stand to their sentence; nor did the podesta ever pay the fine.

They are zealous for the croisade;

The spirit of croisading was at this time very prevalent in *Italy*; and no fewer than six hundred *Parmesans* took upon them the cross, and bound themselves by oath to serve against the infidels in the Holy Land; and, to encourage the adventurers, the community of *Parma* made them a present of one thousand marks. Their captain was *Raimond Baretti*. In

[a] Chronicon Parmense, apud Murat. p. 216.

the year 1291, *Lombardini de Gente*, having inſulted a *Parmeſan* nobleman, the podeſta of *Parma* marched againſt him, and demoliſhed his houſe. Soon after, the cardinal of *Sabina*, in his return from *France*, paid a viſit to *Parma*, where he was received in a moſt magnificent manner. He being a *Parmeſan* himſelf, expended vaſt ſums of money for the honour and intereſt of the community. This year many of the *Parmeſans*, who had taken upon them the croſs, returned to their native country, heartily tired of their undertaking; and, being deſtitute of other employment, they liſted themſelves in the pope's army. In the year 1292, a quarrel happened between the podeſta and the biſhop of *Parma*; and the former was excommunicated for having impriſoned an eccleſiaſtic. This quarrel was followed by ſome public commotions, and the podeſta demoliſhed ſeveral houſes belonging to the friends of the biſhop. About this time the marquis of *Eſte* dying, he was ſucceeded by his ſon *Azo*, who ſent an embaſſy to *Parma*, courting the friendſhip of that ſtate. The *Parmeſans* returned the compliment, by ſending him a deputation to congratulate him upon his acceſſion to his dominions, and to reconcile ſome differences that had ariſen between him and his brothers, on account of his father's teſtament; by which the eldeſt ſon was to inherit *Ferrara*; *Aldobrandini*, the ſecond ſon, *Modena*; and *Francheſini*, the third, *Reggio*. The ſame year, the podeſta of *Parma*, at the head of above one thouſand men, deſtroyed the houſe of *Ægidioli Scorca* at *Torclarea*, on account of an offence againſt the ſtate. We mention this chiefly to ſhew how little regard was paid amongſt the *Italian* ſtates to civil authority, it being generally found impracticable to bring an offender, who had an eſtate and a following, to juſtice; but by the people, with the podeſta at their head, taking arms, and deſtroying him, his family and habitation. This year the inhabitants of *Pontremoli*, having intirely thrown off their dependence upon *Parma*, put themſelves under the protection of the *Lucqueſe*; and *Azo*, the marquis of *Eſte*, with whom the *Parmeſans* had lately entered into friendſhip, drove his brother *Aldobrandini* to *Bologna*, and fortified *Modena*.

but loſe Pontremoli.

NOTHING remarkable occurs in the hiſtory of *Parma*, after this, till the year 1294, when one *James de Canonica* was privately murdered at *Ulmo*, and buried in his own eſtate. The murder was diſcovered twenty-eight days after it was committed; and the magiſtracy of *Parma*, of which *James de Canonica* was a member, ordered two of the murderers to be apprehended, one of whom was hanged, and the other condemned to perpetual impriſonment. After inquiry, it appeared that many others had been concerned in the ſame fact,

Murders in Parma.

and

and all of them were baniſhed. In the month of *April*, the ſame year, the podeſta of *Parma*, with one thouſand foot-ſoldiers, went to *Medexano*, where they demoliſhed the houſe and effects of *Manfredoci*, one who had been guilty of a like murder. After this, the ſame podeſta deſtroyed the houſes, both in town and country, of the family of *Senaza*, for murdering *Bernardo Malabranca*. The reader, from thoſe occurrences, which form the whole of the hiſtory of *Parma* at this period, may eaſily conceive that the *Parmeſans* were then greatly inferior, in point of civil policy, to many other ſtates of *Italy*. Their enthuſiaſm was equal to their barbarity; for, this year, two men and two women were burnt by the community of *Parma*, for what they called hereſy; and another heretic was condemned to perpetual impriſonment by the biſhop. *Florino de Pontecarali* was then podeſta of *Parma*; but ſo low was all public authority now ſunk under him, that neither he nor any other of the magiſtrates durſt, for ſome weeks, venture to appear in public, for fear of being ſtoned to death. At laſt, a new podeſta being choſen, the offenders were given up to juſtice, and reſtitution was made to the injured. This year, *Magnano de Cornazano* of *Parma*, who had been baniſhed for his crimes, aſſociating himſelf with other exiles, ſurpriſed the caſtle of *Grondula*, belonging to the *Parmeſans*; upon which the latter marched to retake it. The rebel being ſummoned to ſurrender, refuſed to comply, unleſs he was ordered ſo to do by the biſhop of *Parma* and the marquis of *Eſte*, both of whom were then at variance with that community. The *Parmeſans* reſented his inſolence ſo much, that they offered extraordinary pay to all who were willing to aſſiſt in reducing the place, and above one thouſand preſented themſelves; upon which it was abandoned by the garriſon: ſome of the chief rebels, however, were taken, and being dragged at the tails of mules to *Parma*, they were there hanged. As to *Magnano* and his other aſſociates, they were executed in effigy, and ſentenced to baniſhment.

THE affairs of the *Longobardic* league, this year, drew together a meeting of its principal members to *Ferrara*, where a reconciliation was effected between the marquis of *Eſte* and his brother *Francheſini*. Four *Parmeſan* ſubjects, on this occaſion, were knighted, with great ceremony, by the marquis, after he himſelf had received the ſame honour from the lord of *Treviſo*. In the year 1295, *Umberto* was podeſta of *Parma*, and ſeveral revolutions happened in the neighbouring ſtates. Some mercantile differences having ariſen between the *Parmeſans* and the *Cremoneſe*, they were amicably terminated, both of them being apprehenſive of the power of the marquis

A new league in Lombardy.

of *Este*, which was every day increasing. He had stript the *Reggians* of their freedom and territory; and, by fomenting divisions amongst the neighbouring states, he bade fair to become master of all *Lombardy*. Those of *Parma* still continued; for though all parties professed themselves to be *Guelphs*, yet the city was split into two factions; the one headed by the bishop, and the other by the family of *Correggio*, which at that time bore the chief sway in *Parma*. The podesta had put to death one who pretended to be an ecclesiastic, for murdering a woman, for which he was excommunicated by the bishop. *Correggio*, and the magistrates of *Parma*, taking part with the podesta, the bishop excommunicated them likewise, together with all the chief inhabitants of the city. This brought party-dissentions to such a height, that bloodshed ensued; but at last the wiser part of the community nominated a deputation, to lodge an appeal with the pope against the bishop. The names of the deputies were, *Gerardo de Botono*, a civilian, and *Peter de Prandis*, a judge, assisted by a notary; but both of them died soon after their arrival at *Anagni*, where the pope then kept his court. It appears as if they had died by poison, it being with difficulty that the notary himself escaped the same fate; but the public of *Parma* generously settled the secretaryship of the podesta upon the two surviving sons of the deceased for ten years. The bishop being favoured by the marquis of *Este*, the *Parmesans* applied to the *Bolognese*, who gladly embraced their friendship; and it was stipulated between the two states, that deputies from both should, every month, meet at *Castel Franco*, or *Loretto*, to concert measures for their common good. This year the podesta of *Parma* attacked and destroyed the houses and effects of *Simon de Angeli*; and fined him in one thousand marks, for his confederating with other traitors against the independency of the city.

Dissentions in Parma,

between the government and the bishop.

The bishop of *Parma* about the same time, being chosen archbishop of *Ravenna*, acquired such an accession of power, that the family of *Correggio* were obliged to keep upon the defensive. The people understanding that the archbishop, who appears to have been a *Gibelin*, had fortified his house, took arms, and obliged the podesta, who was secretly in the archbishop's interest, to march at their head to the episcopal palace; from whence the prelate escaped with great difficulty to the monastery of *St. John*, upon *St. Bartholomew*'s day, from whence he went to his archbishopric at *Ravenna*. After this *Boniface* of *Parma* was paid the arrears of his salary, but dismissed from his office; and the *Parmesans* sent a deputation to intreat their friends the *Bolognese* to send them any of their citizens

lizens they pleased to be their podesta; they accordingly sent them *Pelegrino de Simonpizoli*. Notwithstanding this, the prelate and his faction distressed the magistracy so much, that the *Bolognese* were obliged to send two hundred horse and five hundred foot to their assistance. This reinforcement gave the superiority to the magistrates, who immediately banished the *Gibelins* out of their city, some to the distance of ten, and others to that of fifty miles, for conspiring to betray the state. Not contented with that, the new podesta, at the head of the people, demolished the houses and ravaged the estates of all whom they suspected to be in an opposite interest to theirs; and they even destroyed a noble palace that had been begun to be built by their late bishop. That prelate, assembling his friends, returned to *Parma*, where the magistracy had the boldness to put him under arrest; and the pope named another bishop, at the request of the cardinal of *Parma*.

THE government of that city still appears to have been unsettled; for this year, in the beginning of *November*, in a general assembly, at which no fewer than eleven hundred and seventeen counsellors are said to have assisted [a], *Gotio de Foro*, captain of the people of *Parma*, voluntarily resigned his office, and was paid all the arrears of his salary. Upon this, the people elected their podesta, *Pelegrino*, in his room; and he was the first magistrate who held both offices at the same time. The effects of this election produced great harmony in the state, which was followed by a very extraordinary measure; for an act of parliament (so it is called in the Chronicle of *Parma*) passed to repeal the banishment of all malefactors, provided they were not *Gibelins*; and to free such of them as were in prison from their confinement, upon each paying to the community five marks of *Parma*. About this time, the community of *Parma* was so jealous of their liberties, that they passed an act for demolishing all fortifications erected in or near their city. This act was occasioned by the magistrates receiving intelligence, that some of the nobility had begun to fortify not only their own palaces, but the monastery of *St. John*. The podesta, upon this information, ordered a guard to search the monastery, and not only to erase the fortifications, but to carry off all the arms that could be found in it: but the podesta's guard met with so obstinate a resistance from those within, that they were driven from their attempt with considerable loss, and obliged to take refuge in the palace of the podestate. Upon this, that magistrate, though it was then midnight, ordered the great bell to be rung, and summoned

A new regulation there.

[a] Chronicon Parmense, apud MURAT. p. 132.

moned the council, who came to a resolution to defer all farther proceedings till the morning, when it was resolved vigorously to attack the monastery, which was held out by the bishop, as well as to search all the palaces of his faction for arms and warlike stores. The podesta was immediately joined by two thousand men under arms, and by all the friends of the *Correggio* family; while the nobility in the bishop's interest fortified their palaces, to prevent the intended search. *Cristoforo de Marano*, brother to the abbot of *St. John*, commanded under the bishop, and attempted to make head against the podesta; but he was driven out of the city, as was *John de Sancto Vitali*, another nobleman in the same interest, with all his followers; so that the podesta and the magistracy remained conquerors. The monastery of *St. John* was then entered and plundered; but the fugitives, being supported by the marquis of *Este*, made themselves masters of several forts and castles in the country, belonging to the community, particularly of the castles of *Cuvracho* and *del Cruce*. Next day the marquis of *Este* came to *Modena*, where he put himself at the head of the exiles, in hopes of being able to surprise *Parma* itself. But *Correggio* and the magistrates there were now upon their guard, and had assembled, from all quarters, a large body of troops. They could not, however, prevent the exiles, whose numbers every day increased, through the great reputation which the marquis had acquired in war, from destroying the open country to the very gates of the city; so that the *Parmesans* were obliged to call in their allies to their assistance. *Alberto Scotti*, the leading man or prince of *Placentia*, sent his nephew with some troops to their aid. These were followed by others from the city of *Milan*. The *Bolognese* likewise sent their quota; but the *Cremonese* only sent two ambassadors, with their compliments of condolance upon their danger.

Civil dissensions continue.

THOUGH it was then the middle of winter, the exiles still kept the field, and fortified the castle *del Cruce*, in the neighbourhood of *Parma*, with an intention to continue their ravages all the winter. The *Bolognese*, understanding this, sent ambassadors to offer their mediation; but that being rejected, their magistracy came to a resolution of sending them further succours, in which they were joined by the *Milanese* and the *Placentines*. In the beginning of the year 1296, *Albizi* of *Florence* was podesta of *Parma*; and the force of the *Parmesans* this year consisted of three hundred and fifty men at arms, and one thousand foot, well armed, besides their auxiliaries. To defray this expence, a tax of eight thousand marks was imposed upon the tenants of the bishopric, and five thousand upon the citizens. Two thousand were likewise borrowed of the

Force of Parma.

the clergy, and the same sum from the states of *Tuscany*. Their first expedition was against *Guardaxoni*, which was in possession of the exiles. They soon reduced this place, killed some of the garrison, and sent the rest prisoners to *Parma*. The marquis of *Este* continued still at their head; so that the *Bolognese*, and the other allies of the *Parmesans*, were obliged to hasten their succours; and the magistracy of *Parma* themselves increased their own army with a considerable addition of horse. The Chronicle of *Parma* scarcely mentions the great power which *Matthew Correggio* then had in that city; but other contemporary authors speak of him as being the prince of *Parma*, and the marquis of *Este*'s rival. It is certain the *Parmesans* were so strong at this time, that the marquis, despairing to reduce them, all of a sudden turned his arms against the *Bolognese*, and seized *Bazano*. After that, he attacked *Imola*, then in the possession of *Bologna*, with so much fury, that he took it, with great slaughter of the garrison. *Their expeditions.*

It was then time for the *Parmesans* to shew their gratitude for the important assistance they had received from the *Bolognese*, which they now repaid by sending them supplies both of men and money. They were favoured by *Matteo de Foligni*, who surprised the castle of *Guerzola*; while the *Parmesans*, taking advantage of a stormy night, surprised *Monte Vecli*, and sent the *Modenese* governor in chains to *Parma*. Soon after *John de Palude*, one of the *Parmesan* exiles, delivered up *Castel Montezano* to the magistrates of *Parma*; for which service his attainder and banishment were taken off. About the same time *Rangone*, a *Modenese* exile, was in the service of the *Parmesans*; and, being an excellent soldier, he took *Frignano*, and many other places of importance, from the marquis.

Though the states of the *Longobardick* league still continued to assert their independency, yet it was at this time little better than a phantom, for each of them was governed by some great man who controuled the magistracy. When he was popular, and acted in concert with the magistrates or community, his friendship was of great importance; and for that reason the heads of the *Longobardick* league this year resolved to give it a new form, by making those great men, or princes, parties in the league, as well as the communities they governed. Those states were the communities of *Bologna* and *Parma*, the community of *Placentia* and *Alberto Scotti*, who was designed the captain of *Placentia*, the community of *Milan*, and *Matteo Visconti* captain of *Milan*, the community of *Brescia*, and the exiles of *Reggio* and *Modena*. All those states and persons now entered together into a solemn *Affairs of* Lombardy.

lemn confederacy againſt the marquis of *Eſte*. He, on the other hand, put himſelf at the head of the *Reggians*, the *Modeneſe*, the *Ferrareſe*, and other ſtates under his ſubjection, and attacked *Montecuculi*; but was unable to take it. He then, by way of bravado, ſent a meſſage to provoke the *Parmeſans* to a battle, telling them that he had waited ten days for them; but they appeared to have paid no regard to his invitation. At this time the *Parmeſans*, unleſs upon extraordinary occaſions, changed their podeſtas twice a year, in *January* and *June*; and *Rolandino Scotti* of *Placentia*, acted the latter part of this year both as podeſta and captain of the people. To repay the inſults of the marquis of *Eſte*, he no ſooner entered upon his office, than he invaded the territory of *Reggio*, and deſtroyed it as far as *Rivolta*, carrying off with him no fewer than two thouſand head of cattle; and a few days after he entered the ſame territory at another quarter, deſtroying and plundering wherever he came; but according to the *Parmeſan* chronicle, he proceeded with great inhumanity, by putting to death ſome of his priſoners. He then attacked and took the caſtle of *Bibbienna*, which he burnt, and made the garriſon priſoners. Thoſe ſucceſſes emboldened him to march towards *Reggio* itſelf; but he was oppoſed by the inhabitants and the marquis of *Eſte*'s troops, whom he entirely defeated, and made many priſoners, amongſt whom were ſeveral of *Eſte*'s chief officers; all of whom were carried in chains to *Parma*. Upon his return, he was intercepted near *Carreggio* by the *Parmeſan* exiles, and the marquis of *Eſte*'s army, who, after a bloody engagement, were defeated with loſs; and many perſons of great rank were ſent priſoners to *Parma*. The marquis himſelf was defeated, about the ſame time, by the *Bologneſe* at *Ovignano*, which they took and fortified.

Succeſs of the Parmeſans.

BEFORE the *Parmeſans* and their allies left the field, it was ſecretly agreed upon by the heads of both armies, that they ſhould, in the month of *November*, make a joint attack upon the dominions of the marquis of *Eſte*, by the *Parmeſans* again invading the territory of *Reggio*, while the *Bologneſe* were to fall into the *Modeneſe*. The *Bologneſe* had at their head *Malateſta*; and being aſſiſted by a conſiderable body of troops from *Florence* and the *Romagna*, they beſieged and took *Bazano*, and defeated the marquis, who came to its relief. The *Parmeſans* indeed took the field at the time appointed, but proceeded no farther than *Colorno*, on account of the rainy ſeaſon, which diſcouraged their auxiliaries ſo much, after the fatiguing campaign they had already made, that the whole army returned to *Parma*.

IN

In the year 1297, *Bernardino de Rolento* was podesta of *Parma* for the first six months; during which the *Parmesans* renewed their usual ravages in the territory of *Reggio*, where they made *Simon de Manfredi* prisoner, and burnt his castle of *Scandiano*. They then took possession of *San Paolo*, which they fortified in behalf of the community of *Parma*, as they did that of *Monte Luzuli*. The first of those places belonged to *Azolini di Canusio*, who surrendered it, or rather sold it, to the *Parmesans*, with all his estate in the neighbourhood, for a salary of one thousand florins a year, and for his admission to the rights and privileges of *Parma*, where he and his friends took up their residence. Soon after this, *Manuel de Valesneria*, at the head of the *Gibelin* exiles, entered the castle of *Cornelio*, belonging to the episcopal see of *Parma*, and fortified the same. The *Parmesans* immediately marched against it; and after several attempts, in which they were defeated, they obliged the rebels to capitulate, on condition of their being permitted to depart with the safety of their lives and effects; but the castle itself was razed to the ground. *who ravage* Reggio.

Those mutual ravages being destructive to all parties, *Matthew de Correggio*, whose estate had suffered greatly in the war, and the marquis of *Este*, began to treat of peace, in which they found great difficulties. The *Gibelin* exiles, and the bishop's party, exclaimed against the marquis for entering upon any treaty without their consent, and their receiving satisfaction for all they had lost and suffered. Add to this, that *Correggio* himself had many powerful enemies in *Parma*. The *Bolognese* likewise complained of the *Parmesans* entering into a separate treaty, and accused them of ingratitude, after the great things they had done to serve them. Their friends in *Milan* and *Placentia* had likewise complaints of the same kind; and to appease them, the *Parmesans* sent an ambassador to each of those cities; but the war still continued between the *Bolognese* and the marquis of *Este*. At last the peace was proclaimed, and by it all prisoners on both sides were set at liberty, which seems to have been the only article it contained. It is observed, that *Bernardino*, in his podestate, acquitted himself with great honour. He was succeeded by *Guaspar de Garbagnate*, a *Milanese*, who was recommended to the *Parmesans* by *Maffeo Visconti*. During his podestate, a general conspiracy was formed amongst all the *Gibelin* exiles, both of the episcopal and imperial party; and it was headed by *Manfredoti* of *Cornazano*, who was nearly related to the family of *Rubeis*, one of the most powerful in *Parma*. The intention of the conspirators was to surprise *Parma*, at the time when the chiefs of the governing *A peace concluded*;

party

party were employed in a negotiation of peace between *Maffeo Visconti* and the marquis of *Montferrat*. But the conspirators were too numerous for their design to be kept a secret; and a terrible storm falling, prevented their several bodies from marching time enough to the rendezvous. Thus the magistrates of *Parma*, being upon their guard, easily dissipated the conspiracy; and many of the country people, who were found in the place of rendezvous, were executed upon gibbets: as to *Manfredoti* and the other chief conspirators, being proclaimed traitors, their estates were confiscated, and their houses demolished.

and a conspiracy defeated.

The conspirators being thus discovered and defeated, seized upon *Monte Saxo*, which they fortified, and thereby harrassed the open country of *Parma*. Upon this the podesta and the other magistrates assembled their army; and though it was then the month of *November*, they laid siege to *Monte Saxo*; but through the severity of the season they lost many men, while the survivors, without waiting for the word of command, abandoned the siege, and retired first to *Borgo di Sto Domino*, and then to *Parma*, with such precipitation, that the podesta and the officers left their provisions behind them on the road. This check seems to have inclined the people of *Parma* to a peace with the exiles of *Monte Saxo*; and a negotiation was set on foot, under the mediation of *Maffeo Visconti* and *Alberto Scotti*. In *Parma*, at this time, as well as through all the other cities and states of *Italy*, no fewer than four or five different factions prevailed, besides the general distinction of *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*. The bishop, whose revenues appear to have been greater than that of the state, had still great interest there, and a powerful party. The emperor pretended to the direct dominion of the city, and so did the pope. *Correggio* and the podesta, with the magistrates, had likewise different interests; and those of the *Lombardic* league were likewise to be supported, not to mention the vast heart-burnings and dissentions of the great families amongst themselves, independent of what related to the public. The difficulty therefore in making a peace, was to find a proper authority under which it could be concluded.

A new peace and conspiracy.

MAFFEO and *Alberto* were chosen commissioners for the bishop, and the late podesta was made a syndic or plenipotentiary for the community of *Parma*, to take care of their interests against the claims both of the bishop and the emperor; and the place of meeting was the city of *Milan*. After great altercations, the arbiters at last pronounced their sentence, which was, that *Monte Saxo* should be given up to the community of *Parma*, who afterwards demolished it; and that the exiles

exiles of all denominations of the episcopal as well as the imperial faction, should be at liberty to settle in the territory or city of *Parma*, as they thought proper.

THIS year the podesta, at the head of his militia, demolished the houses and estates of the lords of *Barga*, for having committed some violences upon the salt-works, and other public edifices belonging to the community. But this was far from restoring the tranquility of the state. Notwithstanding the late pacification, party rage ran as high as ever. *Ranieris Gate* of *Viterbo* was podesta of *Parma* during the latter end of this year, when *Rolandini de Marano* was accused of a design to betray the city, and imprisoned, in order to be tried for his life on that charge. *Bernardino della Porta* was banished on the same accusation. *Barisselli* and *Peter de Sancto Vitale*, both of whom had been banished *Gibelins*, were put to the torture, to make them confess a conspiracy against the state; and *Barisselli* died upon the rack; but *Sancto Vitale*, though he survived it, confessed nothing. Notwithstanding this, the spirit of party ran so high, that the magistrates insisted upon his being put to death; but the podesta, rather than be guilty of such cruelty, abdicated his office, and privately left *Parma* in the night-time with his family. Next morning, his flight being known, a general assembly was convoked; and *Melio Mariano*, who was then captain of the people, was chosen podesta likewise; so that he held both offices. He was not so scrupulous as his predecessor had been; for perceiving that the governing part of *Parma* were intent upon *Sancto Vitale*'s death, he was beheaded in the public market-place, by his order. As to *Rolandini*, he confessed, upon promise of life, all that his judges required of him. Those illegal proceedings renewed all the troubles of the republic; so that in the beginning of the year 1299, all the *Parmesan* was filled with robbers, many of whom were executed. The same year the community of *Parma* sent one hundred horse to the assistance of *Maffeo Visconti* at *Milan*; and they served him for two months. This year is remarkable for great scarcity of provisions at *Parma*, as well as for the lightnings that happened in it, and damaged some of its public buildings.

Public disorders in Parma.

GERARDO DE GAMBARA was, the latter part of this year, podesta of *Parma*; but being called to *Florence* a month before his magistracy expired, he was allowed to leave a deputy, who served for the rest of the time: his name was *Mazalino* of *Brescia*; and during his government *Magnano de Cornazano*, the chief of the banished *Gibelins*, was taken and brought prisoner to *Parma*, where his head

Revolutions there.

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was cut off in the open street. *Brodario de Saxoferrato* the podesta of *Parma* in the beginning of the year 1300; but being chosen by the *Florentines* likewise to be their chief magistrate, he too had a dispensation granted him for exercising his office by a deputy. About this time the *Parmesan Gibelins* surprised and fortified *Cornioli*. Upon this, the captain of the people for that year, and the deputy podesta, marched with an army to dislodge them, which they effectually did, and returned in triumph to *Parma*. Soon after this a great revolution happened in the affairs of *Lombardy*, by *Galeazzo* the son of *Matteo Visconti* marrying the daughter of the marquis of *Este*. The nuptials were extremely magnificent; and *Galeazzo*, in his way to *Modena*, went through *Parma*, where he was received with vast honours, and knighted by the marquis. In his return after his marriage, the new-married couple returned to *Parma*, where a continued course of festivities lasted for some weeks. Amongst other compliments paid them, the community of *Parma* made presents to the principal inhabitants of a particular kind of robe, which they wore in honour of the nuptials, as the deputies of *Bologna* likewise did; and when the *Milanese* court left *Parma*, they and the *Bolognese* deputies attended them to *Milan* in those robes, where they solemnly presented them to the bride and bridegroom. In short, all *Lombardy* on this occasion exhibited but one continued scene of feasting, dancing, and other diversions.

and in Lombardy.

The first jubilee.

POPE *Boniface* VIII. this year instituted the jubilee which continued those rejoicings at *Parma*, by bringing an immense number from the different parts of *Europe* as well as *Italy* to *Rome*; and most of the *Transalpine* guests passed through *Parma*; where, the year being remarkably fruitful, they were furnished for their money with all kinds of delicacies and refreshments, which enabled the *Parmesans* to indemnify themselves for the expences they had been at in entertaining the court of *Milan*. Next year, in the podestate of *Paul Brauni* of *Brescia*, a new officer was appointed by the *Parmesans*, for the preservation of their enclosures and vines, which had suffered by the vast armies of visitants to the jubilee. The same year *Galeazzo* of *Milan*, whom we have already mentioned, surprised *Bergamo*, from whence he drove all the families that were not in his interest, destroying their effects, and demolishing their houses. *Parma* was, about the same time, honoured by a visit from *Charles*, brother to the king of *France*, and his wife, the daughter of the emperor of *Constantinople*, in his way to *Rome*. The history of this prince, and his attempt upon *Florence*, has been touched upon in the *Florentine* history.

tory. The *Parmesans*, at this time, appear to have been in a very flourishing condition; and they set up a mint, in which they coined pieces of silver. They depended greatly on the protection of *Maffeo Visconti* of *Milan*, for whose service they seldom entertained fewer than one hundred men at arms, each attended by two horses, who, this year, received an advance of four months pay. To do his family the greater honour, their societies of notaries or lawyers, now chose his son for their provost, or president. But the family of the *Visconti* became then so powerful in *Lombardy*, that a strong confederacy was formed against them, consisting of the *Cremonese*, the *Placentines*, with *Alberto Scotti* at their head, *Philipponi* the lord of *Pavia*, the *Pavians*, the people of *Lodi*, *Cremasco*, *Novara*, *Vercelli*, the marquis of *Montferrat*, the *Alessandrians*, and the powerful house of *la Turre*, who headed the exiles whom *Galeazzo* had driven out of *Bergamo*. The people of *Parma* proved faithful; and while he went out to fight the confederates, their men at arms remained in *Milan* with *Galeazzo*, to keep the inhabitants there in awe. The confederacy, however, was too strong for both father and son to withstand. The people of *Milan* took arms, and drove *Galeazzo* and his garrison to *Bergamo*; while the father, hearing that *Milan* was irrecoverably lost, and perceiving that all resistance was useless, resigned his batoon of command to *Alberto Scotti*, and was by him carried prisoner to *Placentia*, to the great grief and mortification of the people of *Parma*; while his army, which was mostly composed of mercenaries, was shut out from *Milan*, stripped of their arms and baggage, and forced to return to their respective homes. Such is the account given us of this revolution in the chronicle of *Parma*; but *Ferreti* of *Vicenza*[a] is more explicit in his relation; and informs us, that the whole was owing to the craft and resentment of *Alberto Scotti*, on account of the accommodation that had been made between *Maffeo* and the marquis of *Este*; that *Alberto*, being at the head of twenty thousand men, had a secret interview with *Maffeo*, who designed to give him battle; and under false pretences persuaded him to resign his command; and after making his army retire, to put himself into *Alberto*'s power, who promised to make a peace to his advantage.

Prosperity of Parma.

Revolution in Milan.

Soon after this the people of *Parma* took proper measures for fortifying their city, expecting to be attacked; but a general meeting of the confederates was, in the mean while, held at *Placentia*, where it was resolved to restore the exiles

[a] Ferreti apud Murat. tom. ix. pag. 1020.

of all parties in *Lombardy*; and the *Parmesans* were strongly pressed by ambassadors to enter into the alliance, to suffer the bishop's party to be readmitted into *Parma*, and to receive six hundred of the confederated troops into the city, for the preservation of the public peace. The same ambassadors likewise insisted upon the *Parmesans* joining with them in declaring war against the marquis of *Este*, unless he relinquished *Modena* and *Reggio*. The *Parmesans*, by instructions from their principals, positively rejected those terms, and upon their return to *Parma*, fresh troops and money was there levied, and new fortifications were added both to the city and the frontiers for their defence. It was then proposed by the magistracy to enter into a league with the marquis of *Este*, and his friends in *Lombardy* and *Tuscany*, which, in the month of *August* following, was actually formed. This year a new tax was laid upon the fruits of the earth, to defray the public expences.

ALL those measures were exceedingly disagreeable to the men of property, and of pacific dispositions in *Parma*; and their discontents were heightened by a prospect of famine, in the beginning of the year 1303. At last both parties prepared to come to blows; but a body of troops was sent from *Placentia*, by *Scotti*, to support his faction. While they were upon their march, the marquis of *Este* advanced to fight them; but both departed without coming to any action. The near approach of the *Placentines* to the city, gave such an alarm to the *Parmesans*, that a vote passed for carrying a stone wall quite round *Parma*, and for adding other fortifications for its security. This was a proceeding so agreeable to both parties, that a vote passed in the common council, for giving a power to the podesta and the captain of the people, to settle terms between the two parties, and for compelling all those who should prove refractory to obey them. Accordingly, in the month of *July*, they proposed a reconciliation between the community, and the exiles of the bishop's party. This negociation was interrupted by *Gilbert de Correggio*; and the two parties must have come to action, had not three of the chief citizens of *Cremona* arrived at *Parma*, and offered them their mediation. This was most solemnly accepted of, and they were, by the magistrates and common council, invested with full powers for doing and ordering whatever they thought might be for the peace and benefit of the city. Their award was, that all the exiles and prisoners of the bishop's party, should be immediately free from all censure and punishment, and restored to *Parma*, with liberty of entering into full possession of their estates and effects. They ordered,

An accommodation.

as

at the same time, that a full act of grace should pass in favour of all malefactors, who were, in like manner, to be pardonned and restored. This award being published, the episcopal exiles, with garlands on their heads, returned in triumph to *Parma*, where the party of *Correggio*, to whom they owed their restoration, became now by far the most powerful.

Towards the end of *July*, the friends of *Correggio*, amongst whom were all the bishop's party, appeared in great numbers before the public palace, with shouts and exclamations for the long life of *Correggio*, upon whom they immediately laid hands, and by force hurried him into the palace, where every thing was in confusion and uproar. A council being summoned, *Correggio* was therein created the lord, the defender and protector of the state, community, and people of *Parma*, and the conservator of the above-mentioned award. He was then solemnly invested in the same council, with his new powers, by his being put into possession of the standard of the Blessed Virgin, and the chariot that bore it, which was carried into the palace. The next day was appointed for the formal ratification of all that had been agreed upon. A council was accordingly summoned, where the members present swore that they would defend and maintain *Correggio* in his said power; and it was farther ordered, that all the episcopal and other exiles, who had been by the violence of faction driven out of the council, should be restored to the same, and if they were not alive, their sons should fill their seats. Those proceedings gave offence to several great families, particularly that of *Rubies*, who retired to their estates in the country; but contributed greatly to restore the public tranquillity. In *October* this year, *Maffeo Visconti* having escaped from his confinement at *Placentia*, his party became again so powerful, that *Alberto Scotti* and he were reconciled, upon condition that *Scotti* should assist him and his son in regaining their power at *Milan*; but that was more than they could perform. The family of *la Turre*, or, as they are often called, the *Turriani*, had got absolute possession of that city; and though *Maffeo* and *Scotti* appeared before it with a considerable army, they were obliged to draw off without making any farther attempt. The *Mantuans* and the *Veronese*, however, followed the example of *Scotti* by joining *Maffeo*, as did great numbers of the *Parmesans*, both horse and foot, and some troops belonging to the marquis of *Este*. At the same time the magistrates of *Parma*, or rather *Correggio*, in whose person the magistracy was now fixed, ordered

Correggio *made lord and protector of* Parma.

dered a body of their country troops to march into *Placentia*, for the security of that city.

He is chosen protector of Placentia.

In the year 1304, the peace of *Parma* was again broken, by one of the family of *Senaza* murdering a kinsman of the protector *Correggio*, in his own palace; upon which the *Senaza* family, with all their friends and dependents, who seemed before to live in a good correspondence with the protector, were driven out of *Parma*, their houses demolished, and their estates confiscated. About this time *Alberto Scotti*, finding he could do nothing against the *Milanese*, marched against their allies the *Pavians*, and sent for assistance to *Parma*, which was readily granted him. While he was upon this expedition, the territory of *Placentia* was invaded by the *Milanese*, and their confederates; and this obliged *Scotti* to demand a fresh reinforcement of troops from the *Parmesans*, who sent him two hundred men at arms, under the command of *Matteo de Correggio*, brother to the protector. These were followed by a great number of volunteers, and two thousand of the country troops, all of whom threw themselves into *Placentia*, and thereby prevented its coming to the possession of *Scotti*'s enemies, who were obliged to draw off, and then the *Parmesans* returned to their own country. This seasonable assistance enabled *Scotti*, in the mean time, to make several important conquests upon the *Pavians*. But he being returned to *Placentia*, found that a strong party had been formed against him, which had been kept in awe by the *Parmesans*, and his other confederates, during his absence. They now broke out into open violence, and appeared in arms in the streets, calling out for peace. They were attacked by *Scotti* and his friends, who having suppressed them with some bloodshed, sent to *Parma* for fresh reinforcements, which he received. Soon after the territory of *Placentia* was suddenly invaded by the *Milanese*, under *la Turre* and his confederates, who destroyed the open country. The account of this invasion arriving at *Parma*, *Matteo de Correggio*, at the head of the foot, marched to *Borgo di San Domino*, to the assistance of the *Placentines*, as *Nicholas de Foliano*, with the horse, did to *Florenzola*, and obliged the invaders to return home. A few weeks after a stronger confederacy than ever was formed against *Placentia*, under count *Philipponi* of *Pavia*, who took *Bobbio* and *Rivalgario*, towns within the district of *Placentia*. This encouraged the malecontents within *Placentia* to form new cabals against *Scotti*. The protector of *Parma* came to his assistance with all the country militia of *Parma*, the horse, and hired soldiers, and two thousand of the citizens, to assist *Scotti* and his party. When *Correggio* arrived at that city, he

Revolutions of the Parmesans.

he found the confederacy against *Scotti* to be so universal and powerful, both within and without *Placentia*, that he advised *Scotti* and his family to retire to *Parma*, which they were obliged to do. His retreat somewhat pacified the minds of the *Placentines*, and gave *Correggio*, who seems not to have been disinterested in his advice to *Scotti*, so much influence, that he prevailed with the *Placentines* to remove their podesta from his government, and to receive in his room one of his kinsmen. After this *Correggio*, having formed a party in *Placentia*, and being supported by his army, was created, or rather nominated, lord of that city, with all *Scotti*'s powers, for five years. This was done without the consent of the body of the citizens, who publickly declared, that they never meant to drive out one master and receive another, and reproached *Correggio* for his treachery to *Scotti*. *Correggio* now found that he had mistaken his measures; nor did he know how his proceedings would be taken at *Parma*. He therefore left the city of *Placentia*, with all his troops, in great confusion; and thus the *Placentines* recovered their popular government, or, as they called it, their liberty.

As to *Scotti* himself, he and his son *Francesco*, whom he designed for his successor, and thereby disobliged his other sons, remained for some time at *Parma*; but never was readmitted into *Placentia*, from whence he, his friends, and family, were either banished or imprisoned. The leagues formed amongst the states and cities of *Lombardy*, were commonly subject to so many interruptions and accidents, that they often required to be renewed. *Parma* was this year the place of congress, where the *Parmesans* and the *Cremonese* first swore to a new alliance, into which they invited or admitted the people of *Milan*, *Bergamo*, *Lodi*, *Cremasco*, *Cumani*, *Vercelli*, *Novara*, and *Pavia*. This year the marquis of *Este* married the daughter of *Charles*, king of *Naples*, and, upon his return home, he was met at *Sienna* by deputies from *Parma*, who attended him to *Modena*, where they were magnificently entertained, and presented the principal persons of the court there with robes, on the part of the protector and community of *Parma*, where civil dissentions again broke out. One of the family of *Rubeis* had taken up arms at *Segalaria*; and the protector having sent his servant to examine how matters stood, he was murdered on his return by one of the same family, and his body brought to *Parma*. Upon this the people set fire to the houses of the *Rubeis*. Soon after the two factions of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins* were again in arms in *Parma*; but the former were defeated and driven out of the city, and were, at the same time, declared exiles and rebels. Those advan-

Revolutions in Placentia.

tages rendered the protector, and the *Gibelin* faction, absolute masters of the government; and many *Gibelins* who had been banished, and had refused to accept of the late pacification, now returned. Notwithstanding this the *Guelphs* still continued in arms, but the podesta was sent against them with all the force of *Parma*, and with orders utterly to destroy all their estates and houses in the country, particularly those of the *Rubeis* in the districts of *Colliculo*, *Segalaria*, and *Noviano*. The *Parmesans*, on this occasion, were assisted by a detachment of horse belonging to the marquis of *Este*, under the count *de Sartiana*; and the barbarous orders were executed with the utmost punctuality.

Affairs of the Guelphs, *who are protected by the marquis of* Este.

THIS persecution of the *Guelphs* served only to render their party more powerful, as it was now plain that *Correggio* had rendered himself the tyrant of *Parma*. *Gerard de Henzola* and *Paul Ruffa*, two men of note, and greatly in favour with the protector, entered into a conspiracy against him, in which they were privately encouraged by the marquis of *Este*, who never had lost sight of his design to become the master of *Parma*. The conspiracy was discoverd, and *Henzola* and *Ruffa* were thrown into the common prison. *Correggio*, finding that the marquis of *Este*, who was already too powerful in *Lombardy*, was at the bottom of the conspiracy, sent secret agents who treated with the *Bolognese*, the *Mantuans*, the *Veronese*, and the exiles of *Modena* and *Reggio*, for surprizing the two latter cities. This negociation was carried on so secretly, that it never was suspected, till in *October* the protector appeared with a body of troops before *Reggio*, and attempted to scale its walls; but he was repulsed. He found means, however, to take *San Geminiani*, and some other places belonging to *Reggio*, which he demolished, but fortified the episcopal palace there, and returned without any farther action to *Parma*. While this passed at *Reggio*, the *Bolognese*, who had undertaken to surprize *Modena* in like manner, and on the same day, made themselves masters of the bridge of *St. Ambrose*, and an adjacent castle, which they intirely demolished, and then went to *Borgo*, for so the suburbs of *Modena* were called, where they did great damage, and then they besieged and took the town of *Nouantola*, upon which they had an old claim; but found its rich abbey so well fortified, that they could not take it, and winter coming on, they were obliged to return to *Bologna*.

THE *Mantuans* and the *Veronese*, who were two other capital parties in the league against the marquis of *Este*, had undertaken to prevent the *Cremonese* from coming to his assistance. Upon this the protector of *Parma*, with two thousand

and men, renewed his attempt upon *Reggio*; but, after lying before it fifteen days, the rain and snow that fell, together with the advanced season of the year, obliged him to return to *Parma*. Their visit was repaid by the troops of the marquis of *Este*, who invaded the territory of *Parma* in their turn, and laid great part of it waste with fire and sword. About the same time, *viz.* in *December*, the *Rubeis* and the other exiled families of the *Guelph* faction, took and fortified the castle of *Serano*. This being known at *Parma*, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, the protector and podesta took the field with all the troops they could raise, and laid siege for twenty-two days to the place, which at last, with great difficulty, was taken, by granting the garrison an honourable capitulation, and safety as to their effects and persons. During this siege the *Rubeis*, and their associates, proffered their services to the marquis of *Este*, who had been before their enemy; but now received them into his protection, and assigned them their residence in *Reggio*, and a body of men, with which they invaded and destroyed the estates of the protector, and attempted, but in vain, to raise the siege of *Sorano*.

War between the Reggians quelled.

This invasion, and the destruction of the protector's estates, served but to exasperate him the more against the marquis of *Este*; and in the beginning of the year 1306, he again took the field, and became master of several places belonging to *Modena* and *Reggio*, particularly *Cassalo*, *Carpi*, *Ganazeto*, and *Budrioni*. This was followed by the expulsion out of *Reggio* and *Modena* of all the party and dependents of the *Este* family, many of whom were killed or wounded. This done, *Correggio* marched, at the head of his *Parmesans* and his *Bolognese* auxiliaries, into *Reggio*. The *Reggians* imagined that he had designs upon their liberties, and some of them took arms; but not being properly supported by their fellow citizens, the insurrection was quelled by *Correggio*, with the deaths of several *Reggians*. This commotion made *Correggio*, from what he had experienced at *Placentia*, cautious of farther provoking the *Reggians*, and he affected to leave their government to their own disposal, the rather as his *Bolognese* auxiliaries were now returned home. He even restored to them the episcopal tower, together with *Budriano*, and all that he had taken from them while they were the subjects of the marquis of *Este*. By those proceedings he induced the *Reggians* to chuse his brother *Matteo* for their podesta; and he accordingly settled at *Reggio* with his family. All the *Guelph* faction, however, who were at *Reggio*, and who were both rich and powerful, left that city, and retired to their

eſtates in the country, by which the *Mantuani* and *Veroneſe* were enabled to take the caſtle of *Razoli*.

Marriage of Correggio's *daughters.*

CORREGGIO, who was now at the height of his reputation, gave away two of his daughters, and a grand-daughter, in one day in marriage: the eldeſt to *Alboin de la Scala*, lord of *Verona*; the ſecond to *Franceſco*, ſon to *Paperini* of *Mantua*; and the grand-daughter to *Baylardino* of *Verona*. Thoſe ladies were attended with a noble cavalcade of *Parmeſans* to the place of their nuptials, which was *Verona*; and thoſe matches greatly ſtrengthened the *Gibelin* intereſt in *Lombardy*. This year the cities and ſtates of *Parma*, *Bologna*, *Modena*, *Reggio*, *Verona*, and *Breſcia*, met by their deputies and plenipotentiaries, created for that purpoſe, at *Bologna*, where they entered into a ſolemn confederacy to take *Ferrara* from the marquis of *Eſte*. At this time the chief *Bologneſe* had ſo good an opinion of *Correggio*, that the podeſta of *Bologna* was in every reſpect directed by him. This podeſta was a *Parmeſan*, and his name was *Simon Ferrapecora*. But the common people were in general for the *Guelphs*; and two of that faction being impriſoned and tried for a charge of high treaſon (upon which they were acquitted) the common people of *Bologna* diſcovered the moſt extravagant expreſſions of joy, and at laſt drove the *Gibelins* out of the city, and pillaged their houſes. Notwithſtanding this they had ſo great a regard for the ſervices that had been done to the ſtate by *Correggio*, that they offered to continue his podeſta in his office; but the latter was ſo apprehenſive of the conſequences of their fury, that he reſigned it, and went back to *Parma*. But, in fact, the *Guelphs* of *Bologna* cared as little for the pope as they did for the emperor; for when the legate from his holineſs appeared in *Bologna*, and harangued the people to perſuade them to ſubmit to the holy ſee, he was driven out of the city, and moſt contumeliouſly uſed. It was about this time, that the inhabitants of *Val di Taro* expelled the *Gibelin* faction, for which the *Placentines*, their maſters, beſieged their town, and by the help of the *Parmeſans* reduced it to their obedience.

Commotions in Italy.

About the middle of *July* this year, the confederates took the field againſt the marquis of *Eſte*, and, amongſt others, were joined by the *Parmeſans*, and by two hundred ſoldiers furniſhed by *Correggio* from his own private fortune. They marched directly for *Ferrara*, and encamped ſo near it, that the trumpets of the allied army were diſtinctly heard within that city, the marquis of *Eſte* not daring to attack them. The exiles of *Placentia*, in the intereſt of *Scotti*, laid hold of that opportunity to ſurprize the caſtle of *Vigolini*, which the *Placentines* immediately beſieged, with the aſſiſtance of four hundred

hundred horse and foot, sent to them by the *Parmesans*; and having obliged the garrison to capitulate, they demolished the place. The government of *Bologna* being now in the hands of the *Guelphs*, entered into a league with the marquis of *Este*, and had sent a body of troops to his assistance, which obliged the *Parmesans*, and their confederates, to raise the siege of *Ferrara*; but they took the castle of *Braganti*, belonging to the marquis. The *Parmesans*, about the same time, fortified their bridges upon the river of *Parma* and *Entio*, to prevent the incursions of their enemies.

Arts of the protector of Parma.

In the year 1307, *Tadde* of *Reggio*, served *Parma* both as podesta and captain of the people; but the *Parmesans* being now destitute of military commanders, applied to the *Lucqueſe*, who sent them one *Landi* to be their captain of the people. A civil war at the same time broke out in *Modena*, between the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*, in which the latter were so roughly handled, that *Azo*, the *Parmesan* podesta's son, was sent with a body of troops from *Parma* to the assistance of the *Modeneſe Gibelins*. All this was done by the direction and authority of the protector and *Correggio*, who becoming now intolerable by the cruel exercise of his government, hired troops from *Verona* and *Mantua*, and even many *German* soldiers of fortune, who were extremely odious to the *Parmesans* to protect him in his tyranny. His conduct at last obliged the other heads of the *Parmesan* government to enter into a secret conspiracy against him. Even some who were thought to have been of his own party left *Parma*, and joined the *Rubeis*, the *Lupi*, and other exiles, who, at the invitation of the lords of *Canossa*, a famous castle in the *Modeneſe*, took possession of *Sesso*, a castle in the same neighbourhood, and fortified it as other exiles did *Corvaria*. *Rodolfo Garsoni* of *Modena*, was then podesta of *Parma*, and he, with *Matteo de Correggio*, marched with the *Parmesan* troops, and laid siege to *Corvaria*; but they were defeated with considerable loss by the exiles, which obliged the besiegers, after laying waste the estates of the *Paleoti*, to whom the castle of *Corvaria* belonged, to return to *Parma*.

He is defeated;

but assisted.

After this misfortune, the protector was obliged to apply to his allies of *Verona*, *Mantua*, and *Brescia*, who sent a considerable body of troops to his assistance. This reinforcement enabled him to favour the *Gibelins* of *Placentia*, who expelled many of the *Guelphs* from that city and district.

A famine.

The uninterrupted wars which the *Parmesans* had sustained, in fighting in the quarrels of their tyrant *Correggio*, had occasioned such a scarcity of hands for agriculture, that the ground had for some time lain uncultivated; and provisions were

were this year so dear, that the magistrates were obliged to order a general search to be made, both in the city and country, for grain; where so inconsiderable a quantity was found, that they were obliged to buy it at an excessive rate, and to sell it at great loss in the open street, to prevent the people from starving. This dreadful calamity was attributed to the ambition of *Correggio*, and added so much to his unpopularity, that in *June*, this year, a meeting was held of the chief citizens of *Parma*, *Gibelins* as well as *Guelphs*, to concert measures for deposing him from his government. *Correggio*, who is said to have been a man of great abilities and address, found out the purport of this meeting, and immediately summoned all his friends and dependents to attend him at *Parma*. The conspirators, whose head was one *Anselmo de Marano*, perceiving that they were discovered, fled out of the city, and were banished; while some, who had come to *Parma* on the protector's summons, were imprisoned; and no fewer than twenty-seven of the heads of the *Guelphs* were thrown into the common jails. This severity, for that time, quelled the conspiracy; and the *Paleoti* family, who had been banished, and their estates forfeited, had their sentences reversed, and returned to *Parma*; as did several other of the chief conspirators, who, upon promise of pardon, were seemingly reconciled to the protector; but *Anselmo de Marano* died soon after his flight. The family of *Rubeis* still stood out, which obliged the protector and the podesta to assemble all the force of *Parma*, and their auxiliaries of *Reggio*, and once more to besiege the castle of *Sesso*, which was held by the *Rubeis*; but all the besiegers could do was to lay waste the open country, and to return to *Parma*. While this expedition was going forward, the *Placentines* laid siege to *Bardi* on the river *Sevo*; and the protector of *Parma* sent them one hundred foot-soldiers, to remain in garrison at *Placentia* during the absence of their army.

The protector unpopular.

His power decreases.

It appears, that the power of the protector began now to decrease in *Parma*; for the community there, at this time, delivered some of the capital conspirators, who had been imprisoned, out of their confinement; and re-admitted others, who had been banished, into the city. In the month of *June*, the podesta, at the head of his militia and soldiers, again invaded the estates belonging to the lords of *Canossa*; while the *Reggians* destroyed the lands of *Padarno*, as far as *Felini*, belonging to the same lords, and then returned home. In *July*, the exiles of *Placentia*, *Milan*, *Lodi*, and *Cremona*, assembled and surprised the monastery of *Columba*; from whence they marched to *Monticelli*, which lies in the neighbourhood of

onchaglia, a place belonging to *Placentia*, and seized and rtified the same. The inhabitants of *Placentia*, upon this, nt to *Parma* for succours, to enable them to dispossess the xiles from their new acquisition, which were immediately nt them; while the protector, with the rest of the army, narched to *Fiorenzola*, and from thence to *Borgo di San Do-nino*; from whence he moved to the district of *Fontana*, where he expected to have been joined by the *Placentines*, ccording to agreement, that they might march in conjunc-ion against the exiles. He was at last joined, but by a few f the latter, and the whole army marched to *Ronchaglia*; ut the heats of the season were so excessive, that neither vater nor forage could be had; so that many of the *Placen-ines*, their cavalry especially, perished in their march; and he podesta was obliged to bring back his army to *Fiorenzola*, rom whence he returned to *Parma*. A part of the *Placen-ine* army was still lying before *Bardi*; but hearing of the disasters of their countrymen, they raised the siege, and re-tired with precipitation to *Placentia*.

THIS year the *Placentines*, who were in garrison in the towns of *Fiorenzola*, and others in its neighbourhood, were driven out of the same; and they were taken possession of by *Alberto Scotti*, and the *Florentine* exiles under *Lupi*, upon the invitation of the inhabitants. From thence *Scotti* and the exiles of his party marched against *Placentia* itself, where every thing was in confusion; and, by the assistance of *Lupi*, he got possession of one of the gates, and expelled from thence all the heads of the party against him, many of whom were *Parmesans*, obliging them to take refuge in *Bobbio*. Upon the news of this unexpected revolution arriving at *Parma*, the podesta of that city marched with his army to the succour of the *Placentines*; but did not venture to proceed farther than *Borgo di San Domino*, on account of the discontents that broke out in *Parma*. It was now known, that *Lupi* and *Rubeis* had conducted the enterprize against *Placentia*; and they were justly supposed to be irreconcileable enemies to the po-desta and his friends in *Parma*. *The* Placentines *war with the* Cremonese.

WHILE this consternation lasted, a murder was committed, in the presence of the protector, in the church of *St. Peter*. This rendered it necessary to reconsecrate the church; which ceremony was performed by the bishop of *Reggio*, because the bishop of *Parma* refused to do it, and continued upon his guard against the protector at *Colorno*; all his estate within the city being seized by the protector, who was now more unpopular than ever. Understanding that the exiles had been sheltered and assisted in the *Cremonese*, he confederated with

with the *Mantuans* to lay waſte that diſtrict, and, if poſſible, to make themſelves maſters of *Cremona* itſelf. Towards the end of *Auguſt*, having made extraordinary preparations for that purpoſe, he and the podeſta marched out of *Parma* to *Briſſello*, with all the force they could muſter; while the *Mantuans*, having fitted out a number of ſmall veſſels, attacked the *Cremoneſe* by water, and took *Ponte de Doxolo*. The confederates then laid waſte *Montefori*, *Vidali*, *Portioli*, *Caſal Maggiore*, *Rivarola*, and *Luzzara*, with many other places, thereby intirely ruining that delightful country. *Guaſtalla* ſubmitted to the protector; but he intirely razed its fortifications. The *Veroneſe* and the *Breſcians* at the ſame time, as being the allies of *Parma*, entered the *Cremoneſe*, and had their ſhare of the plunder.

The magiſtracy of Parma *diſguſted.*

THOSE barbarities were extremely diſguſting to the magiſtrates of *Parma*, from whoſe knowledge the whole expedition had been kept a ſecret; ſo that it was undertaken without the conſent of the council or community of *Parma*, which the protector was obliged, by his oath of office, to have conſulted. All he ſaid in his defence was, that the *Cremoneſe* were the enemies of *Parma*; and at the ſame time he gave orders for fortifying *Briſſello*, *Calorno*, *Seſſo*, and *Borgo di San Domino*, under pretence of defending them againſt the *Cremoneſe*; but, in reality, to hold them againſt the *Parmeſans* themſelves, who were now every day conſpiring his ruin. His intentions were ſo viſible, that *Rubeis* and the other exiles joined with the *Milaneſe*, the *Cremoneſe*, the *Lodeſe*, and the *Pavians*, and laid waſte the lands of their enemies about *Parma*. The protector's enemies were equally active againſt him within the city; but having the army at his devotion, and being well ſerved by ſpies, all their intrigues were diſcovered, and the conſpirators were puniſhed, either by death or baniſhment.

A new expedition.

THE protector and the podeſta then paſſed the *Taro*, and again marched into the *Cremoneſe* by another quarter, where they renewed their devaſtations; as the *Breſcians* did in the country about *Ponte Vico*, and even in the neighbourhood of *Cremona* itſelf. On the other hand, the *Cremoneſe* marched againſt *Briſſello*, which was garriſoned by *Parmeſans*, who defeated the *Cremoneſe* with a conſiderable ſlaughter. In the middle of *October*, *James della Senaza* and *Palamede*, the natural ſon of *William de Rubeis*, at the head of ſome exiles, were defeated by the *Parmeſans* near *Borgo di San Domino*, and both the leaders, with many of their ſoldiers, were carried priſoners to *Parma*, where the common men were executed upon gibbets; but the leaders were led away to

Guar-

Guardaxoni. The farther operations of this campaign were prevented by a prodigious swell of the rivers all over *Lombardy*. The late conquest obtained by the protector had rendered him so insolent, that, when the term of the podesta's government was expired, none chose to succeed him in that command, till *William de Foligni*, who was then captain of the people, took it upon himself, and exercised both offices at the same time. At last, one *Malavolta* of *Sienna*, who had been podesta of *Brescia*, was invited to the podestate of *Parma*, which he accepted of, upon the salary being augmented, and entered upon his office with great pomp and popularity.

Differences between the Venetians *and the* Parmesans.

THIS year the *Venetians*, at the request of the marquis of *Este*, the *Cremonese*, the *Milanese*, the *Pavians*, and the *Bergamese*, attempted to carry salt and other merchandizes up the *Po*, to supply the inland parts of *Italy*; but the *Parmesans*, dealing largely themselves in salt, opposed the navigation. The *Venetians* remonstrated, again and again, by their ambassadors, that this opposition was unjust, and that they had a right to the free navigation of the *Po*: but all their remonstrances were in vain; for the *Parmesans* would not yield; and thus salt, and other commodities, became so excessively dear at *Cremona*, *Pavia*, and other places, that they could not procure the proper ingredients, then in use, for their *Christmas* festivities. A quarrel, about this time, happening between the *Cremonese* and the *Brescians*, the *Parmasans* sent four hundred soldiers to the assistance of the latter, who thereby recovered the territory of *Giedo*, which had revolted to the enemy, and brought the garrison prisoners to *Brescia*. In the year 1308, *Malavolta* of *Sienna* being still podesta of *Parma*, an accommodation was concluded between the protector *Correggio*, and the then abbot of the monastery of *St. John*, who returned home with all his adherents. This year died the marquis of *Este*; and, by the assistance of the *Bolognese* and the *Venetians*, he was succeeded by his natural son *Frisco*, or *Francis*. Some historians say, that *Frisco*, fearing his father might have legitimate children by his wife, put him to death. But *Parma* was now on the eve of a great revolution.

Conspiracy against the protector.

THE protector, thinking that his power could not now be shaken, went to take a few days diversion upon his estate at *Correggio*, which gave his enemies an opportunity to put into execution the conspiracy they had so long meditated against him. Upon his return to the episcopal palace, where he still had his residence, near *Parma*, he found that some of his chief domestics had made an attempt to seize the palace; into which with some difficulty he forced his way, and, being

assisted by those who were still true to him, a sharp dispute ensued; but he drove the conspirators out of the palace. Fearing, as indeed was the case, that the conspiracy had spread farther, he and his retinue immediately took horse, and rode to *Parma*; but his entrance was opposed by a great number of the *Guelphs* at the head of the bridge. The protector, however, who had now received a considerable reinforcement, beat his enemies from their post, and entered the city, where his party took arms, and plundered or set fire to the houses of the chief *Guelphs*, many of whom they put to death, and, amongst others, *Oddovrandi*, a venerable old nobleman. As those disorders were, in fact, as much owing to rapacity and avarice as to party or religion, the mob every hour grew stronger; and the murders, plunderings, and robberies, continued for a whole day. A party of the *Guelphs*, however, took possession of *St. George's-street*, crying out, "Peace, "peace, the people, the people;" and cut off the communication between *Saxoli de Saxolo*, captain of the mercenaries, and the protector. The captain found means to join the protector by another quarter; but, it being now dark, nothing farther happened that night; and all parties continued under arms, fortified their houses, barricading the streets, and preparing for action next morning. No sooner did light appear, than every street of *Parma* became a scene of tumult and bloodshed; but the *Guelphs* must have prevailed, had not the podesta interposed, and, by undertaking an accommodation, persuaded them to forego their advantage. The *Gibelins*, being reinforced by the protector, availed themselves of this truce, and put to flight their enemies, most of whom fled out of the city towards *Cremona*; while the *Gibelins*, as usual, plundered and set on fire their houses.

who is driven out of Parma.

DE RUBEIS and *Lupi*, with the other exiles of *Parma*, were all this while at *Cremona*, strengthening their party; and they no sooner heard that the insurrection was begun at *Parma* than they set out for that city, attended by the podesta of *Cremona*, with his militia and the *Brescian* exiles: but upon their march being met by the *Parmesan* fugitives, who informed them of the discomfiture of their party, they returned to *Grugni*, beyond the *Taro*, where they remained for a whole night. The protector interpreted their retreat as a flight, and perhaps was the less solicitous about the care of the city. The exiles, however, had many even amongst those who appeared in his party, who corresponded with them, and who promised, if they appeared before the gate of *St. Hilary*, to open it, and admit them into the city. In consequence of this agreement, *Rubeis* and *Lupi*, with the other exiles,

exiles, and not above thirty of the *Cremonese*, presented themselves before that gate, which was opened to them by their friends; but marching on to the gate of the *Holy Cross*, they found it shut, and were preparing to force it, when the protector, looking over the wall, and seeing them but a handful, ordered the gate to be thrown open, and attacked the exiles with great vigour. The latter, however, behaved with such intrepidity, that they obliged the protector to fall back; and this small advantage encouraged the concealed *Guelphs* in his train to declare openly against him; so that the exiles found means to enter the gate of the *Holy Cross* along with the fugitives, and were thereupon joined by great numbers of the inhabitants, so that all the cry in that quarter was now for the people. The protector still maintained his ground, and made a most obstinate resistance, in which many on both parties were killed or wounded; but at last, towards night, the protector and all his friends and followers were obliged to fly through the quarter of *St. Benedict*. Night favoured their retreat, and they escaped partly to *Reggio*, which city was strongly in the protector's interest, and partly to *Correggio*. In this rout, *Saxoli*, who has been already mentioned, was taken, and delivered to *Rubeis*, who treated him with the greatest respect and humanity, partly on account of his valour, and partly because of his great interest.

Disorders there.

THE *Guelphs* made the same cruel use of their success as the *Gibelins* had done of theirs. All the fugitives of their party returning home, the robbings and burnings were renewed, and the *Gibelins* were persecuted and murdered in their turn. The public suffered most by the followers of *Rolandino Scorza*, who were composed of rustics and banditti of every denomination, and had been banished on account of their crimes. Those wretches, being joined by all the needy and necessitous of the city, took possession of the two public palaces, the houses of the podesta and the captain of the people, the collectors of the revenue, the judges, and the courts of justice, where they tore into small pieces the records and sentences against all malefactors, and throwing them out of the window, the air was filled with them, says my authority, as with flakes of snow; by this proceeding getting rid of their banishments, and paying their debts. They even cut in pieces the robes of the podesta, and the other magistrates, civil and criminal. When those violences were somewhat abated, by the interposition of the heads of the magistracy, who still remained at *Parma*, *James de Cavalcabo* of *Cremona*, who, with his two sons, had been highly instrumental in the late revolution, was chosen podesta of *Parma*; and the first exercise of his

his office was to put a total end to the ravages and plunderings in the city and suburbs. All this while, the podesta and soldiers of *Cremona* had remained at *Grugni*; but the new podesta, to strengthen his authority, invited them to *Parma*; where they remained for some days. They then set out for *Cremona*, after insulting *Correggio* and *Campignani*, where the late protector and his brother were shut up. Before their departure, their chief officers received from the community of *Parma* presents of scarlet robes, lined with furs. In their return, they ravaged the territory of *Brusolo*. An exchange of prisoners was then set about, in which *James della Senaza*, *Palamede de Rubeis*, and other noble *Guelphs* of *Parma*, were exchanged for *Saxolo*. This new establishment of *Parma* did not long continue, because the individuals of the party that had prevailed were united in no principle, but in that of opposition to *Correggio*. *Benna* of *Bologna* was made captain of the people; and had no sooner entered on his office, than all who were known or suspected to be of the *Gibelin* or bishop's party, were put under arrest. This did not content the common people, whose chief view was plunder; and about the middle of *May* they ran to arms, and the street resounded with the cry of "Down with the *Gibelins*." They then fell upon the house of *Oppizoni de Henzola*, the *Thomasini*, and *Altarmani*; and, after plundering them, set them on fire, and the flames communicated to many other houses in the neighbourhood. It was no wonder, that the most sensible of the *Guelph* leaders began now to think, that the tyranny of the mob was less supportable than that of *Correggio* had been, and that some of them entered into a private treaty with him. *Correggio*, by all accounts, was a man of parts and address; and perhaps had been, for his own safety, forced to give way to many of the excesses that had been committed under his government. He readily yielded to the proposal for an accommodation; and promised, if he was restored, to replace the people of *Parma* in their just rights, and, if possible, to abolish all heats and distinctions of party. *James della Senaza* was the principal agent in this accommodation. He had obtained leave from the community of *Parma* to fortify the castle of *Henzola*, or, as others call it, *Inzola*; which he did, according to the manner of those times, very strongly; and then sent a message to the community, complaining that *Larioli Burencato*, and *Pinati della Senaza*, who had been banished for the murder of *Ugardi de Correggio*, had been re-admitted into the city. Though there was great weight in this complaint, yet it was disregarded; upon which *Senaza*, receiving a supply of troops from *Correggio*, bade defiance to the community

Treaty for restoring the protector.

munity of *Parma*, and began to ravage their lands, especially of such as held any in the bishopric.

THOMASINI and *Oppizoni de Henzola*, who had been amongst the most forward to expel the protector, resenting the burning of their houses, declared themselves of the same party with *Senaza*, and surprised *Opilio*, into which they likewise admitted *Correggio*'s troops. The ravages in the *Parmesan* territory were now renewed; and *Correggio* himself taking the field, he spread devastation to the very gates of *Parma*. It may justly be wondered at, by our readers, how a small country, such as that of *Parma*, could subsist under so many repeated ravages. We have, in another place, made the same remark, and shall only add here, that those ravages are not supposed to be universal, and that each party only destroyed the possessions of the other; and perhaps in some places the words plundering and burning are only used of course to signify any hostile invasion. *who is joined by the chief exiles.*

THE *Guelph* party within the city were equally active; and so forward were all ranks of people to assist in keeping out the late protector, that when oxen were wanting to draw a large battering engine, the boys in the streets performed the service. Every thing being ready for taking the field, the community came to a resolution to defend themselves to extremity, and while their podesta was absent, to make fresh levies against the late tyrant and his new allies. The podesta next marched with all the force he could then bring together against the enemy, and advanced to *Henzola*, which lies about nine miles from *Parma*, but is now a place of no note; but all they could do was to renew their ravages; for they found *Correggio*'s party so strong, that they were obliged to return to *Parma*. By this time the new levies had been raised with surprising success; and a general council being called, colours were formally delivered to the respective companies, and a promotion of officers took place. The podesta then took the field, at the head of the most numerous and best appointed army that *Parma* ever had sent out, and marched by *Sorbolo* towards *Henzola*. In their march, so sure did they think themselves of success, that they detached two hundred horse and two hundred foot, to the assistance of their allies the *Cremonese*, who were hardly pressed by the *Milanese*, *Pavians*, *Placentines*, and all the neighbouring people, in revenge of their having invaded *Brescia*. This detachment advanced to *Bina Nova*, lying on the banks of the *Lodio*, over which they proposed to throw a bridge; but after various debates and attempts, they did nothing more than draw off part of the enemy to attend their motions. Their appearance *A fruitless expedition.*

however was of great use to the *Cremonese*, who, with the assistance of their allies of *Mantua* and *Verona*, defended themselves so bravely, that their enemies were obliged to break up their camp, while the *Parmesan* detachment returned to their main army, which lay before *Henzola*. At this time *Zefredini della Turre* of *Milan* came to *Parma*, with two hundred men under his command, to join the *Parmesan* army; but, at the request of the inhabitants, he remained in *Parma* for the defence of the city.

The protector entirely defeats the Parmesans,

BUT *Correggio* now had assembled all his force, consisting of the *Gibelins* of the imperial as well as episcopal party, a great number of *Reggians*, though they served without consent of the community of *Reggio*, the militia and soldiers of *Modena*, who were commanded by their own captain and officers, all the *Bolognese* exiles, the counts *Panigo* and *Paleoti*, the *Parmesan* exiles, with their tenants, *Malespina* of *Lunigiana*, and many others, who most of them, at this time, served in *Correggio*'s pay, and were by him well equipped in all the necessaries of war, besides his own tenants. At first *Correggio* sent them proposals for an accommodation, the same as he had agreed upon with *Senaza* and his friends; and though they were rejected by the majority, who were afraid of trusting him, yet they created a division in the *Parmesan* army; but a battle appeared unavoidable. *Correggio* was sensible that his force was not equal in number to that of the *Parmesans*; but being superior to their commanders in the art of war, he made so judicious a choice of his ground, that the enemy could not attack him, but under great disadvantages. *Ferreti Vicentini* [a] tells us, though the *Parmesan* chronicle is silent as to the fact, that this gave him leisure to recal his son-in-law *Alboin*, then serving in the *Brescian*, who accordingly joined him with some choice troops. Both armies lay for some time inactive in sight of each other. At last the *Parmesans*, ashamed to be longer idle, drew up their army with much greater parade than military discipline, and moved to the attack; but so greatly divided amongst themselves, that their march was without order or regularity. *Correggio* had foreseen this, and seemed to retreat. This increased the disorder of the enemy; and watching his opportunity, he gave the signal for the attack; and the *Parmesan* cavalry, which formed their van, was instantly thrown into confusion, and forced back upon their infantry, at the very time their leaders thought themselves certain of victory. The consternation which this occasioned was so great, that the

[a] FERRETI VICENT. apud MURAT. tom. ix. pag. 1032.

in-

infantry neither advanced nor retired, and many ſuffered themſelves to be cut into pieces without reſiſtance, a few of the cavalry only eſcaping by the ſwiftneſs of their horſes. At laſt *Carreggio* put a ſtop to the carnage which muſt otherwiſe have been total, on account of the cruelty of his mercenaries, who thought they could not pleaſe him better than by butchering his enemies; ſuch of the *Parmeſans* as ſurvived were put in irons; but few of the wounded recovered, and the ſlain amounted to above five thouſand men. Such is the account of this battle, ſo memorable in the *Parmeſan* annals, that is given by *Vicentini*. According to the chronicle of *Parma*, above one hundred of the principal citizens of *Parma* were killed on the ſpot; but the author does not particularize the whole loſs, though he acknowledges it to have been very great; and by his account it muſt have amounted to little leſs than that mentioned by *Vicentini*. Some of the priſoners were carried to *Caſtro Nuovo*, which had been built by *Correggio* upon his own eſtate; others were ſent to *Pupuli*, *Campignani*, *Henzola*, and *Guardaxoni*; and many were carried off by the *Modeneſe*, and other auxiliaries, to their own eſtates, where the captors ſuffered them to live only that they might receive their ranſom, which was accordingly paid upon the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquility. All the military engines, the ſtandards of ſtate, the baggage of the officers and private ſoldiers, together with the carriages, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The *Modeneſe* were the chief gainers; for though they had before termed themſelves the brethren of the *Parmeſans*, yet they plundered them more than all the reſt of *Correggio*'s army did, and were remarkably ſevere upon the priſoners who had the misfortune to fall into their hands.

CORREGGIO followed the fugitive *Parmeſans* to the very gates of their city; but he was obliged to retire by *Zeſtored to fredini* of *Milan*, who defended it. His repulſe provoked him ſo much, that on his return to his own eſtate, he picked up all the ſtragglers he could of the defeated army, and carried them priſoners to *Caſtro Nuovo*. The grief and conſternation at *Parma* upon this defeat, were inexpreſſible, as there were but few families in the city, who had not loſt a father, ſon, or other relation in it. The podeſta and the captain of the people, with ſome of the ſtandard-bearers, made their eſcape from the field of battle, as did the two heads of the *Rubeis* family, *William* and *Ugolin*; but *Jacobino*, *William*'s ſon, was taken and carried priſoner to *Modena*, where he remained in an honourable captivity till a peace was concluded. *Anſelmo de Marano*, abbot of the monaſtery of *St. John*, undertook

and is re-

dertook that deſirable office, which proved more practicable than had been expected. *Correggio* continued in his ſyſtem of moderation, and offered to return to *Parma*, upon the terms on which he had firſt entered it, and to reſtore the people to all their conſtitutional rights. *Marano* made this conceſſion the baſis of his negotiation; and two ſyndics or plenipotentiaries were named, one for the community of *Parma*, and another for *Correggio*, on the 28th day of *June*, which was but nine days after the battle was fought. In this meeting *Correggio* ordered all his conceſſions to be repeated; but intimated, at the ſame time, that if they were rejected, he would enter the city by force, and give no quarter to the enemies of peace. A treaty was ſoon concluded upon the following terms: "That all the exiles of the city of *Parma*, either imperial or epiſcopal, or in the intereſt of *Correggio*, and that all who had been expelled the ſaid city, on account of miſdeeds or malverſations, or for any other crime or pretence, ſhould be diſcharged from their ſentences; that all priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty; and that all the aforeſaid might return with freedom to *Parma*, as they ſhould think proper." It does not appear, by this compromiſe, that any cenſure was paſſed on thoſe who had oppoſed *Correggio*; for all the priſoners he had made were ſet at liberty, excepting thoſe who had fallen into the hands of the *Modeneſe*, and the other confederates. On the ſame day this accommodation was made, *James de Cavalcabo* the podeſta, and *Benno* the captain of the people of *Parma*, appeared in the council, and not only received in ready money, all the arrears that were due to them, on account of their offices, but ſatisfaction for all the loſſes, they had ſuſtained in the late battle. *Zefredini della Turre* was then choſen to be adminiſtrator of the city and ſtate of *Parma*, and podeſta as well as captain thereof; and he kept the ſaid proviſional offices till the 2d of *Auguſt* following, when a council of four hundred of the principal citizens of *Parma* were choſen for the ordinary adminiſtration of juſtice; and the abbot *Anſelmo de Marano* was by them appointed to nominate and comptrol the podeſta, and the captain of the people. It was expected that *Zefredini*, whoſe power was now annulled, would have accepted of the office of podeſta; but he abſolutely declined it: upon which the abbot named *Sigifred Arzignano* of *Vicenza* podeſta, and *Andrioli*, a *Genoeſe*, marquis of *Gavio*, captain of the people, both of whom accepted of their offices.

and to his power there.

BUT thoſe proceedings entirely diſconcerted the ſecret ſchemes of *Correggio*, whoſe intention was to re-aſſume the government, and to leave the ſame to his ſon-in law *Alberic*,

to

to whom he chiefly owed his ſucceſſes. *Rubeis* and *Lupi*, and the heads of the *Guelphs*, pretended to his friends, that the terms of the late pacification had been complied with by ſuffering him to return to *Parma*, in quality of a private citizen. This did not ſatisfy *Correggio*, who inſiſted upon the puniſhment of ſome of the ringleaders of the faction againſt him. That being denied, he and his friends, on the 3d of *Auguſt*, appeared under arms in the Great Square of the city. *Parma* once more was involved in blood; but *Rubeis*, *Lupi*, and *Henzola*, who had been ſo aſſiſtant in gaining the late victory, after a long conflict, were driven out of the city, and a long train of robberies, firings, plunderings, and murders, once more took place. By the late pacification it had been provided, that *Borgo di San Domino*, the caſtle of *Marano*, and that of *Berceto* ſhould be put into the hands of *Rubeis*, and the other heads of the *Guelph* party, to ſerve as places of protection for them and their friends, in caſe the public diſtractions ſhould be renewed. The exiles therefore repaired to thoſe caſtles; but the inhabitants of *Marano* and *Berceto*, who probably had a ſecret correſpondence with *Correggio*, refuſed them admittance; ſo that they were obliged to retire to *Guarola* and *Torclaria*, which they fortified, as they did *Borgo di San Domino*, and made excurſions upon the lands of their enemies; but without being able to do them much damage. *Sigifred* of *Vicenza*, the podeſta elect, was at this time on his journey to enter upon his new office; but when he arrived at *Mantua*, hearing of the new revolution, he went back with all his family to *Vicenza*. The marquis of *Gavio*, who had entered upon his office, refuſed to exerciſe it any longer; and on the 4th of *Auguſt*, in a general council, he reſigned the ſame, but demanded his ſalary, which being refuſed him, he and his family ſet out without it for *Genoa* the very next morning.

The civil government of Parma weak.

It was now evident, that the offices of podeſta and captain of the people of *Parma* were merely nominal, and no man of rank would accept of them. One *James de Stradella*, who had attended the late captain as his judge, or counſellor, was nominated (but by what authority is not ſaid) podeſta; and one *Gazapini*, a *Cremoneſe*, who had attended the late podeſta in the ſame capacity, was made captain of the people. They were, however, mere cyphers in the government, without either power or authority, to put a ſtop to the thefts, robberies, murders, burnings, and all kinds of miſchief, which now filled every quarter of the *Parmeſan*. When their time expired, each received ſixty marks for his ſalary; but the chronicle is here imperfect. Amongſt the other mur-

ders committed at this time, were those of *James de Sanaza*, who was esteemed the worthiest man in *Florence*, his uncle *Adigherio*, *Antoni de Sulcio*, and *Senaza*'s young son, with others of the same party, to the number of nine, at *Rochelli*, whose deaths, especially that of *James de Senaza*, created an universal grief and consternation at *Parma*. The next *Parmesan* podesta we find upon record, is *Pagonini*, count *de Panico*, a *Bolognese* exile, who served out his time of six months; and *Ugolino de Manfredi*, a *Reggian*, was elected captain of the people. About this time a pacification like that which had been made at *Parma*, took place at *Placentia*, where all the exiles returned to that city, under the command of *della Turre*, then the lord of *Milan*, whom they elected their protector for five years, and who, after introducing them to *Placentia*, and seeing every thing peaceably settled, returned to *Milan*. The same year the lords of *Storti*, who were exiles at *Torclaria*, burnt a town near the new gate of *Parma*; and *Rubeis*, with the other chief exiles, still held the castle of *Guarola*, from whence they continued their depredations. This obliged the *Gibelin* party in *Parma* to take the field, where they were met by the exiles; and a bloody encounter followed, in which the latter were defeated, and that castle was retaken, and all its garrison, which consisted only of sixty men; but some of them of consideration were made prisoners, and sent some to *Guardaxoni*, and others to *Parma*. From *Guarola*, which they demolished, the *Parmesan* army marched to *Torclaria*, which was defended by *Scoza*, and his two sons *Rolandini* and *Cabrini*, so bravely, that many of the assailants, after lying fifteen days before it, and losing many of their best men, returned in a most miserable condition to *Parma*: they left, however, a sufficient number to block up the place, which being reduced to the utmost distress, surrendered by capitulation, on condition that all who were within it should be freed from their sentence of banishment, and return to *Parma*.

Public disturbances all over Lombardy.

Those civil commotions and devastations were not confined to *Parma*, but raged all over *Lombardy*, where many of the principal cities and states submitted, rather than be longer harrassed by petty tyrants. The *Milanese* chose *della Turre* for their perpetual governor, his command before being only temporary. *Maffeo de Madio*, brother to their late bishop, was chosen by the *Brescians* to the same capacity; and the *Ferrarese*, after holding out for a long time against the *Bolognese* and the *Paduans*, perceiving that *Frisco de Este* was unable to defend them, submitted to the government of the *Venetians*, who had sent a small fleet to their assistance.

Frisco

Frisco on this occasion received a large sum of money from the *Venetians*, who broke all their terms with the *Ferrarese*, whom they reduced to a state of servitude. Towards the end of the year *Borgo de San Domino* was besieged by the *Parmesans*, who, not being able to take it, surprised *St. Hilary*, and burnt great part of it to the ground.

IN the beginning of the year 1339, *Peter Mancasola* of *Placentia* was chosen podesta of *Parma*, while *Correggio*, tho' he was absolute there, contented himself with being chosen provost of the merchants for five years; so efficacious was a long permanency even in an inferior office for the purposes of tyranny. The terms of *Guelph* and *Gibelin* were by him artfully discontinued, and the only distinction now was between the friends of the community of *Parma*, and the faction of the *Rubeis*. Many of the latter were imprisoned, and some of them put to death; while others were kept under the awe of impeachments, for disobeying the orders of the community. This year domestic differences arising in *Placentia*, between *Alberto Scotti* and the government there, *Mancasola* the podesta of *Parma*, who was son-in-law to *Scotti*, marched with a body of *Parmesans* to his father-in-law's assistance, and drove from that city all the faction of *della Turre*, and restored the exiles of *Scotti*'s party to their estates and effects in the *Placentine*. This expedition, however, cost *Mancasola* his life, for he never returned to *Parma*; and he was succeeded as podesta thereof by *Bartolino de Rodini* of *Reggio*, who had served under him as his judge or assessor. After the time of his government, which was about a month, was expired, he was succeeded by *Ugolino de Manfredi*, who continued podesta for ten days, till his successor, whose name is not mentioned in the chronicle, arrived. At this time *Antonio de Gualdini*, a *Parmesan*, was podesta of *Genoa*; but being opposed by *Oppizoni Spinola*, who, from being an exile, had been chosen captain of the people, *Spinola*'s party within the city was the most powerful, and drove the podesta out of it; and the latter happening to encounter a body of the *Genoese* exiles, he was killed in the battle; and the *Guelph* families of *Genoa*, who had been exiles for forty years, resumed the government of that state and city.

Arts of the protector.

Revolution in Genoa.

THIS year *Parma* was honoured with a visit from the pope's legate, on the following occasion. The *Venetians* having, as we have already mentioned, violated all good faith with their new subjects the *Ferrarese*, the latter refused to be longer subservient to them, and sent a deputation to the pope, who had always claimed *Ferrara* as an immediate fief of the church, inviting him to take their state and city under his protection,

A legate visits Parma.

and government. Before an anſwer could come from his holineſs, the *Venetians* and *Ferrareſe* had come to blows in the ſtreets of *Ferrara*; and the former being defeated, took refuge in the caſtle of *Tedaldo*. Upon this the *Venetian* ſenate equipped a fleet and an army to beſiege *Ferrara* both by land and water. In the mean while the *Bologneſe* were equally alert to ſuccour their allies of *Ferrara*; and the pope, being informed of what had happened, ſent expreſs orders to the *Venetians* to evacuate the caſtle of *Tetaldo*, and intirely to quit the *Ferrareſe*, both which the *Venetians* as expreſsly refuſed to comply with. The pope then ſent his legate to *Parma*, and to the other cities of *Lombardy*, who, after excommunicating the *Venetians*, publiſhed a cruſade againſt them, offering pardon and remiſſion of ſins to all who would aſſiſt the holy ſee in recovering *Ferrara*. Though *Correggio* could not prevent the legate's admiſſion into *Parma*, yet he prevented the *Parmeſans*, who in general were ſincerely devoted to the ſervice of his holineſs, from entering into the cruſade. Notwithſtanding this, the legate's ſucceſs was ſo great throughout the other ſtates and cities of *Lombardy*, that he aſſembled a numerous army, which drove the *Venetians* out of the *Ferrareſe*, ſtormed the caſtle, and put all who were found within it to the ſword. After that the legate reduced the other places of *Ferrara*, and delivered the whole principality from the *Venetian* yoke.

THE famous extermination of the knights templars of *Jeruſalem* began this year. They were accuſed of hereſy, blaſphemy, and every other crime, though their greateſt ſeems to have been the immenſe poſſeſſions and territories they had acquired, as there was hardly a ſtate in *Europe* in which they had not property. It is to be preſumed they had ſome in *Parma*; for the apoſtolical legate this year came to that city, where he ſolemnly pronounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt the whole order. Before the cloſe of the year the *Parmeſans*, aſſiſted by all their confederates, reſumed the ſiege of *Borgo di San Domino*; on which they were ſo intent, that they left only the civil magiſtrates, and two hundred *Modeneſe* foot to garriſon their city; and here the chronicle of *Parma* ends. From other authors we learn, that the place was taken upon compoſition, and the exiles returned, and with them tranquillity, to that city.

FOR ſome years after this period, the hiſtory of *Parma* is ſo blended with that of the other ſtates of *Italy*, that to write it ſo particularly as we have already done, would be to repeat what has been already ſaid in other parts of this work. We

ſhall,

ſhall, however, follow it in every material circumſtance that relates to *Parma* only.

Arrival of the emperor Henry VII. in Italy.

It is evident that the two great objects which the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins* in *Italy* had in view, when that diſtinction firſt took place, were now changed. The *Guelphs* were for maintaining their liberty under the nominal protection of the pope, who could neither hurt nor help them. The *Gibelins* were in reality as jealous of the emperor as the *Guelphs*, and were as little deſirous of his entering *Italy*; but they ſought to enjoy its ſpoils under his powerful authority. But no emperor having intermeddled in the affairs of *Italy* ſince *Frederick* II. the dread of the imperial power, which was the center of unity amongſt the *Guelphs*, vaniſhed; and they broke amongſt themſelves. *Henry* VII. was now emperor of *Germany*, and he thought that *Italy* was of too much importance to be longer neglected; and, as has been ſeen in a former part of this work, he marched into *Italy* with an army, ſufficient to have retrieved and aſſerted all the imperial rights in that country, had not pope *Clement* V. who was the firſt to invite him, abandoned him. The family *della Turre*, or the *Torriani* of *Milan*, had likewiſe ſollicited him to that undertaking. *Guido Torriani*, their head, had for that purpoſe ſent two preaching friars to him in *Germany*, promiſing to meet him with all his family at *Lauſanne*, at the head of one thouſand men, not chuſing to bring more, becauſe he could lead him with a walking-ſtick through all *Lombardy*. Being arrived at *Turin*, ſome of the *Gibelin* exiles repaired to him as to their head; but he coldly told them, that he was come to be the common father both of *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*, and to aboliſh all ſuch diſtinctions. In ſhort, when the heads of the *Gibelins* preſented themſelves to him as ſufferers for him and his party, and intreated to take an oath of fidelity to his perſon, and authority for the fiefs they held under him, he refuſed to admit them to take any ſuch oath, becauſe that in effect would have been to have confirmed them in their fiefs, which he intended to reſume into his own hands. Every one knows that he was crowned king of *Italy* at *Milan*; but the pope, by that time, had formed a powerful league againſt him, which firſt diſconcerted and then ruined all his mighty deſigns. The parties in this league under his holineſs, were *Robert* king of *Naples*, the cities of *Florence*, *Bologna*, *Sienna*, *Lucca*, *Cremona*, *Padua*, *Breſcia*, and ſome others. *Correggio*, who was now the abſolute maſter of *Parma*, at firſt refuſed to enter into that league; but he is ſaid to have received twelve thouſand florins from the *Bologneſe* and the *Florentines*, to induce him to become a party, two thouſand of which he preſented to

the emperor, as part of the arrears due by *Parma* as an imperial fief; but in reality to repleniſh his imperial majeſty's coffers, and to purchaſe for himſelf the government of *Parma*, which he obtained, and thereby added a kind of right to power. Soon after the biſhop of *Botronto*, and another ambaſſador, were ſent by the emperor to take the oaths of the different cities in *Lombardy*; but when he intimated to *Correggio* their deſign to viſit *Parma* amongſt others, *Correggio* flatly refuſed him admittance; which may be the reaſon why the biſhop, in his relation of the emperor's *Italian* expedition, calls him a *Guelph* tyrant [a]. The truth is, *Correggio* at this time, being as much afraid of the emperor as any of the *Guelphs* were, entered into other meaſures. The emperor had meanly altered the purpoſes of his expedition to *Italy*. Inſtead of re-eſtabliſhing the imperial authority there, by taking into his own immediate management the ſtates and cities of *Lombardy*, he accepted of money, and confirmed all their former tyrants, of whatever denomination they were, in their governments, upon being paid a ſum adequate to their reſpective values. In ſhort, he proſtituted to ſale the meaneſt place or poſt he had to give. He had ſold the government of *Placentia* to *Galeazzo Viſconti*, its podeſta, which *Correggio* conſidering as an injury done to himſelf, reſented ſo highly, that he formed a conſpiracy with the *Pavians*, and ſome of the *Italian* exiles, for ſurprizing *Placentia*. There was then in *Placentia* one *Yvano de Cornu*, who had formerly been an exile. It was by his vigilance *Placentia* was ſaved; for *Galeazzo* having diſcovered the conſpiracy on the very night in which *Placentia* was to have been attacked both by land and water, by *Yvano*'s advice, he placed watchmen upon the tops of the chief towers, with orders to give a ſignal the moment they perceived a body of men approach the city, which *Galeazzo* drew out in the main ſtreet all the force he had to attack the firſt who ſhould advance. The *Pavians*, with *Felippo*, their podeſta, at their head, were the moſt forward, and they were at a very ſmall diſtance from the gate, when they were diſcovered by the watchmen. *Galeazzo* and *Yvano* immediately ruſhed upon them, and, after a moſt bloody encounter, the *Pavians* were defeated, and *Felippo* himſelf was mortally wounded, and taken priſoner by a *Pavian* exile, in revenge. The *Pavians*, who eſcaped, fled to their ſhipping which lay in the *Po*; but great numbers of them were cut in pieces, and few or none could have eſcaped, had not *Ga-*

The Parmeſans *repulſed at* Placentia, *with great loſs.*

[a] Iter Italicum Henrici ſeptimi imperatoris, apud MURAT. tom. ix. p. 905.

leazzo been ſenſible that *Correggio* was approaching at the head of the *Parmeſans*, and therefore called his troops off from the purſuit.

THEY had, however, been ſo intent upon it, that the *Parmeſans* had found means to enter the city where it was weakeſt, by making a breach where only one could paſs at a time; and as many were ſuffered to go in as were ſufficient to make a breach wide enough for the admittance of the whole party in a regular order. Inſtead of obeying their inſtructions, they no ſooner entered the city than they fell to plunder; ſo that *Galeazzo*, when he returned from defeating the *Pavians*, which he did by day-light, was ſurprized to ſee the ſtreets filled with his enemies, laden with the ſpoils of the citizens. Perceiving, however, that their numbers were too ſmall to effect any thing elſe, he ordered the gates to be thrown open, and attacked the *Parmeſans* without, who not hearing of *Felippo*'s defeat, thought the place was their own, with ſuch fury, that he put them to flight at the firſt onſet, their cavalry flying and leaving their foot expoſed; ſo that few of the latter would have eſcaped, had not *Galeazzo*'s men been ſo fatigued, that they could not continue either the fight or the purſuit; and thus *Placentia* remained in the power of *Galeazzo*. *Ricobaldi* of *Ferrara* [b], a contemporary author, informs us, that the emperor had ſo good an opinion of *Correggio*, that he gave him the government not only of *Parma*, but of *Reggio* and *Guaſtalla*; but that at this time he had joined intirely with the *Guelphs*. *Franceſco Pipini*, another contemporary author [c], accounts with great probability for the partiality which the emperor ſhewed to *Correggio*; for he informs us, that while his imperial majeſty was encamped before *Breſcia*, *Correggio* ſent him a ſolemn deputation, who preſented him with the rich imperial crown, which had been taken by the *Parmeſans* from *Frederick* II. when they forced him to abandon the ſiege of their city. *Dino Compagni*, another author of thoſe times, who writes in *Italian* [d], mentions many favours which were heaped by the emperor upon *Correggio*, beſides thoſe above recited, and accuſes him of the vileſt ingratitude, in even offering perſonal inſults to his imperial majeſty; and that all the apology he made for his conduct was, that he was not influenced by money, but becauſe his enemies were in poſſeſſion of *Cremona*. All thoſe evidences, however, ſerve only to prove that *Correggio* was one of the ableſt men then in *Italy*; and the biſhop of *Brotonto* [e]

Henry's *favours to* Correggio,

[b] Apud MURAT. tom. ix. p. 258. [c] Ibid. p. 659.
[d] Ibid. p. 529. [e] Iter Ital. p. 895.

gives

gives us a pregnant proof that he was not so great a dissembler as is pretended; for he says, that when the emperor created one hundred and sixty knights, in honour of his coronation at *Milan*, all of them were *Gibelins* of *Lombardy*, two excepted, of whom one was *Gilbert de Correggio*; that he afterwards opposed the emperor is certain, and one reason, not to mention others, was the insatiable avarice of the *Germans*, and the mercenary temper of the emperor, who made no scruple sometimes to sell two different investitures of the same place, to two different persons for money. This brought him and his court into contempt and detestation with the *Italians*; and finding that his army, great as it was, was too weak to break the confederacy that had been formed against him, and of which he looked upon *Correggio* as the head, he had recourse to legal proceedings against him. He ordered articles to be drawn up in form, accusing him of high treason against his imperial majesty, together with his son-in-law *John Quinici*, and *Opizini de Unziola*, two persons of great capacity and character, and citations to be affixed on the doors of the imperial palace, commanding them to appear there, and to vindicate their conduct within the space of eighteen days. *Henry* then ordered letters to be directed to the cities of *Parma*, *Reggio*, and others of the league, commanding the inhabitants to pay no farther regard to *Correggio* or his commands, but to consider him as an out-law, and a rebel to his imperial majesty. Those letters are dated at *Pisa*, on the 9th of *April*, 1312. The farther proceedings of the emperor may be found in other parts of this history; but with regard to the *Parmesans* and *Correggio*, it is certain they did prodigious services at this time to the cause they were engaged in, by sending the *Florentines*, when they were besieged, supplies both of men and money. This exasperated the emperor so much, that upon his return from his tumultuous coronation at *Rome*, he closed his process with a final sentence, condemning him to be put to death as a traitor, to be quartered before the gates of *Parma*. This sentence would have had but little effect, had not the emperor's party become now too prevalent in *Italy* to be resisted, and the famous *Mastino*, commonly called the *Dog of Verona*, formed such intrigues in *Parma*, that *Correggio* was at last deprived of his power there. After this the *Parmesans* lost their liberties, and their history contains nothing distinct from that of the other states of *Italy*, to most of whom it was by turns subjected, till it came under the dominion of the house of *Farnese*, of which we are now to give an account.

whom he condemns to death.

THAT

THAT illuſtrious family was originally of *Orvieto*, an ancient city, ſituated in that part of *Tuſcany* that belongs to the holy ſee. The deſcendants of it made great figures in the councils and armies of the pope, *Florence*, and other ſtates of *Italy*, in the 12th and 13th centuries. But the perſon who raiſed it to the higheſt pitch of power, was cardinal *Alexander Farneſe*, afterwards pope *Paul* III. ſon to *Peter Lewis*, and grandſon to *Ranuccio Farneſe*, general to the pope's army in 1432, under the pontificate of *Eugene* IV. This *Alexander* had been made a cardinal by *Alexander* VI. purely in conſideration of his merit, and had managed the moſt important affairs of the pontificate under *Leo* X. and *Clement* VII. At the time of his acceſſion to the papal throne, the reformation was as good as eſtabliſhed in *Germany*; and he employed his whole care and aſſiduity to reconcile the two heads of the *Roman* catholick religion, at leaſt nominally ſo, *Charles* V. emperor of *Germany*, and *Francis* I. king of *France*; but though he brought about a ſuſpenſion of arms for ten years between them, yet he could not prevail with them to ſee and converſe with each other in his preſence. This *Paul* III. convoked the famous council of *Trent*, which, after long ſitting, proved ſo ineffectual for the purpoſes of its meeting, the reformation of the doctrines, and diſcipline of the church. He was more fortunate in his ſcheme of aggrandizing his family; for he firſt raiſed his ſon, who had been born before the father had taken holy orders, to the dignity of prince, and then a duke, firſt of *Caſtro* and *Camerino*, and then of *Parma* and *Placentia*. We are not, however, to imagine that this duke, who was commonly called the pope's nephew, was born in lawful wedlock, for it was ſufficient if his holineſs thought himſelf obliged, in conſcience, to provide for him in the beſt manner he could; nor was this conduct unprecedented, ſeveral popes having done the ſame before. Beſides *Peter Lewis*, his holineſs had other children, particularly a daughter *Conſtance*, who was married to *Boſio*, count of *St. Flora*, of the houſe of *Sforza*. As to *Peter Lewis*, the emperor *Charles* V. was, at a particular time, ſo fond of obliging his father the pope, that he gave him the inveſtiture of the kingdom of *Navarre*, though the preſent was attended with no effect. But this intimacy did not long continue; the ſituations both of his holineſs and the emperor occaſioned them often to be embroiled together. This naturally produced an animoſity againſt the emperor in the prince of *Parma*, a man of violent unruly paſſions, which carried him ſo far, that he ſupported the *Fieſques* of *Genoa*, in their conſpiracy againſt the *Dorias*, who

who were the founders and supporters of the imperial interest in that city. That conspiracy being defeated by the accidental death of the principal conspirator, some authors pretend that *Charles*, out of resentment at the prince of *Parma's* ingratitude, secretly employed *Gonzaga* duke of *Guastalla*, governor of *Milan*, to put him to death. According to other and better authority, his death happened in a very different manner.

Death of Peter Lewis.

AMONGST his other vices, he had an inordinate passion for women, and he stretched his power to the very utmost to gratify it, without the least consideration either to the virtues or the qualities of those he debauched. His general residence was at *Placentia*, where he built a castle, and where the irregularities of his behaviour towards ladies of the greatest distinction, induced four noblemen; *Pallavicino*, *Landi*, *Anguisciola*, and *Confalonieri*, to enter into a conspiracy for putting him to death. The duke, suspecting their design, resolved to imprison them all next day; but was incautious enough the night before to drop an intimation of his intention, which coming to the ears of the noblemen, they entered the palace to which they were admitted on pretence of business, and rushing into the duke's bed-chamber, they stabbed him dead with their daggers, and threw his body out of one of the windows of the castle. This done, the conspirators dispatched an express to the duke of *Milan*, imploring the protection of the empire; and he accordingly sent them some troops, who took possession of *Placentia* in the emperor's name. From the complexion of this story, and from the great coldness that for some time had prevailed between the emperor and his holiness, there is reason for believing, that the governor of *Milan* was not intirely unconscious of the conspiracy. When the emperor heard of the assassination, his imperial majesty wrote a letter of condolance to the pope, who dissembled his suspicions, and returned a smooth answer of compliment to the emperor, but requesting him at the same time, to restore *Placentia* to *Octavio*, the son of *Peter Lewis*, and his imperial majesty's son-in-law. This request introduced some fresh demands of the emperor upon the pope, which the latter was by no means disposed to comply with. Other incidents widened this breach.

The emperor displeased with the pope.

CHARLES V. was sincerely disposed to have put an end to the religious divisions of Christendom, which prevented his enjoying the least repose; and he had with great difficulty prevailed with the pope to call a general council at *Trent*, which was now translated to *Bologna*, under pretence that *Trent* was not a place of safety, on account of its too near neigh-

neighbourhood to *Germany*, which was then over-run with religious ſectaries. This, and the ineffectual proceedings of the council, diſobliged *Charles* ſo greatly, that he ſent word to his holineſs, he was reſolved to examine into the rights of the holy ſee to *Parma* and *Placentia*, as its poſſeſſion of them was acquired ſo late as the pontificate of *Julius* II. whoſe violence, ambition, and injuſtice, were well known to the world. This meſſage highly exaſperated his holineſs, and yet the proceeding was apparently ſo reaſonable, that he could not openly condemn it. He laid before the imperial commiſſaries a patent granted by the emperor *Maximilian* I. grandfather to *Charles*, dated 1510, giving to pope *Julius* II. the city and territory of *Placentia*, as lying within the exarchate of *Ravenna*, which had been granted by the counteſs *Matilda* to the holy ſee. Though the imperial miniſters could make little reply to this, and many other evidences, which were produced on the part of his holineſs, yet *Charles* kept poſſeſſion of *Placentia*.

Diſtreſs of the young duke of Parma.

Upon this, the pope, to prevent the emperor from ſeizing upon *Parma*, as he did upon *Placentia*, re-united it to the holy ſee, and governed it in his own name; and thus young *Octavio Farneſe* was deprived of all his inheritance. All *Europe* at that time condemned the emperor for his injuſtice, in with-holding from him *Placentia*; and *Henry* II. of *France* offered to aſſiſt his holineſs with troops to redeem it. But the power of *Charles*, and the example of pope *Clement*'s fate, whom he had made a priſoner, deterred *Paul* from accepting of *Henry*'s offer. But it had ſo good an effect, that the emperor offered him, in lieu of *Placentia*, an annuity of forty thouſand crowns a year; which the pontiff was about to have complied with, when he died in the year 1549. Pope *Julius* III. though he might, with great ſhow of juſtice, have kept poſſeſſion of *Parma*, was generous enough to reſtore it to young *Octavio*, who inceſſantly plied his holineſs with petitions, that he would interpoſe his good offices with the emperor for the reſtitution of *Placentia*. *Julius* would gladly have ſerved him in this requeſt, and made ſome applications to the emperor for that purpoſe; but he was afraid to preſs the matter too far, both becauſe he was naturally timid, and becauſe he dreaded the imperial power, and was unwilling to embroil himſelf with *Charles* in the beginning of his pontificate. He likewiſe, from the ſame motives, declined the offer which was again made of aſſiſtance from *France*. Diſguſted with his coldneſs, *Octavio* reſolved to apply in perſon to his imperial majeſty, who was then holding a diet of the empire at *Augsbourg*. He preſented himſelf in that city before *Charles*, at-

attended by an equipage suitable to his quality and pretensions, and was received by the emperor in a most distinguished affectionate manner. He presented his request, and obtained such an answer as made all the court believe that it was granted. Notwithstanding this, all he could procure from *Charles* was a promise that he would do him justice at a proper season. *Octavio* knew, or had heard, too much of his father-in-law, not to be sensible that this answer was, in effect, a repulse; and he returned with a heavy heart, after remaining a month at *Augsbourg*, to *Rome*, where he renewed his solicitations with the pope to act with more vigour in his favour, as his cause was the same with that of the holy see. *Julius* continued to give him the most soothing promises; and *Octavio*, to be nearer at hand, fixed his residence at *Rome*, where he and his brother the cardinal continually pressed his holiness, as all applications were ineffectual, to proceed to the extremities of excommunication and ecclesiastical censure against the emperor; but as nothing could be obtained, *Octavio*, at last, requested leave of the pope to employ the means that fortune had put into his hands for doing himself justice.

He is assisted by France.

OCTAVIO, at that time, had a natural brother, named *Horatio*, in the service of *Henry* II. who conceived such an esteem for his courage, and other qualities, that he gave him in marriage his natural daughter *Diana*. *Horatio*, sincerely devoted to the interests of his family, let slip no opportunity of bringing *Henry* and *Octavio* to a good understanding; and succeeded so well, that *Henry* undertook to furnish *Octavio* with a body of troops to recover *Placentia*, and to oblige the emperor to do him justice, provided *Octavio* would agree to admit a *French* garrison into *Parma*, and act, in every respect, in concert with his generals; all which *Octavio* agreed to. As soon as the emperor was informed of this threatening alliance, he wrote a letter to the pope, complaining of the indignity that had been done him, and threatening to bring both his holiness and *Octavio* to a severe account, if any *French* troops were admitted into *Italy*. To this letter, *Julius* answered, with great sincerity, that he never had consented to such admission; and that he was intirely ignorant of any connections that had been formed by the prince of *Parma* and the king of *France*. He owned, at the same time, that, perceiving all his applications to his imperial majesty, in favour of *Octavio*, to be ineffectual, he had left him at liberty to pursue what course he thought proper for redress; but that he never understood that he was to enter into any violent measures.

DURING

DURING this correſpondence between the pope and the emperor, *Henry* not only threw a *French* garriſon into *Parma*, but introduced a large body of troops, to make good his other pretenſions in *Italy*, and ſome of them were even quartered upon the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. Upon this, the pope, who, of all things, dreaded the introduction of the *French* into *Italy*, excommunicated the duke of *Parma* and all his abettors; and, expecting to be ſupported by *Charles*, he even wrote a letter to the *French* king, threatening him with the ſame cenſure, if he did not, within a limited time, withdraw his troops out of *Italy*. His holineſs, at the ſame time, demanded from *Charles* a force ſufficient for expelling the *French* out of *Parma* and the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. The emperor, far from being backward in complying with this requeſt, immediately ordered *Gonzaga*, governor of *Milan*, to take the field with a body of troops, and, in conjunction with thoſe of the pope, which lay at *Bologna*, to form the ſiege of *Parma*. *Henry* was equally ready to ſupport the credit of his new alliance; and ordered an army, under the command of *Briſſac* and his ſon-in-law *Horatio Farneſe*, to paſs the *Alps*. They were ſtopt on their march by the duke of *Savoy*, who refuſed them a paſſage through his dominions; and *Gonzaga* was obliged to order the troops, that were allotted for the ſiege of *Parma*, to that duke's aſſiſtance. His holineſs laid hold of this opportunity to remonſtrate to the duke of *Parma*, how much it was his intereſt to put *Parma* into his hands; offering him the peaceable poſſeſſion of the principality of *Camerino*, the firſt title of dignity in his family, with an annuity of fifteen thouſand crowns, in exchange. The duke had it not now in his power to comply with thoſe offers, (a *French* garriſon being in poſſeſſion of his capital) without the conſent of *Henry*. In conſideration of this, his holineſs ſent one of his nephews to the *French* court, to perſuade *Henry* to give orders for the evacuation of *Parma*, as it might be a bone of contention, and occaſion a general war in *Europe*. *Henry* was ſo far from liſtening to this propoſal, that he ordered his troops, who, by this time, had forced their paſſage through *Piedmont*, to live at free quarters upon the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, which they did till they had almoſt ruined the *Bologneſe*. Things remained in this ſituation till the year 1553, when *Horatio Farneſe* was accidentally blown up at *Hedin*. As he had been the great inſtrument of the alliance between the *French* and the duke of *Parma*, and as the whole dependence of the latter reſted upon his intereſt at *Henry*'s court, the duke took the reſolution to ſubmit his pretenſions upon *Placentia* to the pleaſure of the emperor. *Charles*, however, died without reſtoring him to

who garriſons Parma.

Duke of Parma excommunicated.

Death of Charles V.

the possession of that city, which he did not regain till thirty years after.

SOON after the death of the emperor *Charles* V. his son, *Philip* II. appointed his sister *Margaret*, dutchess of *Parma*, to the government of the *Low Countries*, where every thing was in confusion, on account of *Philip*'s despotic government, and the tyranny, both civil and ecclesiastical, which *Philip* wanted to introduce there. *Octavio*, at the same time, as a pledge of his attachment to *Philip*, put into his hands his son and heir *Alexander*, then very young, to be educated at the court of *Spain*.

Account of Horatio Farnese,

FROM what has been already related, the reader may have some idea of the high rank in which bastardy was held at this time in *Spain* and *Italy*. *Horatio Farnese*, whom we have already mentioned, assumed to himself the title of duke of *Castro*, an estate he never possessed; and *Wiquefort*, an unexceptionable authority, informs us, that, on a solemn occasion, the pope's master of the ceremonies asked the *French* ambassador whether he intended to take precedence of the duke of *Castro*. The ambassador's reply was, that he would take precedence of the duke of *Parma* himself; but that he would yield the precedence to the duke of *Castro*, because he was destined to the honour of being son-in-law to the *French* king. It is uncertain whether the ambassador had instructions on this head; but probably his master did not disapprove of his concession, as we do not hear that he ever was questioned for it.

and Octavio's *two brothers.*

OCTAVIO, duke of *Parma*, had two brothers, *Alexander* and *Ranuccio*, both of them cardinals, and both of them men of abilities and genius. One of them received his hat when he was but fourteen, and the other when sixteen years of age; and, notwithstanding the degeneracy, luxury, and impiety of their grandfather's court, their morals remained untainted, excepting as to a few slight gallantries of *Alexander*, who was father of *Clelia Farnese*. In other respects, he was a prince of vast magnificence, as appears by his building the celebrated *Farnesian* palace at *Rome*, on which was lavished all that is great and elegant in architecture, sculpture, and painting. The flatteries of the Jesuits induced him to build, for their fraternity, the fine church called the *Great Jesus* at *Rome*, which he ornamented at a vast expence, and where he ordered his body to be interred. Towards the end of his life, however, he grew much disgusted with the ambition and insatiable avarice of that order. His brother *Ranuccio* was distinguished for his patronage of learning, and of all who were eminent in literature. They had a sister called *Victoria*, whom

whom the pope, their grandfather, had intended ſhould be the wife of *Coſmo de Medici*, the ſecond duke of *Tuſcany*; but the emperor oppoſed the match, taking it amiſs that it had been propoſed without his privity or conſent. She was afterwards married to *Guido Balde*, duke of *Urbino*, whoſe poſterity failing, his duchy was annexed to the Church about the middle of the laſt century.

His dutcheſs governeſs of the Low Countries.

WHILE *Margaret* dutcheſs of *Parma*'s conduct, as governeſs of the *Low Countries*, was attracting the attention and admiration of all *Europe*; and while her ſon *Alexander*, at the court of *Spain*, was giving ſpecimens of thoſe military abilities which afterwards intitled him to the rank of the greateſt captain in *Europe*; *Octavio*, the husband and father, was leading an idle but inoffenſive life at *Parma*, and ſeemed to be forgotten by the world. At laſt, in the year 1566, he paid a viſit to his wife at *Bruſſels*. In the mean while, their ſon *Alexander Farneſe* made ſo diſtinguiſhed a figure in the court and armies of *Spain*, that *Philip* II. procured for him a royal match in the perſon of the princeſs *Mary*, daughter to *Edward*, the ſon of *Emanuel*, and brother to *John* III. king of *Portugal*. *Philip*, in compliment to the mother, ordered that the nuptials ſhould be celebrated within her government, and gave count *Egmont* the charge of attending the prince to *Bruſſels*, where his father then was, and where his noble addreſs and engaging manners endeared him in a wonderful degree to the *Flemings*. Soon after his arrival, the dutcheſs his mother made preparations for celebrating the nuptials; and a fleet was ſent to conduct the young bride to the *Low Countries*, where ſhe arrived, attended by a vaſt train of *Spaniards* as well as *Portugueſe*, each ſtriving to outvie one another in the magnificence of their equipages. The bridegroom was then but fourteen years of age; but the bride was older: a circumſtance which put the public in mind of what had happened to the dutcheſs of *Parma* herſelf, who, when but twelve years of age, was married to *Alexander de Medici*, who was twenty-ſeven years of age; and afterwards, when ſhe was twenty, ſhe was married to *Octavio Farneſe*, who was no more than thirteen. *Alexander*, who was then deſigned prince of *Parma*, after his marriage, carried his wife to that city, where, for ſome time, they taſted the pleaſures of tranquility. But after *Selim* II. had rendered himſelf formidable to all *Chriſtendom*, by taking the iſland of *Cyprus* from the *Venetians*, *Philip* II. at the requeſt of the latter, agreed to be a party in a general league againſt the infidels. The ſubſtance of this famous confederacy, the views with which it was formed, and the parties who entered into it, are to be found in the other parts

where their ſon is married.

of this history. The prince of *Parma*, while at the court of *Spain*, had been intimately acquainted with Don *John* of *Austria*, who was appointed to be generalissimo of the christian forces. The young *Parmesan* readily embraced that opportunity of, at once, testifying his gratitude to his Catholic majesty, and fond of acquiring glory to himself. A noble band of *Parmesan* nobility joined him as volunteers, who served under him at the sea-fight of *Lepanto*, and had a considerable share in the glory of that celebrated victory. The prince then returned to *Parma*, where he was now father of two sons, *Ranuccio*, who succeeded him in his dominions, and *Edward*, who was afterwards raised to the purple.

She resigns her government.

ALL historians are agreed, that had the moderate councils of the dutchess of *Parma* been followed, *Spain* never would have lost the seven *United-Provinces* there; but she had two insuperable difficulties to conquer: the first was, the unpopularity of cardinal *Granvele*, who was by *Philip* appointed to be her first minister; a man of a great but violent genius, and extremely improper for that post, in a country where the minds of the people were already exasperated, and their affections alienated from the government by the alterations both in church and state, which *Philip* had ordered to be introduced. The second disadvantage the dutchess was under, was her being forced to be subservient to *Philip* II. who, in matters of religion, was a gloomy, cruel bigot; and who, though he did not openly check his sister's proceedings, was secretly disobliged at her having received any application from the people against the innovations he wanted to introduce. For this reason, when *Granvele* had become so unpopular that he was obliged to resign the administration, and return to *Spain*, *Philip* ordered the duke of *Alva*, a man of his own cast, but of a disposition still more cruel and unrelenting, to be his general in the *Low Countries*; but, in fact, to be the instrument of his tyranny and inhumanities, under the dutchess of *Parma*. The dutchess, had her councils been attended to, might still have retrieved her brother's affairs there; but the bloody proceedings of *Alva*, under her name, soon determined her to resign a government, in which she was now sensible she was no more than a cypher. Her resignation was accepted of, and she returned to her husband at *Parma*.

History of Alexander the Great, duke of Parma.

AFTER various revolutions in the government of the *Low Countries*, Don *John* was appointed to govern them; and he earnestly requested the prince of *Parma* to attend him thither, being well acquainted with his great capacity in military affairs. This request the prince agreed to; and *Philip* ordered him a salary of one thousand golden ducats a month for his equi-

equipages, which *Alexander* declined accepting, till he could do something to distinguish himself in his majesty's service. When he arrived at *Brussels*, he carried with him one hundred *Italian* gentlemen, and three hundred choice soldiers, for his guard; and when the state of Don *John*'s health began to decline, he received from *Philip* assurances, that, if Don *John* died, or resigned, he should succeed him in his government, which he accordingly did in the year 1578. It is well known, that the prince of *Parma* not only executed, but projected every thing of consequence that happened under Don *John*'s government. He was as able as a statesman as a soldier, and it is certain, that he acted the most illustrious part of any general in his time upon the military theatre; nor is there any point in history in which writers are so much agreed, as they are in acknowledging, that he was as humane a man as he was a great general, and that he was the greatest the age he lived in produced. He had, on different occasions, the princes of *Germany*, with all the powers of *France* and *England*, to encounter; and he proved superior to them all. The coolness of his temper, and the solidity of his judgment, may be known from one small incident that happened. In one of his expeditions to *France*, while he was besieging a place of great importance, which the *French* king wanted to relieve, *Alexander* baffled that great prince so much, that, losing his temper, he challenged *Alexander* to single combat. The prince thanked his majesty for the honour he did him; that his life was not at his own, but his master's disposal; and therefore he could not fight him; but, added he, I will take the place between his whiskers. During his government of the *Low Countries*, the history of which contains the history of the greatest part of *Europe* at that time, he met with several rubs, occasioned partly by the intrigues of his enemies about *Philip*'s person, by which he was kept often in want of money, and partly by the detachments he was obliged to spare out of his army, which never was very numerous, for other services. In the year 1588, he was forced to send the greatest part of his army to the expedition against *England* in the great armada; and there was nothing the *English* were so much apprehensive of as his commanding the *Spaniards*, if they should land. The world is still divided as to the private views which *Philip* had, when he ordered the duke of *Parma* (for both his father and mother died in the year 1586) to march in person into *France*, to support the league against *Henry* IV. But whether *Philip* acted, or did not act, from motives of ambition or religion, or both, it is certain, that no other general in *Europe* could have performed what *Alexander*

did; and it was owing to him, that the *French* are not now a proteſtant nation.

His expeditions into France,

He twice brought with him to *Flanders* his ſon *Ranuccio*, that he might be initiated, under his own eye, in the art of war. The firſt time, *Ranuccio* was very young; but in the ſecond campaign he made there, he acquired great glory. *Alexander*, in his firſt expedition into *France*, had obliged *Henry* to raiſe the ſiege of *Paris*; and in the ſecond, that of *Rouen*. *Henry* had made great diſpoſitions for preventing *Alexander* from repaſſing the *Seine*, in his return to *Flanders*; and prince *Ranuccio* was the very laſt of his father's troops who guarded that paſſage againſt the *French* king, who had the mortification to ſee both father and ſon not only make their own retreat good, but that of all their troops, their train of artillery, and baggage, in the moſt perfect order, which *Henry*, with all his efforts, could not interrupt or diſturb. The duke of *Parma*, after his return from this glorious expedition, fell ill, and for ſome time drank the waters of *Aix* for his recovery; and, finding but little relief from them, he returned to *Bruſſels*, where he continued the war with the ſame ſpirit and vigour as ever. In the mean while, he received an order from the court of *Madrid* to make a third expedition into *France*; upon which he was ſo intent (to prevent any ſuſpicion in *Philip* of his backwardneſs), that he relapſed into his diſorder, and died upon his march at *Arras*, on the 4th of *December*, 1592. It was obſerved, that his private manners reſembled thoſe of an eccleſiaſtic rather than of a ſoldier; and, at his death, he expreſſed the moſt profound ſentiments of piety and reſignation. The greateſt blot upon his memory (though the credibility of it reſts upon very doubtful circumſtances) is his having been acceſſory to the intended aſſaſſination of the prince of *Orange* in the year 1582. He ordered his body to be carried to *Parma*, and there to be interred with that of his wife, *Mary* of *Portugal*; and the execution of this order has given riſe to various idle reports, amongſt hiſtorians, as if his body had been diſmembered, and packed up like a bale of goods, to preſerve it from being intercepted by his enemies.

and death.

Placentia *reſtored to his family.*

It was to this great *Alexander Farneſe*, when prince of *Parma*, that *Philip* reſtored the entire poſſeſſion of the city of *Placentia*, which had remained in the hands of the *Spaniards* ever ſince the death of his grandfather *Peter-Lewis*. Some writers pretend, that he had put *Octavio* into poſſeſſion of the city; but he had kept the citadel garriſoned with *Spaniards*. According to them, duke *Octavio*, in 1585, made a formal demand upon *Philip* of the city and territory of *Placentia*,

centia, which was agreed to without the leaſt difficulty. But this is extremely improbable, as both *Philip* and his father *Charles* had rejected all former applications, though made by the popes themſelves, on that account. Beſides, *Philip* was not poſſeſſed of that kind of ſpirit that would have complied with a peremptory demand, from a prince whom he conſidered as his dependent. According to the beſt authorities, the reſtitution was effected in the following manner. While *Alexander* was in *Spain*, attending on the unhappy Don *Carlos*, *Philip*'s eldeſt ſon, that king one day expreſſed himſelf in unuſual terms of affection towards *Alexander*, who artfully inſinuated to him, that he could not give ſo noble a proof of his friendſhip for him, as by raiſing a family which *Philip* might juſtly call his own, becauſe its greateſt glory was owing to the houſe of *Auſtria*, and by reſtoring his father, duke *Octavio*, to the poſſeſſion of *Placentia*. *Philip*, touched with the manner in which the young prince preferred his petition, immediately wrote an order to the governor of *Milan*, for giving up *Placentia* to duke *Octavio*. *Philip* put this order into *Alexander*'s hands, and he inſtantly diſpatched it by an expreſs to *Parma*, foreſeeing what would happen; for *Philip*, the next council day, acquainting the members with what he had done, they all thought ſuch an alienation to be of ſo great importance, and ſo prejudicial to the crown of *Spain*, that they prevailed upon him to revoke it. A ſecond order for that purpoſe was ſent to the governor of *Milan*; but it came too late, the firſt order having been already executed. This account is confirmed by the dutcheſs *Margaret*, mother to *Alexander*, having built a noble palace, which ſtands on the very ſpot of ground on which the citadel was built, where her father-in-law *Peter-Lewis* was murdered, and which ſtill retains the name of the citadel. That princeſs, for ſome years before her death, lived in that palace; and her body, at her own requeſt, was interred in the abbey of *St. Seſto* at *Placentia*.

He is ſucceeded by his ſon Ranuccio I.

RANUCCIO I. duke of *Parma*, was in the *Low Countries* at the time of his father's death; but returning to *Parma*, he married in the year 1592, the niece of *Clement* VIII. of the houſe of *Aldobrandini*. He was a prince of a pacific diſpoſition, and under him *Parma* made no kind of figure in the affairs of *Italy* and *Europe*; and it is ſcarcely ſo much as mentioned in hiſtory. He was, however, like others of his family, a patron of the arts and of learning; and his time was employed in making vaſt collections of books, manuſcripts, pictures, ſtatues, and other works of genius; all which were carried from *Parma* by Don *Carlos*, the preſent

king of *Spain*. But the theatre built by this *Ranuccio* ſtill remains, and is not only the nobleſt, but the moſt commodious of any in the world. *Ranuccio*, like a wiſe man, thought that he had acquired military reputation in his younger days ſufficient to entitle him to repoſe in his old. His children were two ſons, *Odoard*, whom we ſhall call *Edward* I. who ſucceeded him, and *Francis-Maria*, who was afterwards a cardinal; and two daughters, both of whom were afterwards ſucceſſively married to *Francis* I. duke of *Modena* and *Reggio*.

who is ſucceeded by his ſon Edward.

DUKE *Ranuccio* dying in the year 1622, his wife and brother took into their hands the tutelage of his ſon *Edward* I. and during his minority his dominions enjoyed tranquility. When he came of age, being of a reſtleſs turbulent diſpoſition, he embroiled himſelf in the affairs of *Italy*, and joined with *France* and the houſe of *Savoy* in the diſpute concerning the ſucceſſion to the duchy of *Mantua*. When the *French* king, in the year 1635, ſent the marechal *de Crequi* into *Italy*, the duke of *Parma* joined him with his troops, and aſſiſted at the ſiege of *Valenza*, upon the *Po*. The duke being young and fiery, was impatient at the dilatory ſlow approaches of the marechal, whom he preſſed ſo much on that head, that their differences in opinion ended in a direct breach. The ſiege laſted fifty days; but at laſt the place was relieved by the *Spaniards*. The duke then poſted to *Paris*, where he endeavoured to clear his own conduct, at the expence of the reputation of the marechal, who recriminated in his turn. *Richelieu* was then firſt miniſter to *Lewis* XIII. but having the *French* intereſt in *Italy* greatly at heart, he avoided giving any umbrage to the duke, though he was far from approving of his conduct.

Parma *attacked by the* Spaniards.

DURING *Edward*'s reſidence in *France*, the marquis *de Leganes*, governor of *Milan*, marched a body of troops into the *Parmeſan*, and would have ſeized on the whole duchy, had not the duke of *Savoy* interpoſed, by ſending ſome troops to its defence. Duke *Edward* returned in 1636 from *France*, greatly enraged at the advantage which had been taken againſt him in his abſence; but when he attempted to enter his own dominions, he found all the paſſes ſo ſtrongly guarded by *Spaniards*, that it was impracticable for him to force his way. He therefore went on board a ſmall ſkiff, in the *Riviera di Genoa* incognito, and landed at *Lunigiana*, from whence, with ſome difficulty, he paſſed to his own eſtates. *Parma* and *Placentia*, at this time, had *French* garriſons within them; but they were ſo weak, that they durſt not take the field; nor could they prevent the devaſtations which the *Spaniards* ſpread to the very gates of *Parma*. His moſt Chriſtian

majeſty,

majesty, at this time, was beset with enemies on all sides. One of his armies was employed against the cardinal-infant, governor of the *Low Countries*, who was actually in *Picardy*. Count *Galas*, the imperial general, obliged the prince of *Conde* to abandon the siege of *Dole* in *Franche-comté*; and the admiral of *Castile* had obtained some advantages over another *French* army, which had in vain laid siege to *Fontarabia*, on the frontiers of *Spain*. Thus *Lewis* was utterly disabled from affording any assistance to his ally of *Parma*, who was obliged to fortify himself in *Placentia*, where he was actually besieged by the *Spaniards*, who continued their ravages, and had seized all the out-posts and avenues leading to the city.

War in the Parmesan.

NOTHING could have saved the duke of *Parma* from ruin at this time, if the *Spaniards* had opened the trenches before *Placentia* in form, and proceeded against it with resolution, but the invincible aversion that all the princes of *Italy* have at foreigners settling in that country. The ministers of the senate of *Venice*, and of the great duke of *Tuscany*, were perpetually representing, at the court of *Madrid*, the bad policy of his Catholic majesty, in carrying matters to extremity against the duke, who had been guilty only of an error in judgment, and the ill effects which must attend the court of *Spain*'s appropriating the *Parmesan* dominions to itself, which would breed a ferment in *Italy*, that would further the views and interests of *France*. *Urban* VIII. was then upon the papal throne; but though he had more at stake if the *Spaniards* had made themselves masters of *Parma* and *Placentia*, than either the *Venetians* or the family of *Medici* had, yet he made no efforts in favour of the duke, who had exasperated him by contemptuously refusing to obey his advice, or rather commands, in abandoning the interest of the *French* at the siege of *Valenza*. The duke had been imprudent, or vain enough to make a merit, with the *French* generals and ministers, of the small account in which he held the papal power; and they having sharply reproached, and even threatened the pope's legate, for entering into their camp on such an errand, his holiness came to the knowledge of the whole affair, and highly resented the undutiful behaviour, as he called it, of the duke his vassal, which was the true cause of his coldness.

Distress of the duke of Parma.

THE *Spaniards*, however, had no real intention to ruin the duke of *Parma*. They knew that all the revenues of the *Parmesan* could not defray the expences they must be at in keeping possession of it, and all they wanted was to detach the duke from his alliance with *France*. This, at the instance at the court of *Madrid*, was again and again repeated

to

to the duke's friends in *Italy*, who represented to him, at the same time, the great lustre and advantages which his family had acquired by its connections with the house of *Austria*, and the benefits that must accrue to him if he should resume them. The duke continued deaf to all exhortations of that kind, and refused even to treat with the *Spaniards*. Upon this, the *Spanish* general had orders to straiten him more than ever, and to cut off all communication between *Placentia* and the rest of the *Parmesan*, which he accordingly did. In a few days, want and famine overspread the city, and the duke himself must have been without the common necessaries of life, had not the *Spanish* general, out of regard to the grand duke of *Tuscany*, who was the friend of *Spain*, furnished his table with some provisions.

who reconciles himself to the Spaniards.

MISERY at last overcame obstinacy, and the duke consented to treat, provided he could do it so secretly as that the negotiation should not perspire. The pope's resentment was now so far abated, that he offered to be one of the mediators; but the duke gave his ministers a peremptory exclusion from the whole negotiation, which was carried on under the mediation of a *Florentine* secretary at *Milan*, where the treaty was finished before the count of *St. Paul*, the *French* general in *Parma*, knew that it had been proposed. But the *French* were in possession of *Placentia*, and the treaty could not be carried into execution, unless they evacuated that city. Duke *Edward*, on this occasion, acted with great address. He ordered, under pretence of paying the garrison, that they should be mustered before him on the parade. This being complied with, the duke in a few words informed the count of the treaty which unrelenting necessity had obliged him to conclude, and pointing to the great artillery, which was levelled against the garrison, he begged the count that he would instantly withdraw his troops out of *Parma*, as he had prevailed with the governor of *Milan* to grant them and him a safe conduct through the *Milanese* to *Piedmont*. The count easily saw that he had no choice to make; and not displeased at having so good a pretext for getting rid of so disagreeable a service, marched directly with his garrison out of the city towards *Piedmont*; while the garrison of *Parma*, reduced likewise to a most deplorable condition, evacuated that city, and obtained liberty from the *Venetians* to march through their territories to the *Valteline*. Thus duke *Edward* once more reconciled himself to the *Spaniards*, who were now masters of *Italy*, and from whom he never would have detached himself, had it not been for the practices of cardinal *Richelieu*.

THE

THE duke was of too lively and impetuous a temper to continue long in a ſtate of tranquility. He ſecretly diſliked his new connections with *Spain*, becauſe they divided him from *France*, where *Richelieu* ſtill continued, notwithſtanding all that had happened, to amuſe him with magnificent promiſes. But his chief reſentment was againſt pope *Urban*. This pope was of the family of the *Barbarini*, which from being inconſiderable, he raiſed to a pitch of invidious greatneſs; he made Don *Thaddeo*, one of his nephews, prefect of *Rome*, and had given him precedency of all ambaſſadors, and of princes under the degree of a crowned head. *Edward* complained that his holineſs, inſtead of giving him that protection which was due to a feodatory of the holy ſee, had abandoned him to his enemies, and taken pleaſure in ſeeing him reduced to extremity. He complained likewiſe, that inſtead of interpoſing his authority in his behalf, or aſſiſting him with troops or money, he had propoſed to him the ſale of part of his territories to his nephews, in order to raiſe money, which was the ſame thing as to triumph in his misfortunes, and joining with his enemies. *His differences with the pope*;

THE *Barbarini* were at firſt ſo far from being enemies to duke *Edward*, that they had courted his friendſhip; and to give their family a figure amongſt the princes of *Italy*, they had propoſed a marriage between him and one of their nieces, daughter to Don *Thaddeo*. Though the duke diſdained this match; yet he had his reaſons, at that time, for keeping fair both with the pope and his nephews, becauſe of the great ſums which he owed to the bank or Mount of Piety at *Rome*, and for which he paid exceſſive intereſt. It was in the power of his holineſs, as governor of that bank, to modify the intereſt as he pleaſed; and the duke happening to pay a viſit to his duchy of *Caſtro*, which lies near *Rome*, the *Barbarini* promiſed, if he would pay their uncle a viſit, to prevail upon him to abate ſome part of the intereſt he paid, which was then exceſſive. The duke was averſe to this propoſal, becauſe of the precedency which he underſtood was claimed by the prefect; but to remove that objection it was agreed, that the prefect ſhould be abſent from *Rome* during the duke's reſidence there; upon which he complied, and paid his holineſs a viſit. It is immaterial for us to enquire into the reaſons why this compromiſe was broken into by the prefect's remaining in *Rome* during the duke's abode in that city; but it is certain he found him there, and ſome diſagreeable adventures paſſed between them. The prudence of the cardinal-nephews reconciled them; and the duke ſeemed to entertain the motion of his marriage with their niece ſo cordially,

that

that they prevailed with their uncle to grant a diminution of the intereſt by a deed, which in its own nature was deemed to be irrevocable. This affair being concluded, all the return the duke made, was, to demand a private audience of his holineſs, which he obtained, and ſpoke to him with ſo much freedom, of the inſolence and ambition of his nephews, and their haughty behaviour to himſelf, that he drew tears from the eyes of the pontiff, who promiſed to reform their conduct, which was more than he ever performed; for in a ſhort time they recovered all their aſcendency over their uncle.

againſt whoſe family he declares himſelf.

THE duke having gained the point he had in view, by the abatement of the intereſt, left *Rome*, without taking leave of the *Barbarini*, or concluding the match, the propoſal of which he had till then encouraged; and upon his return to his own dominions, he married *Margaret de Medici*, daughter to the great duke of *Tuſcany*. The *Barbarini* ſecretly reſented this proceeding, which does not give us a great idea of the duke's ſincerity, or, at leaſt, delicacy of conduct; and they ſought how to be revenged, without incurring farther unpopularity. The intereſt which the duke now paid for his money, was eaſily defrayed by the corn and proviſions which his duchy of *Caſtro* every year furniſhed to the pope's agents, and the public magazines at *Rome*; and a conſiderable ballance remained in his favour. But the *Barbarini* put an end to this commerce, by contracting for nothing out of that duchy; ſo that the duke was for ſome years intirely diſabled from paying the intereſt of the money he owed to the Mount of Piety. As the people of *Rome*, and the eccleſiaſtical dominions, as well as other ſtates of *Italy*, were the proprietors of this mount, and the livelihood of a great number of poor people depended on its credit, its cauſe became popular; and the duchy of *Caſtro* having been mortgaged for the payment of the money, the pope and his court made a formal demand, within a certain time, both of the intereſt and principal, alledging, that if they ſhould grant any farther delay, the value of the duchy could not ſatisfy the debt. The duke had nothing to reply to this demand, but complaints of the unkindneſs of his holineſs and agents, in withdrawing their cuſtom from his duchy of *Caſtro*, which had it continued, would have paid all the public creditors. But he was anſwered, that that was mere matter of option to the contractors, who were at liberty to go to what market they pleaſed; whereas, the duke was tied up by a poſitive written obligation.

THOSE altercations continued till the year 1641, when the *Barbarini* declared the duchy of *Caſtro* to be forfeited, for the duke's

duke's non-payment of his debt; and that his holineſs, in juſtice to the public creditors, could not avoid taking poſſeſſion of it. This being intimated to the duke, he ordered ſome troops to march to *Caſtro*, and the city to be fortified. Upon this, the enraged pontiff ſent a monitory to the duke, requiring him, upon pain of excommunication, not only to deſiſt from fortifying that city, but within thirty days to demoliſh all the works he had already begun. To give the menaces of his holineſs the greater weight, the *Barbarini* advanced to *Viterbo* with ſix thouſand foot ſoldiers, and five hundred horſe, as if with an intention to attack the duke in his own dominions. From the face of this narrative, the reader may eaſily perceive that the duke was rendered unable, by the malice of the *Barbarini*, to ſatisfy the debt he had contracted, by their having ſtopped the only vent he had for turning the produce of his duchy into money. This conſideration, however, neither acquitted the duke of the debt, nor ſatisfied the creditors.

He forfeits the duchy of Caſtro.

THE neceſſity of maintaining the balance of power in *Italy*, once more preſented itſelf in the duke's favour. The *Italian* princes and ſtates were alarmed; and the *Spaniards* were afraid that the pope was ſecretly tampering to introduce the *French* into the kingdom of *Naples*, and that he had picked a quarrel with the duke of *Parma*, only that he might have ſome colour of a pretext for raiſing an army to favour the deſigns of *France*. Thoſe ſurmiſes, however, were not ſufficiently grounded for the *Spaniards* to begin hoſtilities upon them; and therefore his catholic majeſty ordered the viceroy of *Naples* to ſend an officer to *Rome*, and to offer the mediation of *Spain* between his holineſs and the duke of *Parma*, and, in the mean time, to intreat the former to lay aſide the thoughts of all violent meaſures, and not to employ arms in a quarrel which, though inconſiderable at firſt, might involve all the powers of *Italy* in its conſequences, and ſpread much farther than his holineſs could foreſee. The duke of *Tuſcany*, *Edward*'s father-in-law, was, at this time, on very bad terms with the *Barbarini*, on account of his having given his daughter in marriage to the duke of *Parma*; but, without regarding that, he ſent a miniſter to his holineſs, who repreſented to him, that he might in a ſhort time repent his having kindled up a war in *Italy*, upon a private perſonal quarrel; and that it was poſſible ſtill to keep the flames from ſpreading. He added, that ſo great was his paſſion for peace, and ſo profound his reſpect for the holy ſee, that he had even refuſed a paſſage through his dominions, for the troops of his ſon-in-law, to the duchy of *Caſtro*; but that he could not

He is joined by his allies.

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dissemble his unwillingness to see him oppressed by his holiness, and that he was ready, if possible, to assist in preserving him from ruin.

The pope disappointed by the Venetians.

His holiness and his family, haughty and self-interested as they were, were startled at so powerful a mediation; but they were not long in determining upon the part they had to act. They considered the duke of *Tuscany* as an indolent prince, and unable to carry his menaces into execution; and that it would soon be in their power to satisfy the *Spaniards*, that their suspicions were without foundations. They were therefore under very little apprehension from any power in *Italy* but the *Venetians*; and his holiness sent instructions to his nuncio there, to leave nothing unattempted to bring them over to his interest, or, if that was impracticable, to prevail with them to be neutral. The *Venetians*, at this time, were highly out of humour with his holiness, on account of certain paintings he had introduced into the Vatican, which they thought reflected on their honour, and therefore were but little disposed to oblige his holiness. The nuncio employed on this occasion was Mr. *Vitelli*, who is famous in the republic of letters, and was reckoned one of the greatest orators then in *Italy*. The pope depended so much on his abilities and success, that he treated all applications for an accommodation as indignities offered to his character, and preached up nothing but the expediency of maintaining the honour of the holy see, and chastising a rebel subject who had dared to fly in his face. But his holiness was greatly shocked, when he understood that to all the elegant speeches made to the senate of *Venice*, that body returned for answer, that the affair between his holiness and the duke of *Parma*, was a matter of so great importance, that they could not help declaring, they would not be idle spectators, as it was impossible to know either the designs of his holiness, or how far their own interests might be affected should a war break out.

By this time the pope had ordered his troops to advance into the duchy of *Castro*, where he took some places belonging to the duke, because their garrisons did not know that they were upon the point of being succoured, as the great duke of *Tuscany* had, before this, granted leave for the *Parmesan* troops to march through his dominions. Those petty successes elevated the pope to such a degree, that he became more intractable than ever, and declared, that he would listen to no terms of accommodation, till the duke of *Parma* should come to *Rome*, throw himself at his feet, and implore his pardon; a haughtiness that arose from his seeing that no power in *Italy* took the part of the duke, but by their

their interceſſions and requeſts. In the mean while, the time preſcribed by his holineſs for the duke's ſubmiſſion to his monitory being expired, his holineſs declared, that he had incurred the ſentence of excommunication actually pronounced againſt him, by which he was to be deprived of all his dominions, prerogatives, and honours.

The duke of Parma *vigorouſly aſſiſted by his allies.*

THE princes of *Europe* had not, for many years, ſeen an inſtance of ſuch an excommunication; and thoſe amongſt them who were the moſt zealouſly devoted to the intereſts of the holy ſee, had now learned to deſpiſe a ſentence which was pretended to have greater effect upon a ſovereign prince than upon his ſubjects; becauſe a private perſon, though excommunicated, is not ſubjected to the loſs of his eſtate and property. Perhaps the pope would not have been ſo ready to have diſcharged this eccleſiaſtical bolt, had not his nephew *Thaddeo* been at the head of twenty thouſand men in the *Bologneſe*, and had demanded from the duke of *Modena*, who was in no condition to reſiſt ſuch a force, a paſſage through his dominions to thoſe of *Parma*. The pope's power did not daunt duke *Edward*, who was naturally endued with a moſt ſurprizing preſence of mind and talents for quick execution. The duke of *Modena*, notwithſtanding his incapacity to make head againſt ſuch a force, gave no immediate anſwer to *Thaddeo*'s demand, till he had conſulted with the *Venetians* and the great duke of *Tuſcany*, who were extremely well diſpoſed to ſerve the duke of *Parma*, and had their troops in readineſs for that purpoſe. After ſome deliberation, it was wiſely reſolved upon by all parties, as the eccleſiaſtical army could not reach *Parma* but through the *Modeneſe* dominions, that the *Venetian* and *Tuſcan* troops ſhould join that duke, with whom his holineſs had not the ſhadow of a difference, and who had an indiſputable right to oppoſe the march of foreign troops through his territories. The duke of *Modena*'s caſe therefore was that of all neutral princes, and keeping intirely upon the defenſive, he gave his holineſs no provocation or room to complain of his behaviour.

The Spaniards diſtruſt the pope.

AMONGST other powers, duke *Edward* had applied for aſſiſtance to the *Spaniards*; but, as they knew he had entered into engagements with *France*, they refuſed to ſerve him. This gave ſome encouragement for the pope to endeavour to gain them to his ſide; but they ſtill ſuſpected that his real deſign was againſt the kingdom of *Naples*, and that he had entered into a ſecret treaty with *France*, and therefore they declined taking either ſide of the queſtion. All thoſe croſs incidents at laſt obliged the pope to give order for his troops, who had flattered themſelves with enjoying the ſpoils of *Par-*

ma, to halt in the *Bolognese*; and sending for the *French* ambassador, he voluntarily offered to grant the duke of *Parma* a truce for fourteen days, till some means could be devised for settling all their differences in an amicable manner. This proposal being made to the *French* ambassador, increased in the *Spaniards* their jealousy of his holiness, especially as they saw that the *French* made no dispositions for assisting the duke, but by their good offices in the way of negociation, and therefore armaments were fitted out both at *Naples* and *Milan*. But their suspicions of his holiness were rendered more strong than ever, on a still more important occasion.

Their suspicions are strengthened.

THE duke of *Braganza*, about this time, had recovered his family right to the crown of *Portugal*; and having driven the *Spaniards* out of that kingdom, his title was recognized by the *French* court. It was no secret to the *Spaniards*, that *Urban* had always a warm side to the *French*, from whom he had received many obligations during his residence at that court as pope's nuncio. The *French* therefore encouraged the new king to send the bishop of *Lamego*, as his ambassador, to the court of *Rome*, to obtain from his holiness an acknowledgment of his right to the crown of *Portugal*. The bishop was thwarted in his negociation by the *Spanish* ambassador, who left no means unessayed, to dissuade the pope from receiving the prelate in a public character; and the *French* were as earnest that he should.

Duke of Parma *invades the ecclesiastical state,*

WHILE these disputes were depending, an incident happened which gave great uneasiness to his holiness. The equipages of the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* ambassadors, happened one day to encounter one another in the streets of *Rome*, and that of the bishop and his domestics were severely pelted by the *Spaniards*. The *French*, however, took part with the *Portuguese*, and in a few hours all the inhabitants of *Rome* were divided between the two parties. The pope did not know how far this quarrel might proceed, and instead of conquering *Parma*, he began to be apprehensive lest he himself should be turned out of *Rome*, and therefore began in good earnest to endeavour to find out the means of being reconciled with the duke of *Parma*. The latter, on the other hand, being joined by a body of *Venetian* and *Tuscan* cavalry, which with his own made up three thousand; and being without any apprehension from the *Spaniards*, took the field with his horse, to whom he was unable to give either pay or subsistence, and, without either infantry or artillery, he marched into the *Bolognese*. The pope's generalissimo, the prefect *Thaddeo*, was still quartered there, and was in full persuasion that the menaces he threw out, and the terror of

of his uncle's name, would immediately finish the war in his favour; but he no sooner heard of duke *Edward*'s approach, than he fled to *Verona*, and his troops disbanded and separated. This left the duke the undisputed master of the field. He raised large contributions over all the dominions of the ecclesiastical state which he marched through; and pursuing his good fortune, he pushed into the *Romagna*, when the inhabitants of *Imola*, *Faenza*, *Forli*, and all its other towns of any consequence, opened their gates to him, being no longer protected by their own sovereign's troops. He then fell back upon *Tuscany*, and marched through part of it to another quarter of the ecclesiastical state, within a few miles of *Castro*, declaring, wherever he came, that he intended to obey the pope's monitory, and appear in person at *Rome*; and now that he was attended by so numerous a retinue, to pay a visit to the prefect and his two brothers.

but is obliged to retire.

All duke *Edward*'s movements testified great intrepidity and resolution, and by this time he had actually passed by *Aquapendente* and *Monte Fiascone*. His holiness, seeing him thus in a manner at the gates of *Rome*, turned to every side to extricate himself from the labyrinth of difficulties he had been led into. He would now willingly have listened to the moderate proposals which he had before so haughtily rejected; and instead of being, as usual, courted to an accommodation by the ambassadors of foreign princes, he courted them in the most abject manner to interpose in his behalf. It happened fortunately for him that neither the *Venetians*, the grand duke, nor the *Modenese*, ever intended that the duke of *Parma* should have carried matters so far as he had done; and his irruptions, especially the last of them, into the ecclesiastical state, had been undertaken without their knowledge or consent, all their intention having been to act upon the defensive, and to prevent his being attacked in the *Parmesan* by the pope's army. They had therefore privately admonished the duke to check his impetuosity, otherwise they threatened to recal their troops, and to leave him to defend himself.

Artful dissimulation of the pope.

Before their admonitions could have any effect, his holiness had applied to all the foreign ministers at *Rome*, to whom he offered to abandon *Castro*, and to put matters upon their original foundation, so as to effect an entire and sincere reconciliation between himself and the duke of *Parma*. He no sooner, however, heard that the duke had stopped in his career by the messages sent him from his allies, than he began to qualify his concessions, by offering to give up *Castro* as a deposit into the hands of the *Venetians*, the great duke, the duke of *Modena*, the *French*, or the *Swiss*. This proposal he knew would protract the negociation to a much greater

length than the duke's finances could admit of, and that he muſt conſequently be obliged to diſband his troops. In the mean while the duke, being preſſed anew by his allies, found himſelf in a moſt deplorable ſituation. He had by them been forced to evacuate all the places he had taken in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; and he was now encompaſſed by mountains and barren vallies, where he could neither find ſubſiſtence for himſelf, nor forage for his horſes. He had ſpirit and courage enough to have riſked all conſiderations, even a breach with his allies, and to have marched to *Rome* itſelf, but that was impracticable, as he was without infantry, magazines, or artillery. At laſt he was obliged to fall back into *Tuſcany*, where he committed the care of his army to the marſhal *d'Eſtrees*, and recommended his intereſts in the way of negociation to *M. de Lionne*, and then ſet out for his own dominions.

A new war breaks out.

URBAN eaſily ſaw that his projects had ſucceeded; and now that his enemy was no longer at his gates, he aſſumed a new tone, and baffled *Lionne* in every point of negociation. He revoked ſome conceſſions which he had granted before, and ſubſtituted what he called equivalents in their place: he explained away others, and clogged others with new conditions; ſo that it was now extremely plain to all parties, that he meant nothing but to protract and puzzle the negociation. In the beginning of the year 1642, duke *Edward*'s affairs ſtanding in this indetermined ſituation, he reſolved, if poſſible, to wreſt *Caſtro*, which was garriſoned by the pope's troops, out of his hands. With this view, having aſſembled ſome regiments, he embarked them on board tranſports at *Lunigiana*, which were to carry them to *Porto Ercole*, or ſome landing place near *Caſtro*, and at the ſame time he raiſed troops for making a new irruption into the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. The embarkation was accordingly performed; but being driven back by contrary winds, the whole plan of the duke's operations fell to the ground. Not diſcouraged with this, he turned his arms againſt the *Ferrareſe*, where he took *Bondeno* and *La Stellata*, both which places he fortified.

The pope's arms baffled.

IN the mean while the pope talked in a more deciſive ſtrain than ever, and was ſpending immenſe ſums in raiſing a new army, the command of which he gave to his nephew the cardinal *Antonio Barbarini*, an enthuſiaſt for the glory of the holy ſee, and the intereſts of his own family, and the moſt expenſive prelate alive, from the immenſe revenues that had been granted him by the pope and the *French* king. The duke of *Parma*'s allies, the *Venetians*, and the dukes of *Tuſcany*

tany and *Modena*, were highly offended at seeing their moderation thus abused, and not knowing what views besides the eduction of the duke of *Parma*, his holiness might have, resumed their arms, and renewed their alliance with *Edward*. The cardinal took the field at the head of his army, with a pomp and magnificence that was more proper to celebrate a triumph than encounter an enemy. Without deigning to spend his time against the two places that had been taken by the duke of *Parma* in the *Ferrarese*, he marched directly into the *Modenese*; but he had scarcely entered that territory, than he was driven out of it with loss and disgrace. In the mean while, the great duke of *Tuscany*, as an ally to the dukes of *Parma* and *Modena*, ordered his army to advance into the ecclesiastical state, where he obtained several advantages; and upon the whole, this and the following campaign, including the extravagant expences of the pope's nephews, is said to have cost the apostolical chamber the incredible sum of twenty millions of crowns, without its receiving any return but losses and disappointments, for that immense expence. At last *Urban*, enfeebled with age and diseases, treated, through cardinal *Bichi*, about a peace with *France*. This negociation proved to be extremely advantageous to the holy see, by the recognition which *France* made of the validity of the papal excommunication. For her previous demand was, that the duke of *Parma* should be absolved from all his censures; a request which the republic of *Venice* never could be brought to make to *Paul* V. nor would she ever even accept of absolution. It was, however, said on the part of the *French* court, that the duke of *Parma*, not being an independent sovereign, the concession did not wound the rights of crowned heads. This, however, is but a feeble plea; because if those censures were valid in a temporal sense against any prince, they were equally so against all; nor can it be pretended that the duke of *Parma* was not, in every respect, a sovereign prince, while he complied with the terms on which his ancestors obtained their dominions.

Duke of Parma regains Castro.

The event of this negociation was, that the pope forgave all that was past, and consented to return to the duke of *Parma* the duchy of *Castro*, and all that had been taken from him. The duke, having thus, by his undaunted spirit and perseverance, baffled all the refined politics, and, what is more, the superior force of the see of *Rome*, went to *Venice* to thank the senators for the kind assistance they had afforded him in his distress. He likewise testified his gratitude to *France*, by giving her ambassadors at *Rome*, during their residence there, the use of his palace, one of the most magnificent in the

world. The *French* ambaſſadors accordingly dwelt in it till the year 1698, when they reſigned the poſſeſſion of it to the then duke of *Parma*. The public, however, and eſpecially the ſovereign princes of *Europe*, were by no means ſatisfied with regard to the merit which *France* claimed from this reconciliation. It was juſtly thought, that, had ſhe not intermeddled, the duke of *Parma* would have obtained better terms than he did, becauſe the pope was reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs, and rendered incapable to continue the war; but that inſidious court, as uſual, by holding with both parties, and diſſembling with both, conſulted her own ends. Duke *Edward*, in fact, acquired nothing by this accommodation but the evacuation of *Caſtro*; for he was ſtill as much obliged as ever to pay to the creditors of the *Mount of Piety* the money he owed that bank. This, in reality, was material juſtice; nor was it in the pope's power, unleſs he had paid the money himſelf, to have compromiſed the affair upon any other condition. Upon the whole, both parties were highly to blame; the duke, for not paying a fair and juſt debt, which was, in a manner, owing to the poor and the neceſſitous; and the pope, or rather his family, for their putting him under difficulties for ſatisfying that debt, by their not continuing to take from the duke, as uſual, the product of his duchy, by which the debt might have been ſatisfied without diſtreſſing him. Duke *Edward* died in the year 1648, two years after his accommodation with the pope. He was blamed by his cotemporaries for abandoning the intereſts of *Spain*, to whom his family owed its elevation, for thoſe of *France*. But the *French* vivacity and manners were intirely ſuited to his own; and he appears to have been of a temper not eaſily wrought upon by oppoſition and difficulties.

Succeeded by Ranuccio II.

Duke *Edward* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Ranuccio* II. Notwithſtanding the ſeeming victory *Edward* had obtained over the pope, it is certain, that when *Ranuccio* ſucceeded to his father, his revenues were in a moſt miſerable ſituation. Though his dominions were clear of foreign enemies, yet the expences of the war had left him no more than the means of barely ſubſiſting himſelf and his court with decency; and when pope *Innocent* X. mounted the papal throne, he found himſelf involved in the ſame difficulties that his father had encountered. *Innocent* was as tenacious as his predeceſſor had been of the papal prerogative, and conſidered the houſe of *Parma* as no better than ſucceſsful rebels againſt their rightful ſovereign. *Ranuccio* II. on the other hand, was one of the moſt moderate princes of his age; and his reputation for wiſdom was ſuch, that the ſenate of *Venice* conſulted him in

all affairs of difficulty or moment. All his abilities, however, could not raiſe the money to ſatisfy *Innocent*, who demanded both the intereſt and principal of what he owed to the *Mount of Piety*. It was in vain for the duke to plead his inability to pay the debt, of which his holineſs himſelf could not be inſenſible; and it was with difficulty he obtained a reſpite. *Innocent* now conſidered *Ranuccio* in a moſt deſpicable light, and took every opportunity to mortify him, by making him feel the weight of his authority; but an accident that happened, completed the breach between them.

A biſhop of Caſtro murdered.

THE popes always had exerciſed a right to fill up the vacant ſees in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, of which the biſhopric of *Caſtro* was reckoned to be one. The more moderate, however, of *Innocent*'s predeceſſors, ſeldom nominated a biſhop to that ſee, without conſulting the dukes of *Parma*, and ſometimes even paid them the compliment of accepting their recommendation. *Innocent* X. was ſo far from obſerving any delicacy of that kind, that he named a *Theatine* monk to be biſhop of *Caſtro*. This monk, of all perſons, was the moſt diſagreeable to the duke, who applied in the moſt earneſt manner to *Innocent* to nominate another to fill the ſee. This requeſt was more than ſufficient to determine *Innocent* to adhere to his firſt nomination; and he reproached *Ranuccio* for being ſo preſumptuous as to offer him his advice. *Ranuccio*, not diſcouraged with this haughtineſs, renewed his application; and, even in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, begged the holy father to deſiſt from his nomination. This ſerved only to draw upon *Ranuccio* freſh reproaches, and even threatnings, which rendered him ſtill more determined to fruſtrate the choice of his holineſs. Finding that he could make no impreſſion upon the pope, he ſecretly applied to the monk himſelf by an agent, who adviſed him, as a friend, not to accept of the biſhopric; and ſpoke in ſuch a manner, as to make the nominee ſenſible of the fate that was intended him, if he ſhould comply with the will of his holineſs. The eccleſiaſtic repaired to the pope, and, on his knees, beſought him to revoke his nomination, which if he accepted of, he ſaid, muſt be fatal to him. To ſee a monk decline a mitre, was ſomewhat ſo extraordinary, that *Innocent* was aſtoniſhed at the requeſt, which was urged with all the appearance of ſincerity, and in the moſt moving earneſt manner. Upon inquiry, he diſcovered the monk's motives for his ſelf-denial; and the diſcovery rendered him more obſtinate than ever. He aſſured the monk, that he had nothing to fear; and that his authority ſhould protect him againſt all his enemies, either ſecret or revealed; as no prince in *Italy*, be he ever ſo great, would

venture to incur the indignation of the holy see. He, therefore, laid his commands upon the monk to receive episcopal consecration, which he was obliged to submit to, though he declined it with tears in his eyes; and when he came to take leave of *Innocent*, before he set out for his bishopric, he told him, that he was going to his death. The pope repeated his assurances of protection and safety; but all his pontifical power could not save the new-made bishop; for, as he was travelling in his litter to *Castro*, he was assassinated upon the road by persons unknown.

The bishopric translated to Aquapendente.

INNOCENT was exasperated to the highest degree at this murder, which must be acknowledged to have been barbarous and inhuman. He ordered the strictest inquisition to be made after the murderers; but none could be discovered. The place where the assassination was committed was chosen with so much judgment, that it was hard to pronounce whether it lay in the duchy of *Tuscany*, or in the ecclesiastical state; while, at the same time, no doubt remained with the public as to the motives or authors of the fact. The pope went so far as even to threaten *Ranuccio* with excommunication; but he had not a circumstance on which he could ground a charge, and thus his holiness was obliged to drop the prosecution. *Innocent*, however, was not of a temper to put up with such a disappointment, convinced as he was of the duke's actual guilt, and he resolved to make him feel his vengeance to the full. The respite for the payment of the duke's debt to the *Mount of Piety* was now expired, and *Innocent*, in the rudest manner, pressed him to pay the money. The duke, after various excuses, which did not avail him, was at last obliged to plead his inability; to which plea his holiness paid so little regard, that he adjudged the duchy of *Castro* to be confiscated for the payment of the said debt, to be re-united to the holy see, and incamerated; a term made use of at *Rome*, to signify an estate to be so incorporated with the dominions of the apostolical chamber, that they never can be separated from them again [a]. Not contented with this, his holiness, under the pretext that *Castro* was now his own property, ordered the city to be razed to the ground, and a pillar to be erected in the market-place, with an inscription on its base, "Here stood *Castro*;" and at the same time he transferred its bishopric to *Aquapendente*, as a punishment on the inhabitants for the death of the episcopal monk, whose name was *Christopher Giarda*.

[a] Memoires de Parme, p. 468.

RANUCCIO, notwithstanding all his policy, was not void of prepossessions for a favourite minister, an obscure *Frenchman* by birth, who assumed the title of marquis *Gaufride*. This person had insinuated himself into the good graces of duke *Edward*, who placed him about his son, and he became *Ranuccio*'s first minister. In the process of the dispute between him and pope *Innocent*, the marquis *Gaufride* not only advised his master to oppose his holiness by force of arms, but to give him the command of the troops raised for that purpose. The duke complied with all that his minister desired; but the latter proved to be so wretched a soldier, that he was beat in every encounter by the pope's troops. His absence from *Parma* gave the duke's friends an opportunity to open his eyes with regard to his favourite, who had, in the most scandalous manner, abused the power intrusted to him by his master. The duke, who was in no condition to continue a war against the pope, laid down his arms; and, upon his favourite's return from the campaign, he was tried for corruption and malversation in his ministry; and the articles being clearly proved against him, he lost his head upon a scaffold. *Account of* Ranuccio's minister, *whom he beheads.*

THIS *Ranuccio* II. after the sequestration of his duchy of *Castro*, took little concern in the public affairs of *Italy*. The debt, for which it was sequestered, amounted to about one hundred thousand pounds sterling, which never was in his power to pay; but in the year 1664, *Lewis* XIV. persuaded, or rather obliged, pope *Alexander* VII. to grant the duke a respite of eight years; within which time, if the debt was paid, the duchy of *Castro* was to revert to his family. This, however, never was done, and the duchy remains now annexed to the apostolical chamber. Upon the accession of the present king of *Spain* to the possession of *Parma*, he offered to pay off the mortgage; but the pope refused to accept of the money: and the emperor, in the year 1736, agreed, that that duchy never should be dismembered [b] from the papal dominions. *His debt respited.*

RANUCCIO II. duke of *Parma*, in his own person, was one of the most extraordinary men of his age. His manner of living was elegantly simple; and he had no exterior marks of greatness about him, that could distinguish him from another gentleman. Notwithstanding this, his court was magnificent and expensive, beyond what could have been expected from his revenue. Though he had not applied much to study, yet he laid out great sums in purchasing valuable *Conduct of* Ranuccio.

[b] BUSCHING's Geography, vol. iii. p. 156.

manuſcripts, and other curioſities, for his library; and he employed a *Carmelite* friar, who ranſacked all *Europe* for thoſe kinds of purchaſes. He employed the famous father *Cornelli*, at *Venice*, to make him a pair of globes, the then largeſt in the world; but the good cordelier, having conſtructed and finiſhed them within his own cloiſter, was obliged to take down the wall before they could be carried to *Parma*. Some incidents in this duke's life will more effectually give the reader an idea of his true character, than any other deſcription of it can communicate.

His generoſity.

HE had at his court an officer, under the title of purveyor-general of his houſhold. This officer was a foreigner; and, by the help of a decent aſſurance, the duke, who always converſed in perſon with thoſe he employed, even in the meaneſt ſtations about his palace, raiſed him by degrees to the purveyorſhip. His behaviour, in this ſtation, was ſo exact, regular, and inoffenſive, that he acquired the good will of all the court, as well as that of his maſter; and lived ſeveral years in great affluence and credit, without ſo much as being ſuſpected of the ſmalleſt miſconduct. At laſt, he fell ſick; and apprehending his diſeaſe to be mortal, he found means moſt earneſtly to requeſt the duke to ſend ſome perſon, whom he could rely on, to receive an information that greatly concerned his highneſs. The duke accordingly ſent to him one of his gentlemen; to whom the purveyor confeſſed, that, during the courſe of his employment under the duke, he had embezzled immenſe ſums, by applying them to his private pocket; and earneſtly begged the gentleman to ask the duke to forgive him, and to ſeize upon all the eſtates he was to leave behind him, which, he ſaid, fell ſhort of the ſums of which he had defrauded him. He, at the ſame time, gave the gentleman an inventory of all his houſhould furniture, and other goods, to be delivered to the duke, that he might enter into immediate poſſeſſion of them, as the only ſatisfaction he could make for his embezzlements. The gentleman executed the commiſſion he was charged with; and the duke, having heard him with great attention, deſired him to return to the ſick man, and to acquaint him, in his name, that he readily forgave him all his embezzlements; and that, ſo far from accepting of his eſtate, he left him at free liberty to diſpoſe of it as he pleaſed, which favours he granted him in conſideration of the ſalutary example he ſet to his other ſervants: "Learn "from this perſon, ſaid he, (turning to thoſe about him) to "become honeſt men; and, at leaſt, in your laſt hours, to "diſburden your conſciences. I make no doubt, continued "he, that many of you are as culpable as this purveyor, whom

" whom you see I have treated so favourably; and if, instead " of reserving your confessions to your last moments, ye will, " every first day of the year, when you come to pay your " compliments to me, confess, at the same time, the parti- " culars of all the slips and embezzlements you have been " guilty of, and which I know is not in my power either to " prevent or to prove, I will, upon my honour, forgive ye, " in the same manner as I have forgiven this purveyor. " Think of what I have said; for, I do assure ye, my absolu- " tion, in such a case, is far preferable to that of the pope " himself. He never absolves, without obliging the party to " make restitution; but ye shall have my pardon without " any such condition."

RANUCCIO II. notwithstanding his great and amiable qualities, had his weaknesses likewise, as appears from the choice he made of *Giosseppino* an *Italian* singer, and an eunuch, to be his first minister. This *Giosseppina* was the favourite of a *Venetian* courtezan, named *Madelona*, who was rich, and who supported him at a vast expence. The custom is at *Parma*, and other cities of *Italy*, after a certain time of night, to shut the gates, and every person then admitted, must send in his name and quality to an officer, who waits at the gate for that purpose, and he makes his report to his master of all who enter. *Giosseppino* and *Madelona*, in one of their excursions, arrived at the gates of *Parma* so late, that they were obliged to send in their names, and the duke in the morning ordered them to attend him. His courtiers imagined, that he intended to punish or to reprimand them for the lewdness of their lives; but they were surprized to see the courteous manner with which he received them. *Giosseppino*'s presence had prepossessed him in his favour; and entering into conversation with him, he soon perceived that he understood politics as well as music, and that he was not infected with that levity which is so common to the *Italian* musicians. In short, the duke offered him a settlement at his court; and, perceiving that he made some difficulty on account of *Madelona*, he offered to entertain her likewise, and to treat her, in every respect, as *Giosseppino*'s wife. The bargain was soon struck; and the duke not only performed all he had promised, but provided handsomely for *Giosseppino*'s two brothers, giving one of them a commission in his own guards, and the other a living in the church. After this, *Madelona* wisely retired to a nunnery, where the duke still continued her appointment. *History of count* Calvi.

As to *Giosseppino*, he shewed himself not unworthy of the duke's partiality in his favour. A magnificent palace was erected for him, with a communication, by a covered gallery, with

with that of the duke; and in a ſhort time he acquired a much larger eſtate, than could have been expected to be amaſſed in the ſervice of a duke of *Parma*. The duke was ſo far from diſcovering any uneaſineſs on that account, that he adviſed his favourite to lay out his money in purchaſing land, but not in the *Parmeſan*, leſt his ſon and ſucceſſor ſhould call him to an account for the riches he had acquired. *Gioſeppino* accordingly purchaſed an eſtate in the *Milaneſe*, and was created a count by the title of *Calvi*, the name of his father, who was a poor taylor in *Pavia*. In other reſpects, *Gioſeppino* behaved with the moſt profound ſubmiſſion to the duke, his family, and court. But all his caution could not guard him from enemies amongſt the nobility, who ſtill looked upon him as an upſtart.

Marriage of the prince of Parma.

WHEN prince *Edward*, *Ranuccio*'s ſon, grew up, *Lewis* XIV. ordered *du Pré*, his reſident at *Parma*, to offer a princeſs of his own blood in marriage to the young prince. He had, at the ſame time, made the like offer to the dukes of *Tuſcany* and *Modena*. Nothing could be more unpopular than the *French* court, at this time, was in *Italy*. *Lewis* XIV. had, with unconcern, ſeen the *Turks* make a progreſs in *Germany*, which threatened the extinction of the chriſtian religion and intereſt in that empire; and the *French* armies in the *Palatinate* had behaved in a manner more brutal and inhuman than the worſt of barbarians. Though the *Italian* princes had never been fond of the imperial yoke, while the houſe of *Auſtria* aſpired to give laws in *Italy*; yet, now that its power was reduced, they remembered that the emperors of *Germany* had been the lords paramount of that country, and that they themſelves owed to them their freedom, and independency upon the ſee of *Rome*. The duke of *Parma*, particularly, thought that if he owed any allegiance it was to the emperor, and not to the pope, whoſe predeceſſors had availed themſelves of the diſtreſſes of *Germany* to get poſſeſſion of *Parma*. That duke, therefore, and the other *Italian* princes, rejected the propoſal of the *French* alliance with a kind of horror; and *Ranuccio* concluded a match between his ſon *Edward* and the princeſs *Dorothea-Sophia* of *Neuberg*, ſiſter of the empreſs-dowager.

Calvi *mortified.*

RANUCCIO, upon this occaſion, gave a proof of his wiſdom and good ſenſe, by mortifying his favourite, upon the only occaſion in which he ſeemed to have forgot the meanneſs of his birth and circumſtances. The duke had given orders for making the moſt magnificent preparations for celebrating his ſon's nuptials; and had committed to the marquis of *Rangone*, a nobleman of great quality and eſtate, the care of

of repairing his celebrated theatre at *Parma*, for the exhibition of certain pompous entertainments. The marquis accepted of the charge; but the theatre being very much out of order, and the time allotted for repairing it being but short, he ordered the workmen to admit no person within it, but those who came along with the duke and his sons. *Gioseppino* presented himself one day, and demanded admittance, which was refused him by one of *Rangone*'s servants, though the minister, at the same time, acquainted him with his name and quality. The servant answered, that he was no stranger to both; but that noblemen of much greater rank had been refused admittance, and that he must obey his orders. This affront drove *Gioseppino* from his usual moderation; and after threatening to cane the servant the first time he met him, he withdrew. When the marquis of *Rangone* heard of what had passed, he dismissed all the workmen; and ordering the theatre to be locked up, he carried the keys to the duke, and desired his highness to excuse him from having any more concern with the reparation of the theatre. The duke was amazed at his request; but was soon informed of the whole affair by the marquis, in terms that put the duke in mind of his minister's original meanness, and of his presumption in threatening to beat his servant for doing his duty; adding, that he did not doubt that he soon would have insolence enough to threaten the same to himself for having given the order.

A PRINCE not possessed of *Ranuccio*'s wisdom and moderation would have been offended at the freedom with which the marquis treated his favourite's person and character. *Ranuccio*, on the other hand, discovered no marks of displeasure; but after calmly examining the affair, he found it to be as the marquis had represented it. The offence was of too slight a nature to deserve a severe punishment; and yet there was a kind of necessity for satisfying the marquis, and humbling the favourite at the same time. He therefore prevailed with the marquis to resume his charge, and promised him satisfaction. Next day the marquis, as usual, continued to give directions about the reparations of the theatre; and the duke ordered several of the courtiers to attend him, and amongst others *Gioseppino*; but ordered him to be the last of all his train who should enter the theatre. When the marquis came to receive the duke, all the attendants were admitted but *Gioseppino*, in whose face the door was shut. This was what the duke had foreseen and suspected; and in a day or two repeating his visit in the same manner, *Gioseppino* received the same affrontive exclusion. In a few days after the

same experiment was repeated, when the marquis, thinking that he had done enough to mortify the favourite, and beginning now to understand the duke's meaning, saluted him by the name of Signior *Giuseppino*, and told him that he was welcome to enter; and thus the quarrel ended, without the duke appearing to take the least concern in it.

Magnificent wedding.

THE celebration of the nuptials between prince *Edward* and his bride, was the most magnificent of any that for some centuries had been exhibited in *Italy*. Rich presents, according to their respective qualities, were made to all the *Germans* of either sex who accompanied the bride. The feasts, entertainments, and shews of all kinds, which lasted for three weeks, were equally pompous and ingenious; but a description of particulars does not come within our design, though volumes were filled with the description of them; and the marriage of prince *Edward*, with the princess *Dorothy* of *Neuberg*, is to this day talked of amongst the *Italians* as the master-piece of all magnificence of that kind.

History of Don Alexander Farnese.

BUT notwithstanding *Ranuccio*'s gentleness and politeness, no prince knew better than he did what was due to his rank, and to the decorum of a court. His brother, prince *Alexander Farnese*, while he was governor of the *Low Countries* for the king of *Spain*, had by his mistress a natural son called after his own name. This young gentleman was educated at *Parma*, under the eye of his uncle, in a manner suitable to the quality of his father, who was afterwards general of the *Venetians*, and held an employment in *Spain*. Upon the marriage of prince *Edward*, the duke of *Parma* gave Don *Alexander*, for so the young gentleman was called, a post about the person of the princess, and his fine presence and accomplishments soon brought him to be distinguished by a *Parmesan* countess, one of the most illustrious ladies in all the duke's dominions. As the lady was married, their intercourse became scandalous, and it soon reached the duke's ears. As he was extremely delicate in those matters, he at first reprimanded Don *Alexander*, being willing to make allowances for his youth; but the scandal of the intrigue daily encreasing, he treated him with rougher language, and threatened, if he persevered, to disqualify him from all future commerce with womankind. He ordered, at the same time, that when the duchess came to the opera, she should be placed in a box opposite to his own, that her gallant might have no opportunity of entertaining her. The lovers found means partly to elude even this precaution; but being impatient of restraint, they at last agreed to make an elopement, and to fly to *Naples*, where they might enjoy themselves in security. Don *Alexander*

Alexander accordingly repaired to the lady's country-seat, in the disguise of a postilion; and on pretence that he was sent for her by her husband, who was then in *Parma*, he carried her off, and they made the best of their way to *Naples*. They had been gone two days before the duke heard of their flight; and being highly provoked by the young man's temerity, he dispatched expresses to the governors of the chief cities in *Lombardy* and the *Romagna*, through which it was most probable they would pass, with a description of their dresses and persons, entreating them to stop the fugitives. It was not long before they were stopped at *Ancona*; and the duke no sooner heard that they were in custody, than he sent two coaches, with proper guards, to conduct them to *Parma*; but with orders, that they should not be suffered to speak to each other during the journey. In this he was punctually obeyed; and upon their arrival at *Parma*, the lover was condemned by the duke to perpetual imprisonment, and the lady to pass the rest of her days in a cloister.

Policy and wisdom of Ranuccio.

But the most distinguished public action of this duke's life, was his establishing the fair of *Placentia*. This fair used to be held in *Genoa*, to which all the merchants of *Italy* resorted once a year, and transacted their affairs. But the difficulty of passing to *Genoa* by land, on account of the vast mountains with which that city is surrounded, being a prodigious discouragement to the merchants, *Ranuccio* formed the noble project of transferring the fair to *Placenza*. He no sooner made the proposal, than it was unanimously agreed to by all the traders of *Italy*; and for their conveniency, he ordered above three hundred booths to be built in the streets of *Placenza*; and during the fair he appointed guards for the security of the wares they contained. But as the resort of wealthy bankers to the fair was its principal support, the duke, with a magnificence peculiar to himself, sent to *Florence*, and all the other trading cities in *Lombardy* and the *Romagna*, coaches and other carriages for conveying them to *Placenza*, where they were lodged all the time of the fair, at his expence, and every night entertained with elegant exhibitions of plays, operas, and other entertainments of music. All was performed in the highest taste of politeness as well as hospitality; so that those merchants appear to be invited rather to a court, as the guest of a great prince, than to a fair, as merchants transacting their own business.

Flourishing state of his dominions.

In like manner the duke rendered his dominions the residence and delight of the *Italian* princes and nobility. After the fair of *Placenza* was over, the operas still continued; and as the duke was himself a great judge of music, the favourite enter-

entertainment of the *Italians*, none but the fineſt voices and performers were admitted. All the expence was defrayed by the duke, who was ſo good an œconomiſt, that his guests were aſtoniſhed at his magnificence, his ordinary revenues not being computed to amount above one hundred thouſand pounds a year. He found means, however, by the great concourſe of nobility and merchants, whom he brought to his dominions, to raiſe a revenue far exceeding that ſum, without oppreſſing his ſubjects. But though he defrayed all the charges of his opera and theatre, by paying the performers of every kind, as well as providing dreſſes and machinery, yet he ſuffered *Gioſeppino*, ſoon after he came into his favour, to be the manager of the whole, and even to take money for the boxes at the opera. This amounted to about a thouſand pounds a year clear to the favourite. But it drew upon him ſo much envy and ill-will from the other performers; and the public was ſo much diſguſted at ſeeing the ſame perſon act in the double capacity of miniſter and muſician, that he reſigned the management. After all, however, we have ſaid of this duke *Ranuccio*'s magnificence and generoſity, he had his frugal and ſaving hours. When he acted in the character of a ſovereign prince, he required from all his ſervants and courtiers, the ſtricteſt obſervance of forms in their ſeveral degrees; and they who were negligent in any part of their duty, were always ſure of having ſome marks of his reſentment. This made all about him ſo attentive to their duties, that no prince was ever known to be better ſerved. But *Ranuccio* ſpent the far greater part of his time as a private gentleman, without the ſmalleſt diſtinction of dreſs or attendance. He converſed eaſily and familiarly with all whom he went to viſit, or who came to viſit him. His table was then ſerved like that of a private perſon; and they who trembled before him on days of ceremony, were charmed with his converſation, his affability, and good-nature, as a private perſon. Towards the latter end of his days, he was troubled with an impoſthume in his leg, which the phyſicians attributed to his exceſſive eating of *Parmeſan* cheeſe; but they could not perſuade him to abſtain from it. His diſorders, therefore, multiplied ſo greatly, that his ſubjects thought his life was prolonged by the miraculous interpoſition of ſaints. The count *de Anguiſciola* was then his reſident at the court of *Paris*, where *Lewis* XIV. one day enquired after the health of the duke his maſter; the count anſwered, "That he had "been miraculouſly recovered by the interceſſion of a certain "ſaint." "You *Italians*, replied the king, are fond of be-"ing under obligations to heaven, and run ſo much in debt

"to

"to the saints, that I am afraid you will soon prove insol-
"vent." But after many escapes he at last died in the year 1694. *Death*

DUKE *Ranuccio* had three wives; his first was *Margaret* daughter to *Victor Amadeus*, the first duke of *Savoy*, by whom he had prince *Edward*, who, as we have already seen, married the princess *Dorothea Sophia* of *Neuberg*, daughter to *Philip-William* the elector-palatine, and sister to the empress-dowager; but he died in 1693, during his father's life-time, leaving behind him a daughter, who was afterwards married to *Philip* king of *Spain*, and is now alive. His second and third wives were *Isabella* and *Mary*, the latter of whom he married by dispensation, daughters to *Francis* I. duke of *Modena*. By the former he had two sons; *Francis*, who succeeded him, and *Antony* (*Alexander*, his grandson, by *Edward*, dying in his cradle.) *Ranuccio*'s two brothers were *Alexander* and *Horatio*. The latter was general of the cavalry in the *Venetian* service, during the famous siege of *Candia*; and he was at the famous battle of the *Dardanelles*, in which the *Turks* were beat; but he himself died without issue, when he was upon his return to *Italy*. He was succeeded in his command by his brother prince *Alexander*, who afterwards entered into the *Spanish* service, and served in *Flanders* in the same rank. In the year 1669 he was appointed viceroy of *Navarre*, and in 1680, governor-general of the *Low Countries*. Two years after the *Venetians* gave him the command of their troops; and in the year 1687, the king of *Spain* appointed him generalissimo by sea of all his kingdoms and estates, in which post he died two years after he received it; but without leaving any legitimate issue. *and marriages of Ranuccio.*

DUKE *Francis* I. son of duke *Ranuccio* II. of *Parma*, succeeded his father with great advantages. The contending parties in *Italy* concurred in the high esteem they had for the late duke; and the measures of his government were so wise, that his son's dominions were free from all the calamities of war which desolated the rest of *Italy*, at the time of his accession to the duchy. *Francis*, however, found great difficulty to maintain himself in this desirable neutrality. This was occasioned, not by any mismanagement of his own, but by a dispute betwen the pope and the emperor, about their respective rights of superiority over *Parma*. The imperial general, the marquis *de Prie*, in *November* 1706, marched some *German* regiments into the *Parmesan* and the *Placentine*, with an intention there to take their winter-quarters. Duke *Francis*, as well as his subjects, pleaded to be excused, on account of *Parma* and *Placentia* being fiefs of the holy see, and *Succeeded by his son Francis.*

His dispute with the emperor.

and therefore not subject to such burdens. The imperial general, however, in *December* following, threatened the two duchies with military execution; so that duke *Francis* was compelled, against his will, to nominate *Francis Malpeli* his governor of *Parma*, and count *John-Francis Marazzani Visconti* and the marquis *Annibal Scotti*, to be his plenipotentiaries for settling articles between him and the marquis *de Prie*; and at last ten articles were agreed upon. By the first article, the winter-quarters of the *German* troops were estimated at the sum of ninety thousand *Spanish* pistoles, of which the lay-subjects of the duke were to advance seventy-six thousand one hundred and fifty to the imperial military chest, for the maintenance of the infantry, who were quartered upon his duchies, the cavalry having evacuated the same for their greater ease. The said sum being paid, the imperial plenipotentiary undertook that all necessaries furnished for the maintenance of the said troops, horse as well as foot, should be punctually defrayed, and paid for at a moderate rate; and that if any disputes should arise between the duke's subjects and the said troops, that the same should be adjusted, and satisfaction made to the subjects by the commanding officer or officers of the regiments, or by the marquis of *Visconti*, general of the imperial cavalry. By the second article, the marquis *de Prie* allows to the duke five thousand out of the said ninety thousand pistoles, on account of provisions furnished the preceding *August*. The third article obliges the duke's subjects to pay two-thirds of the said sum, in ready money, in the following *April*, and to give accepted draughts upon creditable bankers, for the residue to be paid in the months of *August* and *October* thereafter: which payments being made, the marquis *de Prie* declares, that the duke has satisfied the imperial court for all demands upon him, as holding his estates as fiefs from his imperial majesty.

The five next articles only settled the manner in which the contributions were to be raised, and the rations furnished to the soldiers; but the ninth article is extremely remarkable. It recites, "that as the ecclesiastics, secular as well as regular, are in possession of great part of the duke's territories, and had always borne their share of the public burdens, and even at that very time paid one-fourth towards the expence of the garrisons in the *Parmesan* and the *Placentine*, the imperial commissary reserved to himself a power of raising, upon their estates, the sum of twenty-one thousand two hundred and thirty pistoles; that the estates of the said ecclesiastics may be delivered from the inconveniences to which they must be subjected if such payment should not be made. The seculars,

fars, however, proteſting that they have no concern whatever in drawing up or concluding the ſaid articles; which was ſigned the 14th of *December* 1706.

Interpoſition of the pope.

WHEN thoſe articles were publiſhed, the pope *Clement* XI. iſſued a decretal, condemning the ſame, in a very high ſtrain, as being injurious, in the moſt atrocious manner, to him and the rights of the holy ſee, to which the dukes of *Parma* and *Placentia* owe a direct and immediate fealty; and that conſequently the ſaid articles were declared to be void of all ſtrength, force, and validity. His holineſs then referred to a letter expedited by his predeceſſor *Urban* VIII. on the 5th of *June*, 1641; by which thoſe, and the like inſults upon the holy ſee, were effectually guarded againſt: the proteſtation entered by the ſecular clergy, concerning the proportion to be paid by them, having thrown the cognizance of that affair entirely upon the pope. He then refuſes, in the moſt peremptory terms, to ratify the ſame, and declares the articles to be rejected and condemned. He next proceeds to mention a letter written with his own hand to the duke of *Parma*, threatening with eccleſiaſtical cenſures, all who ſhould preſume to invade his juſt rights, or trouble his ſovereign juriſdiction, and that of the church of *Rome*, over the ſaid duke's eſtates, or in the matters already mentioned.

A full ſtate of the claims made by the imperial and papal courts.

IT appears, that after the concluſion of the above articles, the clergy, both ſecular and regular, of the *Parmeſan* and *Placentine*, had abſolutely refuſed to furniſh their contingents, without expreſs orders from the pope, for which the imperial generals had quartered a conſiderable body of troops upon their eſtates, in hopes to oblige them to comply with their demands. The pope, in the decree of cenſures before us, exclaims, in the moſt bitter terms, againſt this ſacrilegious practice, as being a violation of all eccleſiaſtical immunities and privileges. He then proceeds in the following ſtrain; "Having found all our paternal cares fruitleſs for remedying the ſaid abuſes; and as we are bound to protect, upon earth, the rights of the church of *Rome*, and all inferior churches, as well as the perſons of the eccleſiaſtics, although we do not doubt that the biſhops of thoſe places, whoſe zeal we have excited, will courageouſly do their duty; and though we believe moſt certainly, that ſo unjuſt a military attack, directed by wicked counſels, will be diſproved of by our moſt dear ſon *Joſeph* king of the *Romans*, elected emperor, who we hope will ſeverely chaſtize and puniſh all who have been guilty of the ſaid exceſſes; yet, that we may not appear idle and inactive, we who are charged with the duties of the apoſtolical office, and that we may not, by our too long forbearance, be

accuſed of having betrayed the privileges of eccleſiaſtics, of having ſhamefully abandoned the cauſe of God; we, truſting in his divine aſſiſtance, and following the example, not only of *Urban* our aforeſaid predeceſſor, but of pope *Leo* X. who by his conſtitution, publiſhed the 23d of *June* 1515, excommunicated, anathematized, and ſtruck with the ſword of curſing and eternal damnation, all perſons, even thoſe whoſe quality ſeemed to claim particular mention, who ſhould invade the towns, territories, and places, belonging either mediately or immediately to the holy ſee, particularly the cities of *Parma* and *Placentia*; we declare, by the tenor of theſe preſents, that the treaty within-mentioned, and all its articles, with all that followed thereupon, and all that may follow it, to be injurious, abuſive, invalid, unjuſt, and deſtitute of all force and effect; that they were ſo from the beginning; they are ſo now, and ever muſt continue ſo, notwithſtanding any oath confirming them; that no perſon is obliged to obſerve them; that no perſon either ought, or can lawfully obſerve them; and that no perſon has acquired, or can acquire, any right or pretence of a right for ſuch poſſeſſion or proceedings."

His holineſs then enforces all the cenſures and eccleſiaſtical pains that had been publiſhed againſt ſuch violators by his predeceſſors or himſelf, or the biſhops of the *Parmeſan* and *Placentine*; and concludes with the uſual forms to declare the ſaid decree to be lawful and valid in all reſpects. We have thought proper to be the more full upon this difference between the imperial and papal courts, becauſe it remains ſtill undecided, and it may yet be productive of important conſequences in *Europe*. It is proper, however, for the ſame reaſon, to give the reader the ſubſtance of the anſwer, which the imperial court made to this thundering declaration, and which is dated the 26th of *June*, 1708.

upon the ſovereignty of Parma.

It begins with putting the public in mind of the great deliverance which the imperial army had obtained for *Italy*, after it had been enſlaved by the *French*. His imperial majeſty then proceeds to complain of the papal miniſters, who had, either at the inſtigation of others, or for ſelf-intereſted views of their own, introduced ſpiritual arms into a diſpute that was entirely temporal, and to publiſh the ſame, to the great ſcandal of Chriſtianity and Chriſtian princes. "Having attentively conſidered, ſays the imperial manifeſto, the declaration of his holineſs, and all its contents, we cannot but be ſenſibly affected at the court of *Rome*'s having the boldneſs to diſpute the ancient rights which we and the *Roman* empire have in *Italy*, and particularly thoſe which the duchy of *Milan*

lan has over *Parma* and *Placentia*, and this under the pretext of a dominion which the ſaid papal court pretends to have acquired over thoſe two duchies. It is evident, by the full concurrence of all hiſtories, and by the inveſtitures which the *Roman* emperors our predeceſſors have beſtowed, and other certain acts, that the ſupreme dominion and high ſovereignty of the ſaid cities of *Parma* and *Placentia*, only belong to us and to the ſacred *Roman* empire, and that the lawful poſſeſſors of the duchy of *Milan* received the inveſtitures thereof. It cannot be proved that this ſupreme dominion and high ſovereignty ever has been given up by any emperor, or that it was ever in the power of any duke of *Milan* to yield up, cede, or transfer the ſame, far leſs that the court of *Rome* is entitled to uſurp the ſame; or that the duke of *Parma* and *Placentia* himſelf ought to be conſidered as holding his dominions from the pope. Many hiſtorical tracts record at large all that has been done, without interruption, for preſerving the rights of the empire in that affair; and they who are converſant in public matters, are fully ſenſible with what zeal our predeceſſors, the emperor *Charles* V. in particular, of glorious memory, have defended, and expreſſed their reſolution to defend, even to their laſt breath, their rights, and thoſe of their empire, to the ſaid duchies. It being beſides evident, that thoſe rights were annexed to the empire in ſuch a manner, that they could not be ſeparated from it without its conſent, far leſs againſt its will, by any papal bulls, be they what they will, or by any menaces of eccleſiaſtical fulminations, however terrible they may appear. It is therefore loſt and ridiculous labour which the popes have beſtowed, by arrogating, in their own cauſe, a power of giving ſentence; and being forced to eſtabliſh, by means of their own bulls, claims that directly point to the prejudice of a third power. Surely it is beyond comprehenſion, how the court of *Rome* could imagine or alledge, that our ſoldiers have invaded the property of the church, as the ſaid court knows, or ought to know, that the places into which our troops have entered, are fiefs belonging to us and the empire; and that we are entitled to demand from them proviſions and neceſſaries of life, by the laws of nature and nations, even though the ſame had been a neutral territory, eſpecially as the ſaid demand was made that we may be able to defend thoſe upon whom it is made, and to deliver them from dangers and farther loſſes with which they are threatened. Matters being thus circumſtanced, every one muſt be ſenſible that the canons of the church, with the laws and reaſons of ſtate, oblige the clergy, as well as the other parts of the community, to contribute to the public ex-

pences, especially as they are employed for their tranquility and liberty; but more especially in a country where, by antient custom, the clergy has always contributed to the common support of the public; and where, as is the case in *Parma*, their possessions are so great, that they form more than one-fourth part of that duchy. The ecclesiastics, therefore, would become unworthy the happiness they enjoy, if they should be so tenacious and covetous as to refuse to concur with lay-subjects in paying the sum required by our imperial commissary, and persisting in the said refusal."

THE manifesto then proceeds to extol the conduct of his imperial majesty, and to blame the harsh and precipitate censures that had been issued against him by the pope. It then goes on as follows: "Our demand is agreeable to our own rights, and those of the empire; and we have made it in a manner that is agreeable to the imperial constitutions and usages, which entitles us to a return of that particular respect which we pay to the common father of Christianity, when he divests himself of partiality, witness the many negotiations of cardinal *Grimani*, to obtain that consent from his holiness, though the same was superfluous, and to remonstrate upon the too hasty abuse of papal authority. We well observe examples of the like collections and contributions imposed upon ecclesiastics, with the pope's consent, by our enemies, in a very different manner, though those enemies had no other end but to disturb the common tranquility of *Europe*, and were unworthy of all favour. Notwithstanding that, the court of *Rome* yielded to their requests, often against all right, thereby shewing as much indulgence and kindness to them, as animosity and enmity to us, by attacking us and the most undoubted rights of the empire in the face of the world, by words, writings, and actions, which might have excited in us the most violent resentment, had we not been influenced by that goodness which is natural to our house of *Austria*, and our regard for the universal church. We would even have persevered in our patience, though it has been abused ever since the beginning of our reign, if it had been permitted us to delay longer to vindicate our rights, and those of the empire, and if we could have excused that delay to God and our posterity. Hence it is, that, all things considered, we, mindful of the capitulation which we swore to observe, and the imperial constitutions, having take the sentiments of all our privy counsellors, together with those of the imperial aulic council; and having consulted many able foreign divines, and persons conversant in the canon and civil laws, for the preservation of our rights, and those of the empire, we declare,

clare, that the writing above referred to is evidently null, vain, and of no force; and the rather, because it is plain that it wants the requisite essentials, to wit, the commission of a mortal sin, contumacy in a mortal error, a previous citation of persons, and the like; and because the said writing published by the court of *Rome*, tends not to preserve the heritage of our lord, but to usurp our imperial rights upon the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*."

The conclusion of the imperial manifesto of Parma.

THE manifesto then retorts the pope's injustice upon himself, and accuses his ministers of cruelty and oppression, and of practices against the emperor, the king of *Spain*, and the duke of *Savoy*. It then declares, in the most solemn manner, that it is not in the power of his imperial majesty to give up any of his rights, far less his direct sovereignty over *Parma* and *Placentia*. On the contrary, "We resume, proceeds the paper, to ourselves and the sacred *Roman* empire, firmly and expressly, all and singular the sovereign rights that have been usurped, or are yet detained from us, and we declare them ours in the most effectual form and manner, annulling, abolishing, and cancelling all illegal pretences and possessions, excepting those that have been expressly transferred to the said holy *Roman* see, by the goodness and munificence of our imperial predecessors. All which is of so much the less validity, as even the emperor himself has not power to make such alienations, without observing the requisite forms." The close of this famous manifesto is as follows: "We forbid all and singular the ecclesiastics and secular vassals belonging to us and the empire, our ministers and subjects, living either in the dominions of the church, or in the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, or any where else, under pain of our indignation, confiscation of goods, and corporal punishment besides, to pay the least regard to the aforesaid writing, promising them in return our protection and clemency, first requiring, in the necessary forms, the duke of *Parma*, not to acknowledge, for his duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, any other superior but ourselves, and our most dear brother the king of *Spain*, as being the sole lords and lawful possessors of the duchy of *Milan*, to whom the said duke is answerable for our rights, and those of the sacred *Roman* empire."

Antony marries his brother's widow.

THE vicissitudes of war prevented this dispute from coming to an issue; it being an established maxim, with the papal court, never to give up a claim, or terminate a difference, but to make temporary compromises, still keeping their claims open, and resuming them at proper junctures. An accommodation afterwards took place between the emperor and the pope, but without any decision being made as to the

sovereignty of *Parma*. The new duke, however, behaved so inoffensively, that he would gladly have been excused from having the imperialists quartered upon his dominions; yet he was regarded by both parties, insomuch, that in the year 1695, his holiness gave him a dispensation for marrying his brother's widow, to the astonishment of all *Europe*, the former having had children by her. But *Antony* having no children by the said lady, the succession to his estates became a very serious consideration with the powers of *Europe*, after the accession of king *George* I. The duke of *Parma* himself inclined to be a feodatory to the court of *Rome*, rather than to the emperor, who he was sensible wanted to reannex his duchies to the dominions of the house of *Austria*; and the same fate must have attended them, had they been declared to be fiefs of the crown of *Spain*, which was then claimed by his brother *Charles*, in opposition to *Philip*, duke of *Anjou*; both of them assuming the royal titles of *Spain*, and each in possession of part of that kingdom. To prevent, if possible, such a reannexation from taking place, *Antony* duke of *Parma* married *Elizabeth*, his elder brother's daughter, and only surviving child to *Philip*, by which the descendants of the marriage claimed the rights of succession to the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*.

Account of the succession to Parma, *as settled by the quadruple alliance.*

WHEN the state of affairs in *Europe* rendered it necessary to supply the defects of the treaty of *Utrecht*, in which nothing effectual had been stipulated with regard to *Parma* and *Placentia*, that succession came under the consideration of the contracting powers. At first a triple alliance was concluded between *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Holland*, and the emperor, who was then at war with *Spain*, thinking the same to be injurious to his interest, refused to accede to it; but by the unwearied application of the *English* and *Spanish* ministers, who declared, that one of the main objects of the alliance was to bring about a peace between their imperial and catholic majesties, his difficulties abated; and upon his acceding to the treaty, it got the name of the quadruple alliance, the fifth article of which was as follows; "The duchies of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, were to be accounted for ever as male fiefs of the empire, and were to descend, in default of the male heirs, to the queen of *Spain*'s eldest son. As the consent of the empire was necessary, the emperor was to use his utmost endeavours to obtain it. *Leghorn* was to remain a free port; and the king of *Spain* was to yield to his son the town *Porto Longone*, with what he possessed in the island of *Elba*, as soon as the prince of *Spain* should be in possession of *Tuscany*. None of these duchies was to be

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poſſeſſed by a prince who ſhould, at the ſame time, be king of *Spain*; nor was the king of *Spain* ever to take upon himſelf the guardianſhip of that place."

THIS ſettlement of ſucceſſion to ſo conſiderable dominions, without conſulting the parties who were in poſſeſſion of them, ſurprized all *Europe*, but thoſe who were in the ſecret of the alliance; and therefore by the mediators, to quiet the apprehenſions of the dukes of *Tuſcany* and *Parma*, it was provided, "That it ſhould never be allowed, during the lives of the poſſeſſors of *Tuſcany* and *Parma*, that any forces of any country whatſoever, whether their own or hired, ſhould, either by the emperor, the kings of *France* or *Spain*, or even by the prince appointed to the ſucceſſion, be introduced into any garriſon, city, port, or town of thoſe duchies. But for ſecurity of the ſucceſſion, ſix thouſand *Swiſs* were to be put into *Leghorn*, *Porto Ferraro*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*." After the concluſion of this treaty, a new treaty was entered into between the emperor and the king of *Sicily*, by which *Sicily* was reſtored to the emperor, who agreed to give his *Sicilian* majeſty in return the iſland of *Sardinia*. The farther particulars of this treaty, only as they related to the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, are foreign to my purpoſe. It is ſufficient to ſay, that upon the whole, the negociations exaſperated *Spain* ſo greatly, that cardinal *Alberoni*, then his catholic majeſty's firſt miniſter, made amazing attempts for enabling *Spain*, both by ſea and land, to withſtand the efforts of all the contracting parties in the quadruple alliance. This produced a reſolution in the allies to deprive the queen of *Spain*'s iſſue, if that court ſhould continue obſtinate, of their ſucceſſion to the duchies of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, and to give the inveſtitures of the ſame to ſome other prince. Such a proceeding diſguſted the ſtates general, and the rather, as the miniſters of *Great Britain* and *France*, ſeemed rather to preſcribe than to negociate a peace, and had not conſulted their high mightineſſes during the whole progreſs of the treaty. This and various other conſiderations, determined the *Britiſh* court, before they ſtruck the important blow they were then meditating, to ſend the earl of *Stanhope* into *Spain*, with freſh inſtructions to make that court ſenſible of its danger, if his catholic majeſty ſtill held out. The fourth article of thoſe inſtructions were, "That in caſe his catholic majeſty ſhould refuſe to accept of the ſaid treaty, the confederates ſhould unanimouſly diſpoſe of his expectations on the dominions of *Tuſcany* and *Parma*, in favour of ſome other prince." The fifth article was, "That the emperor ſhall not act within the ſaid term of three months, upon condition that the king

of *Spain* does not act on his side; but that if his catholic majesty, instead of accepting the said treaty, should, within the said term, act any hostilities which might prevent the execution of any disposition of the said treaty, then the allies shall immediately, and without waiting the expiration of the said term, supply the emperor with such forces as are therein stipulated." The public knows in what manner those instructions were rejected, and the signal blow which, in consequence of that rejection, the marine of *Spain* received from Sir *George Byng*, the *British* admiral. But though the conduct of the *British* ministers and admiral on this occasion, were justified by parliament, the active spirit of *Alberoni*, who was the greatest minister *Spain* ever had, embroiled the affairs of *Europe* so much, as to kindle a war in *Italy*, and to threaten *Great Britain* with an invasion in favour of the pretender, which last project was defeated by the accidents of winds and tides. At last, in the year 1719, *Spain* being exhausted by the amazing efforts she had made, began to think of peace, and the plan of an accommodation was sent to his catholic majesty's minister, the marquis *de Beretti Landi*, at the *Hague*. Amongst the other articles of this plan it was proposed, that *England* should restore *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon* to *Spain*, and that the successions to *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, should be settled on the queen of *Spain*'s son, without being held either of the emperor or the empire. The pope was likewise to be obliged to restore the duchy of *Castro* to the duke of *Parma*. But this plan was rejected, and *Spain* was at last obliged to accede simply to the quadruple alliance. In the year 1723, the discontented *Italian* states against the treaty of *London* was so great, that the king of *Sardinia*, with the dukes of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Modena*, presented memorials against it at the congress of *Cambray*; and the emperor evidently shewed that he disliked it. Matters stood upon this footing till the year 1725, when the treaty of *Vienna* was concluded between the emperor and the king of *Spain*. By this famous treaty, the emperor granted (without the consent of the empire) the investiture of the dukedoms of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, to the queen of *Spain*'s eldest son, in case those dukedoms should be vacant for want of heirs; the determination of king *George*, and the regent of *France*, in the treaty of *London*, that they are masculine fiefs of the empire, being taken for granted. This treaty was counterbalanced by the treaty of *Hanover*, concluded between *France* and *Great Britain*, to humble the emperor and the queen of *Spain*; but nothing particularly was stipulated in that treaty with regard to the succession to *Parma*.

Britain *threatened with an invasion.*

Parma. Thus that ſucceſſion continued in a very indetermined ſtate till the year 1728, when the congreſs of *Soiſſons* aſſembled, at which the duke of *Parma* had a miniſter to take care of his intereſt there. The negociations at that congreſs proved abortive and trifling, and a war ſeemed inevitable between *Great Britain* and *Spain.*

In the mean while the duke of *Parma*, ſtill reſenting the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion to his dominions by the quadruple alliance, and imagining, that he would be ſupported by *Spain*, invited the pretender to the crown of *Great Britain* to reſide in his dominions, where he treated him with the ſame diſtinctions, as if he had been actually upon the *Britiſh* throne. This being known to the *Engliſh* government, ſignior *Cosmo*, agent for the duke of *Parma* at *London*, was, by his majeſty's command, ordered to depart the kingdom in two days, and to be attended by one of the meſſengers of ſtate to the place of his embarkation. Notwithſtanding this, *Spain* and *England* being equally averſe to a rupture, colonel *Stanhope*, afterwards earl of *Harrington*, was nominated ambaſſador extraordinary to his catholick majeſty, and, in conjunction with Mr. *Keene*, the *Britiſh* plenipotentiary at the court of *Madrid*, negociated with the marquis *de la Paz* and Don *Joſeph Patinho*, on the part of *Spain*, the treaty of *Seville.*

By the ninth article of that treaty, "ſix thouſand of his catholic majeſty's troops are, without loſs of time, to garriſon *Leghorn*, *Porto Ferraro*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, which troops ſhall ſerve for the better ſecuring and preſerving of the immediate ſucceſſion of the ſaid ſtates, in favour of the moſt ſerene infant Don *Carlos*, and to be ready to withſtand any enterprize and oppoſition which might be formed, to the prejudice of what has been regulated touching the ſucceſſion."

By the tenth article, "the contracting powers are to uſe the ſofteſt and moſt effectual means of perſuading the dukes of *Tuſcany* and *Parma*, that the garriſons might be quietly received; and ſtipulating the taking of an oath to be faithful to the regnant powers, in every thing that ſhall not be contrary to the right of the ſucceſſion, reſerved to the moſt ſerene infant Don *Carlos*. It is likewiſe ſtipulated, that the ſaid garriſon ſhall not meddle, directly nor indirectly, in the government of the places where they are garriſoned, and render to the dukes of *Tuſcany* and *Parma*, all the honours that are due to a ſovereign in their own dominions."

By the eleventh article, "his catholic majeſty engages to withdraw his troops from the ſaid garriſons, as ſoon as the ſaid ſucceſſions are quietly ſettled in the perſon of Don *Carlos* his

his ſon." By the twelfth article, "the contracting powers became guarantees for Don *Carlos* quietly poſſeſſing and enjoying the ſaid ſtates of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, after he has ſucceeded thereunto."

By the thirteenth article, "the kings of *England* and *France* promiſe to ratify and guaranty all the particular regulations that ſhall be concerted between his catholic majeſty, and the two dukes of *Tuſcany* and *Parma*, relating to the ſaid garriſons." The fourteenth articles ſtipulates, "that the ſtates general of the United Provinces ſhall be invited to accede to the treaty, the ratifications of which were to be diſpatched within the ſpace of ſix weeks at fartheſt."

THOSE ſtipulations with regard to the ſucceſſion to *Tuſcany* and *Parma*, were ſeverely cenſured in *England*, as being foreign to the national intereſt, and tending to involve *Great Britain* in a war upon the continent of *Europe*, and inconſiſtent with the tenor of the quadruple alliance. To this it was anſwered, "That there neither was, nor could be, any eſſential difference, if the emperor was ſincerely, and *bona fide*, reſolved to fulfil the terms of the quadruple alliance, as to the eventual ſucceſſion to the duchies of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*; and that introducing *Spaniſh*, inſtead of neutral troops, into the garriſons of thoſe dominions, could make no material difference, eſpecially as the treaty had in the ſtrongeſt manner ſtipulated, the troops ſhould be withdrawn, as ſoon as the ſucceſſion to the duchies, which was a main object of the quadruple alliance, ſhould be ſecured." This apology did not quiet the national animoſities againſt the treaty; and a motion was made in the houſe of peers, that the agreement in the treaty of *Seville*, to effectuate the introduction of *Spaniſh* troops into *Tuſcany* and *Parma*, was a manifeſt violation of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, tended to involve the nation in a dangerous and expenſive war, and to deſtroy the ballance of power in *Europe*. A negative was put upon this motion; but the emperor ſtill continued to exclaim moſt violently againſt the treaty, though it was acceded to by the ſtates general. In the year 1730, the court of *Spain* made vaſt preparations for carrying the treaty of *Seville* into execution, while the emperor publiſhed manifeſtoes, impeaching the juſtice of the treaty, and alledging, that he was ready to give Don *Carlos* the inveſtiture of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, with the conſent of the empire, provided it was required in a regular manner; but that the court of *Spain* had farther views in his favour, than the ſtipulations in the treaty of *Seville*.

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THE event justified the imperial court's conjecture, though perhaps at that time it was thrown out without real foundation. The duke of *Parma* died. After his death, his will being opened, it contained very moving requests to the other powers of *Europe* for favour to his distressed family, and he declared, that his duchess was three months advanced in her pregnancy; for which reason he hoped, that they would defer the execution of their projects till she was delivered. If the child was still-born, or should die soon after its birth, he appointed that the infant Don *Carlos* should succeed him, but he named five regents to govern the duchy during the child's minority. A scene now succeeded which astonished all *Europe*, by its novelty and absurdity. The duchess of *Parma* was prevailed upon by the imperial court to declare, that she was with child, and general *Stampa*, at the head of six thousand imperial troops, took possession of the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*; but they publickly declared, that they kept the same for Don *Carlos*, who, if the duchess was not delivered of a son, might, whenever he pleased, receive the investitures of the said duchies from the emperor. In the mean while the imperial general declared, that his troops should behave with the utmost regularity and moderation; and that the government, till the event of the pregnancy of the duchess was known, should be administered by the regency appointed in the late duke's will. *Death of the duke of Parma.*

THE pope was far from being an unconcerned spectator of a transaction, in which he pretended to have so great a concern; and upon this occasion he revived his claim of superiority upon *Parma* and *Placentia*. He had expressed great uneasiness at the disposition of the succession to the same by the quadruple alliance; and expecting that it might be confirmed by the congress at *Cambray*, he ordered a protest to be entered on that head, in which were the following expressions: "Can Christian princes flatter themselves with the hopes of "concluding a lasting peace, when the depriving the holy "see and the vicar of Christ of their undeniable rights is "made the foundation of it? Can they promise themselves "to enjoy what they violently seize, against all manner of "justice, and invade the indisputable right of an uninter-"rupted possession, which has been acknowleged for several "ages by all the nations of *Europe*?" The minister of his holiness then entered a protest, "That no power hath, or had, a right to settle or dispose of the duchies of *Parma* or *Placentia*, to the prejudice of the sovereignty, and rights of the *Roman* church; and consequently, that all treaties, conventions, agreements, and dispositions, with their confirma- *Affairs of Italy.*

tions and ratifications, already made, or to be made, either at *Cambray* or *Ratisbon*, or in any other congress whatever, concerning the investiture, infeoffment, or conceſſion of the ſaid duchies, are and will be for ever null and void; and diſowns and rejects the ſame in the moſt authentic manner."

THE *Roman* catholic powers of *Europe* paid as little regard as the proteſtants did to this proteſt; but as it was notorious, that the imperial court had prevailed upon the dutcheſs of *Parma* to declare herſelf to be pregnant, which declaration ſuſpended the execution of their favourite meaſure, that of introducing the infant Don *Carlos* into *Italy*, the marquis de *Caſtelar*, his Catholic majeſty's miniſter at *Paris*, declared, in the name of the king his maſter, in a writing under his hand, that his Catholic majeſty looked upon himſelf as entirely free from the obligations of the treaty of *Seville*. Notwithſtanding this, the crown of *Great Britain*, at that time, had ſo vaſt a ſway in the affairs of *Europe*, that, on the 16th day of *March*, 1730-1, a new treaty, called the ſecond treaty of *Vienna*, was concluded between his *Britannic* majeſty and the emperor. By the third article of that treaty, "his imperial "majeſty conſents to the introduction of the *Spaniſh* troops "into the duchies of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*; and "binds himſelf to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to obtain the "conſent of the empire for that purpoſe." In a ſeparate article of the ſame treaty, his *Britannic* majeſty declared authentically, that notwithſtanding the introduction of *Spaniſh* garriſons into the ſtrong places of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*; yet that he had no intention to depart from what had been ſettled by the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, either with regard to the rights of his imperial majeſty and the empire, or to the ſecurity of the kingdom and ſtates which his imperial majeſty actually poſſeſſes in *Italy*; or, laſtly, to the preſervation of the quiet and dignity of thoſe who were then the lawful poſſeſſors of thoſe duchies, and therefore he renews to the emperor the guaranty of thoſe countries. But to take away all ſuſpicion of the emperor's trifling in this matter, he emitted a declaration, of the ſame force and date with the treaty, importing, "that if the pregnant dutcheſs "dowager of *Parma* ſhould be brought to bed of a ſon, the "introduction of the *Spaniſh* troops to that duchy ſhould "ſtill take place; and that, if ſhe ſhould be brought to bed "of a daughter, Don *Carlos* was immediately to be put into "poſſeſſion of the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, by an "eventual inveſtiture from the emperor and the empire." And his imperial majeſty further declares, "that, in caſe the "dutcheſs dowager ſhould be brought to bed of a daughter,

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"he will immediately withdraw his troops from the duchies "of *Parma* and *Placentia*, to give way to the peaceable poſ- "ſeſſion."

THE great inducement which the emperor had for making thoſe conceſſions in favour of the ſucceſſion of Don *Carlos* to the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, was his *Britannic* majeſty's guaranty of the pragmatic ſanction, by which his female iſſue was rendered capable of ſucceeding to his hereditary dominions. But though by this guaranty he gained his favourite point, yet it is certain that he prevailed with the dutcheſs of *Parma* to act a part, which, had it been ſucceſsful, might have diſappointed all the ambitious views of her Catholic majeſty for the aggrandizement of her family. She ſtill obſtinately maintained that ſhe was with child; and it is more than probable, that ſome very dark ſcene of impoſture might have been acted, had it not been prevented by the vigilance of the *Spaniſh* party in *Parma*. They inſiſted upon a formal examination of the pregnancy of the dutcheſs by able midwives, and in the preſence of the eldeſt dutcheſs dowager, which was ſubmitted to, and the youngeſt dutcheſs dowager was declared to be pregnant. This declaration ſuſpended the operations of all the courts of *Europe*, as the introduction of Don *Carlos* into *Italy* was the main ſpring of their political ſyſtems. At laſt, after a delay of about ſix months, the dutcheſs declared, that ſhe believed herſelf not to be with child; upon which the imperial general *Stampa* ſignified to the great duke of *Tuſcany*, and to *Dorothea* the dutcheſs dowager of *Parma*, who were joint guardians to the infant Don *Carlos*, that he then held the dutchies of *Parma* and *Placentia* for him, and not for his imperial majeſty; and ſoon after he withdrew his troops into the *Milaneſe*. Notwithſtanding this pacific appearance on the part of the imperial court, neither *Spain* nor *Great Britain* believed that it was ſincere; and therefore the *Britiſh* miniſtry this year equipped a ſtrong fleet, the command of which was given to Sir *Charles Wager*, for carrying the infant Don *Carlos* to his new dominions. Sir *Charles* ſailed from *Portſmouth* on the 14th of *July*, and on the 1ſt of *Auguſt* he arrived at *Cadiz*, where he found the *Spaniards* had made no preparations to join him with a fleet, as they had engaged to do. After obtaining an audience of his Catholic majeſty at *Seville*, he proceeded to *Barcelona*, where he was joined by a few *Spaniſh* ſhips of war. In the mean while, Don *Carlos*, inſtead of going on board the *Britiſh* fleet, which had been fitted out at vaſt national expence, went by land through *Languedoc* and *Provence*, notwithſtanding the pretended diſlike which *France* had expreſſed

Pragmatic ſanction.

Impoſture of the dutcheſs of Parma diſcovered.

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at his succession to the *Italian* dominions, and embarked at *Antibes* for *Leghorn*. This gave great disgust to the *British* nation, and was considered as a slight put upon their flag. The *British* ministry, however, punctually performed all their stipulations in his favour; and Sir *Charles Wager*, after seeing him quietly settled in *Italy*, returned on the 10th of *December* to *England*. At the opening of the succeeding session of parliament, his *Britannic* majesty felicitated the members upon the accomplishment of this great work, which, as matters then stood, was thought to be of great importance to the ballance of power in *Europe*, by preventing so large a succession from devolving upon any of the great potentates.

Ambition of the court of Spain.

THE public of *Europe* was far from suspecting the real views of her Catholic majesty, which pointed at raising her family not only to the succession of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, but to that of *Naples*. For this purpose, she had formed the project of an alliance between *France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*, which soon afterwards took place; and the mareschal *de Villars* was appointed to the command of a *French* army of thirty thousand regular troops, under the king of *Sardinia*. This army began its march on the 12th of *October*; and, after passing the *Alps* by *Briançon*, the valley of *Barcelonette*, and *Savoy*, joined the *Sardinian* troops in the *Vigevano*. In the mean while, the young duke of *Parma*, who, after his introduction into *Italy*, had been educated at the great duke of *Tuscany*'s court, declared himself to be of age; and the king of *Sardinia* publicly notified his joining with *France* and *Spain*, to mortify the excessive pride and power of the house of *Austria*.

Progress of the allies in Italy.

THE progress of the allies in *Italy* was rapid beyond all expectation. The king of *Sardinia* having, on the 29th of *October*, put himself at the head of the allied army, the *German* garrison evacuated both the city and castle of *Pavia*, which his *Sardinian* majesty took possession of. Soon after the city of *Milan* likewise made its submission to the conquerors, and nine thousand men took possession of the castle, and blocked up the citadel, which soon after surrendered likewise. His *Sardinian* majesty then, almost without any loss, reduced the important fortress of *Pizzighitone*; and, though it was the depth of winter, took possession of *Cremona*, the castles of *Frezza* and *Secco*, and of the fort *Fuentes*. Soon after, the citadel of *Milan* likewise surrendered. About the same time, the marquis *de Coigny*, a *French* lieutenant-general, took *Novaro*, which made a much feebler resistance than was expected; and the marquis *de Maillebois* reduced *Serravale*, and made its garrison prisoners of war; while the *Spanish* troops

troops beſieged and took the imperial fortreſs of *Aula*, and ſent the garriſon priſoners to *Spain*.

THE neutral powers of *Europe*, *England* eſpecially, were not leſs aſtoniſhed at the amazing progreſs of the *French* and *Spaniards* in *Italy*, than they were at a loſs to account for the motives that induced them to attack the emperor in *Italy*. Mr. *Keene*, the *Engliſh* ambaſſador at *Madrid*, by his maſter's orders, endeavoured to reconcile matters between the courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*; but received no other anſwer than "that matters had gone too far for his Catholic majeſty to "retract the meaſures he had laid down; and that the count "*de Montijo* had orders to communicate to the *Engliſh* mi- "niſtry the reaſon of his Catholic majeſty's procedure." The count accordingly laid his memorial before the *Britiſh* miniſtry, which, in the beginning, complained, in general terms, of the emperor, and the court of *Vienna*, for excluding king *Staniſlaus* from the throne of *Poland*. "Nevertheleſs," continues the memorial, "his Catholic majeſty, out of his great "deſire of peace, and conſtant zeal for the public tranquility, "had recourſe to the mediation and guaranty of the king of "*Great Britain*, for an amicable ſatisfaction for the inſults, "damages, and infractions, exerciſed in the territories and "againſt the perſon of the infant of *Spain*, Don *Carlos*, his "ſon: but the emperor's ambition was already beyond all "bounds; and the court of *Vienna*, animated by the inſatiable "fury of the ſupreme power to which the general complai- "ſance of *Europe* had raiſed them, by ſuffering them to ac- "quire ſo many vaſt dominions, did, at laſt, make uſe of ex- "traordinary methods, to render fruitleſs a long negociation "for a friendly accommodation, which the Catholics waited "for with a religious reſignation, by forming the difficult de- "ſign of ſacrificing to their caprice the ſovereignty of two "great monarchs in the perſon of king *Staniſlaus*; and, at "the ſame time, deſpiſing the wiſe and prudent propoſals of "the king of *Great Britain*."

Affairs of Europe.

Memorial.

THE memorial then proceeds to recapitulate all the provocations his Catholic majeſty had received from the imperial court, upon the death of the late duke of *Parma*; and acknowledged, that the peaceful ſettlement of Don *Carlos* in *Italy* was wholly owing to the friendſhip of his *Britannic* majeſty; and accuſed the emperor with all manner of fraud and perfidy, and with ſtirring up the ſubjects of Don *Carlos* to diſobey his authority. The emperor was likewiſe accuſed of publiſhing a reſcript, condemning the great duke of *Tuſcany* for ſuffering Don *Carlos* to receive the homage of his ſubjects, as lawful ſucceſſor to the duchy of *Tuſcany*. And Don *Carlos*,

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in another reſcript, was condemned for reſuming the title of the Great Prince, though, it ſeems, it had been allowed to him by the court of *Vienna*. His Catholic majeſty had complained of all theſe affronts to the king of *Great Britain*, who acknowledged the juſtice of his complaints, and uſed his good offices at the court of *Vienna*; and conferences were entered upon, to find out the propereſt means of procuring an honourable and friendly accommodation: but the continual delays, the ambiguous anſwers, the impracticable propoſals, the impeſious terms made uſe of in the projects of the court of *Vienna*, the pretended diſtance between the courts, and the methodical dilatorineſs of that of *Vienna*, drew the negociation to a great length; and it was as much as the *Britiſh* miniſters could do to draw up a project the 21ſt of *July*, 1733. His Catholic majeſty's ambaſſador approved of that project; but the emperor's refuſed to accept it, till he had received new orders from his ſovereign. His majeſty's miniſter conſented to this, after repeated proteſtations, that he would not come into any future captious delays, which might loſe the opportunity of the campaign. In this interval, the projected adjuſtment was diſpatched to the two courts; and though it was readily ſent back on the part of his Catholic majeſty, with his royal approbation, the anſwer of the court of *Vienna* was a long time in coming. This delay was attributed to the contrary winds, and to the extraordinary buſineſs of the miniſters at *Vienna*; but under this were concealed malicious views.

Counter-memorial of the emperor.

THE emperor, inſtead of ſending a ſatisfactory anſwer to this adjuſtment, projected by the court of *England*, ſent to his *Britannic* majeſty a counter-project or declaration, which his Catholic majeſty and his miniſters complained of, as being illuſory and injurious to the crown of *Spain*; and the count *de Montijo* declared, that he would break off the negociation. But king *George* II. or, more properly ſpeaking, his miniſtry, were at this time ſo invariably bent upon peace, that they applied to the court of *Spain* for a ceſſation of hoſtilities for thirty days, which propoſal was rejected by the court of *Madrid*. The *Spaniſh* miniſtry, all this time, endeavoured to conform itſelf to the ſentiments of the *Britiſh* court, as much as poſſible, by an affectation of moderate and equitable meaſures; while they were preparing an army of ſixteen thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, and ten ſquadrons of dragoons, with proper trains of artillery; all which were deſtined to act againſt the Imperialiſts in *Italy*. The mediation of the *Dutch* proved as ineffectual as that of the *Engliſh*, and it was with difficulty they procured a convention of neutrality for the

Auſtrian Netherlands; for the *French* poſitively rejected their mediation between *Spain* and the Empire.

THE ſucceſſes of the allies in this *Italian* war were leſs owing to their own courage and power, than to the miſmanagement, corruption, and diviſions of the court of *Vienna*. The imperial general *Merci*, though a man of great courage and integrity, was very ill ſupported: his muſter-rolls doubled the number of effectual men who ſerved under him; and the *Auſtrian* commiſſaries, thoſe moths of the imperial armies, with-held the money neceſſary for paying his troops. In *Italy* the allies divided their army. The *French*, under the king of *Sardinia*, after reducing *Milan*, entered the *Modeneſe*; but his *Sardinian* majeſty found ſo much difficulty in curbing the impetuoſity of *Villars*, the *French* general, who, in his old age, retained nothing of his former qualities but his native vivacity, that he was obliged ſecretly to apply to the court of *Verſailles* for his being recalled. The *Spaniſh* general was the count *de Montemar*, an officer of great genius; and the diſaffected *Neapolitans* having repeated their invitations to Don *Carlos*, he reſolved no longer to delay his expedition againſt *Naples*. He began his march in *February*, at the head of the *Spaniſh* troops; and, without bloodſhed, he obtained poſſeſſion of *Naples*. Previous to this, he publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he declared, that he was ſent by the king his father to relieve the *Neapolitans* from the intolerable yoke of the houſe of *Auſtria*, and to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom. *Viſconti*, the imperial viceroy in *Naples*, finding that the *Neapolitans* in the capital, an inconſtant race of men, were ready to receive, with open arms, Don *Carlos* as their king, abandoned the ſame; but took care to ſtrengthen the garriſons of *Gaeta* and *Capua*; and endeavoured to aſſemble the *Neapolitan* militia, and the few troops that ſtill continued faithful to the emperor, at *Nocera*, intending to form a camp at *Barletta*. For this purpoſe, he had got together an army of ſeven thouſand foot, and two thouſand four hundred horſe; but, receiving intelligence that the count de *Montemar* was advancing to attack him, he fortified himſelf at *Bitonto*. On the 25th of *May*, he was attacked in this poſt by the duke *de Montemar*, who, in leſs than three hours, forced his entrenchments, and intirely defeated his army. No fewer than ſix thouſand ſix hundred foot-ſoldiers were killed, and about ſix hundred horſe. Two generals, the duke of *Montelcon*, with the princes of *St. Vincent* and *Belmont*, were made priſoners, with the ſecretary's office, baggage, and treaſure. The count *Viſconti* eſcaped by ſea to *Ancona*.

Corruption of the court of Vienna.

Success of the French *in* Italy.

THE *French* were no less successful on their part. The application of the king of *Sardinia* for recalling marechal *Villars* had the desired effect; and when the marechal came to take leave of his *Sardinian* majesty, he was treated with so much politeness, that he had not the smallest idea of what had happened. Upon his return to *Turin*, in his way to *France*, he was presented by the queen of *Sardinia* with a sword, richly adorned with diamonds, to the value of three hundred pistoles; but soon after he fell ill of a fever, and died. The two marechals *Coigny* and *Broglio* succeeded to his command, under the king of *Sardinia*, and their army was entrenched near *Parma*. Count *Merci* had been most cruelly treated by the *Austrian* ministry, who continued him in his command, but refused him the necessary supports. He was, by this time, rendered in a manner desperate; and, against the advice of all his officers, he resolved to attack the *French* in their entrenchments. He fell in the attempt, as did a great number of his officers and best soldiers, and the imperial army was intirely defeated. This battle was fought near *Parma* on the 29th of *June*, 1734. The loss of men was almost equal on each side; but by the retreat of the Imperialists, when it was dark, the victory remained indisputably on the side of the *French*, who were commanded by the marechal *de Coigny*. Besides count *Merci*, the Imperialists lost the prince of *Culmbach* and M. *de Vins*, nine officers of the first rank, and about seven thousand soldiers. The whole space of the field of battle is said to have contained not above one hundred and fifty fathom square; so that it might be said to have been a carnage rather than an engagement. The prince of *Wirtemberg*, who was wounded, succeeded count *Merci* in the command of the Imperialists. This battle had a great effect on the affairs of *Italy*. The king of *Sardinia* took possession of *Modena*, which was in no condition to hold out; and the strong fortress of *Gaeta*, which had been besieged by the confederates, was obliged to surrender to Don *Carlos*.

Don Carlos *king of* Naples.

THAT prince was now, in fact, king of *Naples*, as well as duke of *Parma*; and he had created his *Spanish* general, *Montemar*, duke of *Bitonto*. His successes in *Italy* encouraged him to attempt the conquest of *Sicily*; and, on the 24th of *August*, a fleet of three hundred and fifty ships, having on board it eighteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, sailed for that island. The inconsistency of his *Neapolitan* majesty's conduct, on this occasion, was remarkable; for though he owed all that he possessed to the friendship of *Great Britain*, yet he associated himself with the eldest son of the pretender to that crown; and an inconsiderable circumstance, which then

then happened, occasioned various speculations in the public: for while the *Sicilian* embarkation was going on, the hat of the young Pretender being blown into the sea, "Let it alone," said he, to some officers who endeavoured to recover it, "will go to *England* and get another:" "And I will go along with you," added his *Neapolitan* majesty, throwing his hat into the sea likewise.

WHEN the *Spaniards* landed on the island of *Sicily*, they met with little or no resistance. His *Neapolitan* majesty had created the duke of *Bitonto* viceroy of that kingdom, and the *Sicilian* noblemen flocked in to submit to him. Those successes, amazing as they were, did not quiet his *Neapolitan* majesty's new subjects, who complained of the excessive contributions under which they were laid; and fifteen hundred troops were sent to keep the *Calabrians* in awe. The *Milanese* were so much oppressed, at the same time, that they sent a deputation to complain of their hardships at the court of *France*; but, far from meeting relief, they were ordered to apply to the king of *Sardinia*, who was so much straitened for money, that he was obliged to let out his own revenues to *French* farmers. The *Modenese*, who had so lately submitted to the king of *Naples*, were in the same undesirable situation, being likewise laid under heavy contributions, as it was well known that their duke, however he accommodated himself to the times, leaned towards the Imperialists. All this time, the court of *Great Britain* was earnestly bent upon a peace, and the *Hague* was the scene of negociation, where all parties agreed in making his *Britannic* majesty the umpire of their disputes. Many difficulties, chiefly occasioned by the obstinacy of the imperial court, were got over; but, at last, his *Britannic* majesty, and the other neutral powers, comprised the different claims of the contending parties in two short questions, which were communicated to the ministers of the powers at war, *viz.* *A negociation proposed.*

"WHETHER the emperor and *France* would be content "that Don *Carlos* remain king of *Naples* and *Sicily*, on con- "dition of giving the house of *Austria Parma* and *Placentia*, "with a part of *Milan*, and the succession to *Tuscany*, as an "equivalent? Whether king *Stanislaus*, preserving his regal "titles, will be satisfied to be made duke of *Lorrain*, and "that duchy erected into an electorate? The duke of *Lor-* "*rain* to marry the eldest archdutchess, to be declared king "of the *Romans*, and to have *Parma* and *Placentia* imme- "diately, and *Tuscany* after the death of the great duke? Or, "in case this second article is rejected, whether *Poland* shall

The war continues in Italy.

" not be divided between *Staniſlaus* and *Auguſtus*, the longeſt " liver to take the whole?"

THE parties at war were ſo little diſpoſed to peace, that no regard was paid to thoſe moderate propoſitions. The *Spaniards* were elevated by the uninterrupted ſucceſs of Don *Carlos*, and the *Germans* were enraged by the frequent defeats or checks they had received. The *German* garriſons in *Sicily*, one after another, ſurrendered priſoners of war to Don *Carlos*; and, at laſt, all their force in that iſland was reduced to the garriſon of *Meſſina*, in which the Imperialiſts were ſhut up. In the *Parmeſan*, the allies had reaped no real advantage from their victory at *Parma*. The Imperialiſts had retired towards *Monte Cirugalo*, from whence they moved to *Reggio*. They then encamped on the plains of *Carpi*, on the right of the *Secchia*, where they received ſome reinforcements from the imperial court, which began now to be aſhamed of its own miſmanagement; and count *Konigſegg*, one of the beſt officers in their ſervice, was appointed to command their army in *Italy*, which was reinforced by a detachment from prince *Eugene* on the *Rhine*. The allies were preparing to beſiege *Mirandola*, when he put himſelf at the head of the Imperialiſts, which remained encamped on the plains of *Carpi*. He then took poſt at *Quingentolo*, by which movement he covered *Mirandola*; and the *Secchia* only interpoſing between the two armies, he reſolved to ſtrike a blow that might retrieve the credit of the imperial arms. For this purpoſe, on the 19th of *September*, he paſſed the *Secchia* with the utmoſt ſecrecy, and attacked the quarters of marechal *Broglio*, the *French* general, ſo ſuddenly and vigorouſly, that he was almoſt taken priſoner; his guards being able only to protect him while he eſcaped in his ſhirt and ſlippers, with his children and a few domeſtics: he loſt, however, all his equipages and baggage, and his ſtrong box, which contained upwards of fifty thouſand livres. On this occaſion the loſs of the *French* was very great; for, beſides their ſlain, no fewer than two thouſand of them were taken priſoners, and they retreated with the utmoſt precipitation to *Guaſtalla*. The Imperialiſts endeavoured to purſue their advantage; and, after taking and plundering the *French* camp, they followed their enemies, and attacked them in their intrenchments on the 19th of the ſame month: the action that followed was very bloody. The battle laſted from ten in the morning till five in the afternoon, and the infantry on both ſides behaved with equal intrepidity, being engaged all that time man to man. *Konigſegg* endeavoured, but in vain, to break the *French* cavalry; and, at laſt, the

the Imperialists were obliged to retreat to *Luzara*. In this battle both parties claimed the victory; the loss on both sides, which amounted to about seventeen thousand men killed, of whom eight hundred were officers, being almost equal: but the *French* had the best claim to the honours of the day, by their taking several pieces of cannon, some colours and standards, and remaining masters of the field. Amongst the slain, on the side of the Imperialists, were the prince of *Wirtemberg*, and the generals *Valpareze* and *Colminero*, with many other officers of the highest distinction. The Imperialists repassed the *Po* at *Borgoforte*; but broke down the bridge over which they marched, and took post on the banks of the *Oglio*. After this, the *French* army likewise repassed the *Po*, in order to prevent count *Konigsegg* from penetrating into the *Cremonese*. Both armies, at this time, were in expectation of large reinforcements; but none arriving, no general engagement happened. The marquis of *Maillebois*, however, was sent with a detachment of *French* to besiege *Mirandola*; which count *Konigsegg* understanding, sent six thousand Imperialists, who marched so secretly, that they forced the *French* to break up the siege, and relieved the place, when it was upon the point of surrendering. In this expedition, the *French* lost a great part of their artillery, ammunition, and baggage; and when a cartel came to be settled, it appeared that they had not *German* prisoners enough to exchange for those of their own country, and they were obliged to be supplied with some by the king of the *Two Sicilies*. After this disappointment, *Maillebois* rejoined the *French* army, which, notwithstanding its successes, was unable to continue its operations, and was obliged to retire under the walls of *Cremona*, till it could receive reinforcements from Don *Carlos*. In the mean while, the Imperialists, being strongly reinforced, obliged the king of *Sardinia* to evacuate the *Parmesan*, retook *Savionetta*, with many other places of importance, and advanced within fifteen leagues of *Milan* itself, where the people were very uneasy under the yoke of the *French* and *Spaniards*. The same discontent prevailed in the kingdom of *Naples*, where *Capua* still held out; and the governor of that city, in one sally, killed above eight hundred of the besiegers.

Negociations of Great Britain *for peace.*

THE ministers of his *Britannic* majesty were all this while labouring for peace at the *Hague*; but were thwarted by the insolence of the *French*, and the obstinacy of the Imperialists. The former, in conjunction with the *Spaniards*, were in hopes of prevailing with the *Turks* to declare war against the emperor; and the losses which the court of *Vienna* had sustained, seemed only to exasperate them into endeavours to retrieve

them; and his imperial majesty threatened, that he would make the campaign of 1735 more bloody than the preceding. This alarmed the *French* in *Italy*; and the marechal *de Broglio*, who commanded them, fortified all the important passes into the *Parmesan*, and his other conquests, so as to render them almost inaccessible to the Imperialists. The inability of the emperor to execute his menaces becoming every day more apparent, the court of *London*, which continued still indefatigable in its endeavours for restoring the public tranquility, proposed, in the conferences at the *Hague*, that, as the basis of a future treaty, king *Stanislaus* should resign the crown, but keep the title of king of *Poland*; that Don *Carlos* should remain in possession of *Naples* and *Sicily*; that *France* should restore all the places she had conquered in *Italy*, and elsewhere; and that all the powers in *Europe* should guaranty the pragmatic sanction. All those pacific proposals were rejected by the court of *Vienna*; and, in the beginning of the year 1735, count *Konigsegg*, the brave imperial general in *Italy*, after throwing some troops into *Mantua*, was obliged to retreat towards the bishopric of *Trent*, through the *Venetian* territories, after abandoning the fortified towns of *Ostiglia*, *Borgoforte*, *Goito*, and *Castellucchio*, to the armies of the allies, who took possession of the same. After this, the important fortress of *Mirandola*, having made a brave resistance, was surrendered to the allies, as was *Orbitello*; and Don *Carlos*, having been as successful in *Sicily*, where he was crowned king, as he had been in *Italy*, returned to *Naples*, where his government now enjoyed a perfect tranquility.

Joined by the French. *FRANCE* by this time began to think that Don *Carlos*, by being in possession not only of the *Parmesan* and the *Placentine* dominions, but of the kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*, was more aggrandized than was consistent with the plan of power which the court of *Versailles* had laid down. It is plain, that his most Christian majesty had hitherto acquired little or nothing for himself in *Italy*, and therefore his ministers now began to listen to the terms of an accommodation that had been proposed by *Great Britain* and the neutral powers. Those terms had been communicated to the *Spanish* court, where they were rejected, at which the *French* ministry were inwardly displeased. Cardinal *Fleury* was then at the head of the *French* government; and his pacific system falling in with that of Sir *Robert Walpole*, the first minister to his *Britannick* majesty, he secretly communicated to the court of *England*, the difficulties he was under through the haughtiness of the *Spaniards*, and desired the *British* ministry to propose to the powers at war a suspension of hostilities.

This

This being done, the marquis *de Fenelon*, the *French* ambaſſador at the *Hague*, agreed to the ſame; and the count *Uhlfelt*, the imperial ambaſſador there, preſented in his maſter's name a memorial to the ſtates general, importing, "That his imperial majeſty, having already given innumerable inſtances of his ſincere deſire of peace, and his confidence in the maritime powers, a late proof of which was his readineſs in accepting the plan of pacification as ſettled by the king of *Great Britain* and their high mightineſſes, yet ſtill was ready to give new evidence of his pacific diſpoſitions, and had accordingly inveſted him (count *d'Uhlfelt*) with proper powers to conſent to an armiſtice, being content that it ſhould be a general one, and that affairs in *Italy* ſhould remain in their preſent ſtate. But, on the other hand, inſiſting that, for the ſake of the princes of the empire, whoſe territories were expoſed to the *French* army, the moſt Chriſtian king ſhould withdraw his troops from the empire, thoſe in the fortified places excepted; and that negotiations ſhould be immediately commenced in a congreſs, upon the baſis of a plan of accommodation concerted by the maritime powers."

Affairs of Italy.

THE ſupport of the election of king *Staniſlaus* to the crown of *Poland*, was now the only objection that remained on the part of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, who thought he could, with no ſhew of decency, ſacrifice the intereſts of his father-in-law. The *Britiſh* court, however, was ſenſible, that the acquiſition of *Lorrain* was the ultimate view of the *French*; and that both the emperor and they, being exhauſted of money, were heartily tired of the war. The *Britiſh* miniſter at *Paris*, therefore, hinted to cardinal *Fleury*, that it was poſſible the court of *England*, and the neutral powers, might be brought to agree to his favourite meaſure. Upon this, *Fleury* ordered *Chavigni*, the *French* miniſter who attended his *Britannick* majeſty then at *Hanover*, to break the affair in private to the imperial ambaſſador at the ſame court; and after ſome little points, rather ceremonious than material, were got over, an armiſtice was concluded both in *Germany* and *Italy* between the two nations, in the following terms: "That there be a ceſſation of all acts of hoſtility, as is already obſerved upon the *Rhine* and the *Moſelle*: that the ſuſpenſion of arms ſhall equally extend to the allies of *France*, till they ſhall have declared whether they accept or refuſe; that tho' by the term ſuſpenſion of arms, nothing is meant more than a ceſſation of hoſtilities, yet it is agreed, that the *French* troops ſhall retire from the banks of the *Adige* and the *Mincio*: that they remain in poſſeſſion of *Goito* and *Borgoforte*. The ſaid troops ſhall have the courſe of the *Oglio*, as far as its junction

with the *Po*, for their bounds; and the *Po* from that place to the first town in the pope's territory. The troops of the two powers shall not penetrate within each other's limits, except when the *French* have a mind to relieve or refresh the garrison of *Goito*. Passports shall be granted for all boats and waggons belonging to the two armies."

An armistice.

THIS armistice, for some time, stopped the effusion of blood between the *French* and imperialists in *Italy*; but *Chauvelin*, the *French* minister, who was in the greatest trust with *Fleury*, having secretly attached himself to the queen of *Spain*, the court of *Madrid* could not be brought to render the armistice general. Her Catholic majesty, who had the entire direction of the *Spanish* government, being afraid that the court of *Great Britain*, tired out by so many repeated instances of her haughtiness and ambition, might interpose and check the progress of her son Don *Carlos* in *Italy*, quarrelled with the court of *Lisbon*, upon a frivolous pretence, which obliged the *British* court to send a strong squadron, under Sir *John Norris*, to the *Tagus*, for the protection of his *Portuguese* majesty. The court of *Spain* was informed by Mr. *Keene* of the destination of this squadron, upon which Don *Joseph Patinho*, the first minister of *Spain*, signified, by his master's orders, that he was willing to submit all differences between the two courts, to his *Britannick* majesty's arbitration; but this offer not being satisfactory, the *British* fleet proceeded to the *Tagus*, as the *Spaniards* had foreseen; and thus Don *Carlos* was left in full possession of all his *Italian* dominions.

Discontent of the king of Sardinia,

BY this time, the ambition of *Spain* appeared in so strong a light, that she was deserted by all her allies. The king of *Sardinia*, who had been so serviceable to her in her *Italian* conquests, claimed the *Milanese*, which had been positively stipulated to him when he embarked in the confederacy. But though his solicitations were backed by the *French* ministry, he could obtain no satisfaction. This injustice obliged cardinal *Fleury* to talk in very high terms to the *Spanish* minister at *Versailles*; nor did he dissemble that measures were concerting for obliging the court of *Madrid* to accede to an equitable peace. In the beginning of the year 1736, the preliminaries were finished between the courts of *London* and *Versailles*, and were in substance as follow:

"FIRST, that *France* restore to the empire all the places taken from it during the late war. Second, that the emperor keep the *Mantuan*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, and the *Milanese*. The king of *Sardinia* to have *Vigevanasco*, *Novarra*, and all its dependencies. Third, that the duchy of *Tuscany*, after the death of the present duke, be given to the duke of *Lorraine*,

raine, and *Lorraine* annexed to the monarchy of *France*; but without any vote in the empire. Fourth, that king *Stanislaus* be acknowledged king of *Poland* by all *Europe*, and enjoy all the honours of a crowned head, after which to resign that kingdom to king *Augustus*, who shall restore to him all the estates in *Poland*, which belonged to him or his queen. Fifth, that king *Stanislaus* have, by way of equivalent for *Poland*, the immediate possession of the duchies of *Bar* and *Lorraine*, after the duke of *Tuscany*'s death. Sixth, Don *Carlos* to be acknowledged king of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and to have the *Del Presidii* and the isle of *Elbe*; but *Legborn* to be declared a free port. Seventh, that *France* guarantee the pragmatical sanction. Eighth, that *Spain* and *Sardinia* be invited to accede to the treaty; *England*, *Holland*, *Portugal*, and *Venice*, to guarantee it."

THOUGH all the disinterested part of *Europe* approved of those preliminaries, the queen of *Spain* objected to them; but the king of *Sardinia*, though he had the greatest reason to be dissatisfied, declared he would agree to them, if he was indemnified for the money he had expended in fortifying the places he was to resign. At last, the queen of *Spain* was overruled by her husband and his ministers, who thought that enough had been done for her son Don *Carlos*, and she acquiesced in them in compliment, as she pretended, to the crown of *Great Britain*. After this, the imperial court, which was in fact under a force to accept of the preliminaries, obtained the accession of the empire to them; and in the beginning of *May*, 1736, the three colleges of the empire unanimously approved of them, and gave his imperial majesty full power to perfect the great work of peace. New negociations were then begun. One was carried on between the *French* and imperial ministers, for the execution of the preliminaries, and for regulating the manner in which the proper evacuations were to be made in *Italy*. The court of *Madrid*, however, continued still sullen and reserved, and started so many objections to the execution of the preliminaries, that the *French* and imperial ministers prevailed with the court of *Great Britain* and the states-general, to grant a guaranty of the new disposition of affairs, as settled by the preliminaries. This guaranty was communicated to the imperial and *Spanish* ministers; but was disliked by the court of *Spain*. Her Catholic majesty, who continued to rule everything there, was extremely unwilling to deprive her family of the *Tuscan* and *Parmesan* successions; but of the latter more especially; and as the possession of *Tuscany* had been already virtually granted to Don *Carlos*, she refused to give positive orders for the

who agrees to peace.

the evacuation of that duchy, until her ſon the king of N*ples* was put into poſſeſſion of the allodial eſtates depending *Parma* and *Placentia*, by which was meant thoſe eſtates belonged to the family of *Farneſe*, independent of either emperor or the pope. She next demanded, that he ſh be ſecured in the ſucceſſion to the moveable effects houſe of *Medici*, after the death of the great duke of *T*, who was now old, and lay paſt all hopes of recovery. Her Catholic majeſty's trifling in this manner, at laſt exaſperated the emperor ſo much, that he gave orders for ſome troops in the beginning of the winter, to move towards *Tuſcany*. This obliged her Catholic majeſty ſecretly to apply to the court of *London*, and to offer, if his *Britannick* majeſty would aſſiſt her in procuring the ſucceſſion to the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia* for her ſecond ſon Don *Philip*, that her huſband ſhould renounce all his claim to *Gibraltar* and *Portmahon*, and ſettle every thing to the contentment and ſatisfaction of the court of *Great Britain*, even ſo as to extricate the *Britiſh* miniſter from all his difficulties, on account of his pacific diſpoſition, which had exaſperated the commercial part of the kingdom.

Cunning of the court of Spain.

THIS propoſal was equally artful as ſpecious. Sir *Robert Walpole*, the *Britiſh* miniſter, was willing, if poſſible, to avoid a war; and the court of *Spain* thought that he would ſtick at nothing to obtain the continuance of peace. The depredations which the *Spaniards* were daily making upon the *Britiſh* ſhips on the *American* ſeas, had incenſed the parliament to an incredible degree; and it was in the power of her Catholic majeſty, by a ſhort explanation of the commercial treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns, to place him above all attacks from domeſtic faction; but he reſiſted the temptation, as his compliance could only tend to kindle an univerſal war in *Europe*; and her Catholic majeſty was at laſt forced to conform herſelf to the execution of the preliminaries that had been agreed on. The *French* accordingly entered into the poſſeſſion of *Lorraine*, which was ceded to king *Staniſlaus*, as an equivalent for his loſing the crown of *Poland*; and they delivered up to the *Germans* fort *Kehl* and *Philipſbourg*, after demoliſhing the works they had added to their fortifications. At the ſame time, the cardinal, to deprive her Catholic majeſty of all hopes of intereſting the court of *Verſailles* in her ambitious views, prevailed with his maſter the *French* king totally to diſgrace *Chauvelin*, who had ſo ſtrenuouſly ſupported her intereſts at that court. The diſgrace of this miniſter, wh was confined at the ſame time, was a great mortification the queen of *Spain*; but at laſt ſhe was prevailed upon, th h

with great reluctance, to give orders for the *Spaniſh* troops to evacuate *Italy*, and re-embark at *Leghorn*. The cardinal having gained this great point, offered his maſter's mediation to the court of *Madrid*, to accommodate all farther differences between the courts of *Great Britain* and *Spain*; but the oppoſition in *England* was now grown ſo intractable, that the miniſters durſt encourage no propoſals of that kind.

Death of the duke of Tuſcany.

In *July* 1737, the great duke of *Tuſcany*, the laſt of the family of *Medici*, died; and by his death, *Europe* ſaw itſelf once more in danger of being involved in a general war. Her Catholic majeſty had privately inſtructed the *Spaniſh* miniſters, to encourage the depredations made upon the *Britiſh* commerce in *America*, in hopes of thereby rendering her friendſhip indiſpenſible to the *Britiſh* miniſtry; but ſhe overdid her part. The wrongs that had been done to the *Britiſh* navigation appeared ſo flagrant, that the miniſter himſelf openly condemned them; but he ſtill flattered himſelf that he ſhould be able to avoid a war by his negociations. This brought on the famous convention which threw *England* into a flame; and in the year 1739, both nations prepared for war, orders being given by the *Engliſh* government for general repriſals on the *Spaniards*, on the 10th of *July*; and that the high court of admiralty, and other courts of admiralty within his majeſty's dominions, ſhould be empowered, by commiſſion, to judge of and condemn all ſhips, veſſels, and goods, taken from the crown and ſubjects of *Spain*, by virtue of letters of marque and repriſals granted by the high court of admiralty of *Great Britain*; and that inſtructions to the ſame purpoſe ſhould be ſent to the *Britiſh* foreign governments and plantations.

It is foreign to our deſign to recount the hiſtory of the war that followed after this, farther than as it affected the dominions of *Parma*, and the intereſts of the king of *Naples*, as duke thereof. Upon the death of the emperor *Charles* VI. on the twentieth of *October*, 1740, his daughter *Maria-Thereſa*, who had been married to the duke of *Lorraine*, now grand duke of *Tuſcany*, took poſſeſſion of his hereditary dominions, in virtue of the pragmatic ſanction, which had been guarantied by the greateſt powers in *Europe*, and by *France* herſelf; but the elector of *Bavaria* was choſen emperor of *Germany*. The court of *Spain* laid claim to all the poſſeſſions which had belonged to the houſe of *Auſtria* in *Italy*. This claim was ſupported by a ſtrong naval armament of two hundred ſail of tranſports, with fifteen thouſand land forces on board, which ſailed from *Barcelona*, and was joined by the *Spaniſh* admiral *Navarro*, while *Haddock*, the *Britiſh* admiral

admiral in the *Mediterranean*, was repairing his ships at Gibraltar. It is not to be dissembled, that though the court of *France* had shewn an unjust partiality in favour of the Spaniards, with whom *Great Britain* was then at war, yet the *British* ministry were very backward in their resentment of this partiality. The *Spanish* fleet was inferior in strength to that of *Haddock*; and being forced back by contrary winds, in attempting to pass the straits, *Haddock* having refitted his ships, prepared to attack them; when the *French Toulon* squadron, consisting of twelve ships of the line, stood in between the two fleets with a flag of truce, and sent a message to *Haddock*, importing, that the *Spanish* and his fleet being engaged in the same expedition, he must obey his orders, and could not avoid his taking the *Spanish* ships under his protection. *Haddock* had no instructions to consider the *French* as enemies; and therefore, after calling a council of war, he returned to *Gibraltar*, and from thence proceeded to *Minorca*, where he received a reinforcement. In the mean time, however, the *Spanish* transports from *Barcelona* landed at *Orbitello*, while the *French* and *Spanish* ships of war put in at *Toulon*.

Revival of the war.

THE queen of *Hungary*, at this time, saw all the stipulations which had been made in favour of her family's succession to the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, ready to vanish into air, and had no other recourse, either for assistance or protection, but the court of *England*. From thence she was advised to make the king of *Sardinia*, who had received great provocations from the *Spaniards*, her friend, as being the only power that could check the ambitious views of *France* and *Spain* in *Italy*. That prince durst not take upon himself so hazardous a province; but it was easy for him to foresee that his own destruction must be the consequence, if the ambitious views of her Catholic majesty should take place in *Italy*. After some deliberation, he agreed to join the house of *Austria*, in opposition to the queen of *Spain*, who now openly avowed her intentions of erecting all the *Austrian* dominions in *Lombardy* into a kingdom, and of bestowing the same upon her second son Don *Philip*. He made, however, very advantageous terms for himself, by not only stipulating a large subsidy from *England*; but by procuring for himself a cession, so far as it could be ceded by his allies, of such places in *Italy* as lay most convenient for his hereditary dominions. Don *Carlos* was still in possession of *Parma*; but Don *Philip*, his younger brother, had set out from *Spain* to take upon himself that government. The king of *Sardinia* united his troops with those of her *Hungarian* majesty; a *British* fleet was destined to watch the embarkations

King of Sardinia *joins the* Austrians,

of

of the *Spaniards* in the *Mediterranean*, and the states of *Modena* and *Mirandola* were covered from insult. Notwithstanding those precautions, his *Sardinian* majesty could not prevent the *Spaniards*, who landed at *Orbitello*, from joining with the troops under the command of the duke of *Montemar*, whose army, when assembled, amounted to forty thousand men. The junction was formed at *Rimini*; and the duke *de Castropignano*, general of the *Neapolitans*, served under *Montemar*, who obtained leave from the pope to march through his dominions. The king of *Sardinia* published a manifesto, importing, that he was resolved to protect the *Austrian* dominions in *Italy*; and in the spring he marched towards the *Milanese* with thirty thousand men, and was joined by count *Traun* at the head of seventeen thousand *Austrians*. He could not attack *Montemar*'s army, without marching through the dominions of the duke of *Modena*, who, notwithstanding his pretended neutrality, had entered into a treaty with the *Spaniards*. This negociation came to the knowledge of his *Sardinian* majesty, whose first step was to strip the duke of *Modena* of his dominions, and to seize upon his capital, whilst he himself was obliged to take refuge in the *Spanish* army, of which he assumed the nominal command. *and takes* Modena.

THE *English* fleet in the *Mediterranean*, at this time, was commanded by admiral *Lestock*, an officer of great abilities and capacity, but of little enterprize. The chief command therefore was given to admiral *Matthews*, under whom *Lestock* was to serve as second in command, though they mortally hated one another. The *Spaniards* continued pouring men into *Italy*; but five of their gallies which had taken refuge at *St. Tropez*, a *French*, and therefore a neutral port, in the *Mediterranean*, were destroyed by the *English*. Soon after, *viz.* about the beginning of *August*, admiral *Matthews*, in consequence of his instructions, sent captain *Martin*, as commodore, in the *Ipswich*, the *Panther* captain *Gideon*, the *Oxford* captain *Paulet*, the *Feversham* captain *Hughes*, and the *Dursley* galley captain *De l'Angle*, four bomb vessels, and four tenders, to the bay of *Naples*. The commodore was charged with a message in writing, demanding, that his *Sicilian* majesty should recal his troops from the assistance of the *Spaniards*; if he did not, his neutrality was to be considered by *Great Britain* as at an end, and the commodore had orders to bombard his capital. A farther demand was made, that his *Sicilian* majesty should give it under his hand, not to send for the future any assistance to the enemies of *Great Britain*. The *Neapolitan* minister, upon the appearance of the *British* squadron before *Naples*, desired the *English* consul to go on board *Exploits of the* British *fleet.*

board the commodore's ship to know his intentions, which he did, and at his return delivered the message as above. As soon as possible a grand council was summoned, and, notwithstanding the resentment of the court, a resolution was immediately taken to comply with the demand, which was signified to the *British* commodore, who was required by his *Neapolitan* majesty to give in writing an assurance, that he would commit no hostilities in the mean while. The commodore, not satisfied with this general intimation of compliance demanded, that in an hour at fartheſt, after the messenger should be set on shore, he should receive a letter of absolute and direct assurance, that orders had been expedited for the recal of the troops, and that his *Neapolitan* majesty would not, in any manner whatever, aid or assist the *Spaniards* who were then in *Italy*. The commodore having received this letter, which was signed by the *Neapolitan* minister, immediately set sail, and returned to the main body of the fleet which was now employed in blocking up *Toulon*, or in destroying the *Spanish* magazines upon the coast of *Italy*.

A new imbarkation of Spaniards *for* Italy.

DURING those transactions by sea, the queen of *Spain* was making dispositions for a third imbarkation of troops, and Don *Philip*, her second son, who was to have the duchy of *Parma*, with the title of king of *Lombardy*, arrived by land at *Antibes*, in his way to *Italy*. The dread of the *British* fleet obliged him to carry on his operations by land; and his mother was so exasperated at the firmness of his *Sardinian* majesty that she procured the recal of the *Spanish* ambassador from the court of *Turin*; and when the *Sardinian* ambassador came to take leave of her, her passion hurried her into the indecency of desiring him to tell his master, that her son should be a king whether he would or not. In *April* 1742, twenty-eight squadrons of *Spanish* horse, and twenty battalions of foot marched through *France*; and being joined by other reinforcements, the whole made up a body of thirty thousand men commanded by Don *Philip*, and under him by count *de Glimes*, who was the acting general. *Parma*, and almost all *Lombardy*, was at that time in the possession of his *Sardinian* majesty. The rendezvous of the *Spanish* army under *Montemar*, was at *Rimini*; but the vigilance of the *British* fleet brought it into great difficulties, for want of provisions and ammunition. The same vigilance had defeated all attempts that were made by Don *Philip*, who was now stiled the infant duke of *Parma*, for proceeding by sea to recover his hereditary dominions, which had been formerly ceded to him by his *Neapolitan* majesty. The infant duke, therefore, endeavoured to draw his *Sardinian* majesty out of *Lombardy*, by making

aking a vigorous impreſſion upon *Savoy* and *Piedmont*. He ſt attempted to force his way into the latter by *Nice* and *illafranca*, but all the ways had been broken up by the *Piedmonteſe* militia, aſſiſted by detachments from the *Britiſh* fleet, as to render them impaſſable with artillery. He then temped to ſend a body of *Miquelets* through the vale of *arcelonetta*; but he found all the paſſages ſo well guarded the *Piedmonteſe* militia, intermixed with regular troops, hat he was obliged to recal his *Miquelets*, who had ſuffered eatly in the attempt, eſpecially from the fire of the *Britiſh* ips which lay on the coaſt, by which they were to paſs. he duke then, all of a ſudden, defiled to the left and en- red *Savoy*, which not being prepared for reſiſtance, was on reduced to his power. On the firſt of *September*, he egan to act as ſovereign of that duchy, by way of repriſals r what *Parma* and *Placentia* ſuffered from his *Sardinian* ma- ſty. He ordered the inhabitants, under pain of death, to ithdraw their allegiance from their native ſovereign, and to y it to him. He then emitted an order for the deputies of he provinces to ſettle the ſubſiſtence of his army, and to take he oaths to him; to pay no more taxes to their ſovereign, nd to deliver up their arms. The defenceleſs people were bliged to comply with all thoſe demands, and on the 10th f the ſame month he entered *Chamberri* in triumph, and bliged the magiſtrates, greatly againſt their wills, to receive im as their maſter.

THE progreſs of Don *Philip* in that poor barren country was no way proportioned to the vaſt ſums which the expedition had coſt him, yet it obliged his *Sardinian* majeſty to interrupt the courſe of his victories in *Lombardy*. He had added *Modena* to his other conqueſts, and *Montemar*, after paſſing the *Panaro* for the relief of *Parma* and that duchy, found his army ſo diſtreſſed through ſickneſs and deſertion, occaſioned by the *Britiſh* fleet continuing to cut off all his ſupplies, that he was obliged to retreat towards *Ferrara*; and was purſued by his *Sardinian* majeſty, who, on the 8th of *Auguſt*, took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong camp of the *Spaniards* at *Rimini*.

Don Philip *conquers* Savoy,

HERE his *Sardinian* majeſty diſcontinued the purſuit, and prepared to march to the relief of his hereditary dominions. He committed the adminiſtration of *Modena* to *Chriſtiani*, one of her *Hungarian* majeſty's ſubjects, and at that time her podeſta in *Placentia*, and left the counts *d'Apremont* and *Traun*, with a ſufficient number of troops, for the defence of the *Parmeſan* and the *Modeneſe*. The great force which the *Spaniards* at this time had in *Italy*, and their being obliged

which is recovered by the king of Sardinia,

every

every where to retreat before the *Austrians*, gave the court of *Madrid* a bad impression of *Montemar*'s capacity, if not his fidelity; and they sent count *de Gages*, a more enterprizing general, to supersede him in his command. Count *Traun* was then encamped at *Buon Porto*, and intended to keep on the defensive; but the *Spaniards* marching in a moment towards *Bologna*, he passed the *Panaro* and offered them battle upon which the *Spaniards* retired. They then attempted to make their winter-quarters good in *Tuscany*; but count *Traun* having detached five thousand troops to join those of the arch duke, they were disappointed in that design likewise. The rest of the season was spent in skirmishes, and then the *Spaniards* retired to winter quarters in *Bologna* and *Romagna*, as the imperialists did to the *Parmesan* and *Modenese*.

who loses it again.

DURING those transactions, his *Sardinian* majesty was continuing his march towards *Turin*, which city he entered on the 10th of *October*, being then at the head of thirty thousand men. The count *de Glimes*, who continued in command under the infant duke of *Parma*, had not the spirit to oppose his *Sardinian* majesty, who advanced to *Conflans* twenty miles east of *Chamberri*, while the infant duke, after his troops had suffered a great deal in skirmishes, retired with precipitation towards *Dauphiny*, where he embarked under the cannon of fort *Barreaux*, while his *Sardinian* majesty encamped at *Miens*, near *Montmelian*. This retreat astonished her catholic majesty so much, that she persuaded her husband to recal count *Glimes*, and to give his command to the marquis *de Las Minas*. Upon the arrival of this general, the fortune of the war was again changed. *Las Minas* took *Apremont*, a fort of the greatest consequence, by a very masterly series of operations; and though he could not force his *Sardinian* majesty to a battle, yet he took his measures so well, that he obliged him to abandon his camp at *Miant* and the infant duke, without further difficulty, again became master of *Savoy*. Had it not been for the steadiness of his *Britannic* majesty, the king of *Sardinia*, at this time, might have paid dearly for his connections with the court of *Vienna*. But admiral *Matthews* had orders from his master to risk every think for his *Sardinian* majesty's support. The court of *Naples*, at this time, had sent some regiments to join the *Spaniards* under *de Gages*; upon which *Matthews* remonstrated against that step, as being a breach of his *Neapolitan* majesty's neutrality. The count *de Monteallegre*, the first minister at *Naples*, undertook to vindicate his master's conduct on this occasion, and delivered to Mr. *Allen*, the *British* minister, a declaration to be forwarded to admiral *Matthews*,

thews, importing, "That the king being resolved to keep the neutrality in the most inviolable manner, according to his engagements, his majesty did not think he had acted contrary thereto, by sending to the *Spanish* army the troops that were in his army belonging to that nation: that they were really the very regiment that have always belonged to *Spain*, and which were lent by that court to the king, in order to take possession of *Sicily*; and that body of troops, having always been in the constant pay of his catholic majesty, must necessarily obey his majesty's orders to march, whenever he should think fit to recal them."

State of the war and the negociations in Italy.

THIS apology would not have contented the *British* court, if the various operations of the war in the *Mediterranean*, for the assistance of his *Sardinian* majesty, and blocking up the combined fleets of *France* and *Spain*, had left the *British* admiral a sufficient force to be employed against *Naples*, which of late had received some additional fortifications towards the sea. At last *Matthews* received a reinforcement he expected, under vice-admiral *Rowley*, of eight ships of the line, by which he was enabled to distress the navigation and convoys of the *Spaniards* in those seas more than ever. The courts of *France* and *Spain*, all this while was tampering and treating with his *Sardinian* majesty. The former offered to put him into possession of the city and republic of *Geneva*. The inhabitants came to the knowledge of this proposal, and made requisitions of the stipulated succours from the *Swiss* cantons, which were accordingly held in readiness. At the same time they concerted the proper signals between them and their allies, and fortified their city. The *Dutch* ambassador reproached cardinal *Fleury* upon this head; but he denied the charge. This design not succeeding, the *French* court offered one of their princesses in marriage to the prince of *Piedmont*, his *Sardinian* majesty's eldest son, with vast advantages. It was generally thought that his *Sardinian* majesty did not discourage those advances made by *France* and *Spain*, that he might procure some relief to his harrassed dominions, and gain time for the arrival of the *British* succours. As to the house of *Austria*, which was so capitally interested in his *Sardinian* majesty's fate, all the efforts it made for his relief, consisted of pressing memorials presented to the court of *Great Britain*; setting forth their own inability to assist him, and the necessity of supporting him more powerfully the more he was oppressed.

THE *British* ministry at this time fell in with the favourite principle of their master, which was to support the house of *Austria*, and to maintain the ballance of power on the Con-

King of Sardinia *supported by* England.

tinent, especially in *Germany*. The parliament, at least a great majority of it, was of the same opinion, and enabled his majesty to send that prince large supplies of money as well as shipping. Orders were given to *Matthews* to do every thing conformable to his engagements; and on the 11th of *November* he acquainted the governor of *Villafranca*, that he had orders from his master to declare, "that if his excellency should at any time stand in need of part of the artillery, ammunition, or land forces, on board his squadron, he would, on the first notice, send him any succours he should find necessary." He likewise acquainted him of rear-admiral *Rowley*'s arrival with the squadron under his command. Soon after *Matthews*, understanding that the *Genoese* had both secretly and openly favoured the *Spaniards*, sent an order to the *British* consul at *Genoa*, to remonstrate to the senate upon that head, and to require its being attentive to preserve his *Britannic* majesty's friendship, by hindering its subjects from supplying the *Spanish* squadron with provisions, or sending any to the coast of *Provence*. The senate of *Genoa* pretended, that it was not in their power to hinder their subjects from trading on that coast; but that neither party should be supplied by the republic, which was resolved to maintain a strict neutrality. *Matthews*, dissatisfied with this answer, repeated his request; and insisted not only upon the subjects of the republic not furnishing the *Spaniards* with provisions or forage, but upon her denying them a passage through her dominions. To this the senate answered, "that being well acquainted with the rules of neutrality, they were resolved inviolably to maintain one; but with regard to the passage of troops through their territories, be they of what power soever, the republic was not in condition to oppose it, and that they should do nothing more than protest against all such as should attempt it, without their consent." This answer being found likewise to be evasive, hostilities were commenced against the *Genoese*, and the *English* ships of war destroyed all their magazines wherever found upon their territories, on presumption of their having been formed for the use of the *Spaniards*. They burnt a *Spanish* ship of seventy-two guns, which had been driven upon the coasts of *Corsica*, and refused to perform quarantine; all which infractions of neutrality threw the *Genoese* into the utmost consternation: but their applications for redress to the court of *England* proved to be in vain.

He publishes a manifesto.

So much firmness and spirit exerted on the part of *Great Britain*, kept the king of *Sardinia* steady to his engagements; and to wipe off any prepossessions which the public might have conceived, on account of his leaving *Savoy* in the possession of the

the infant duke, he publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring, that he was forced by a ſuperior army to depart from one part of his dominions, that he might protect the other, and more valuable part, and he publickly ordered his miniſters to trouble him no longer with any propoſals for an accommodation between him and *France*. The death of cardinal *Fleury*, the firſt miniſter of *France*, whoſe politics were intirely pacific, made a great alteration on the face of affairs in *Europe*. The *French* miniſtry engaged deeper than ever in the *German* war, by which the aſſiſtance they gave to the *Spaniards* in *Italy*, became more feeble than before. The queen of *Spain*, ſenſible of this, reſolved to ſtrike a bold deciſive blow, without ever ſuffering the *Spaniſh* troops in *Italy* to reſt in their winter quarters. Count *de Gages* was then at *Bologna*; and her catholic majeſty gave it him in his option either to fight count *Traun*, the imperial general, within three days, or to reſign his command to count *Mariani*. *De Gages* choſe the former; but as ſecrecy was the life of his enterprize, he made a magnificent ball at *Bologna*, from which his principal officers dropped out unperceived by degrees, and he himſelf before day-light was in the field. All his precautions could not blind the marquis *de Pavia* from ſuſpecting the truth, and he found means, though with great difficulty, to convey ſome intimation of it to count *Traun*.

THAT general's army had been weakened by the departure of three thouſand *Croats*, who had left it without leave at the end of the campaign; and the intelligence of this had encouraged her catholic majeſty in her ſcheme. *Traun* received the intimation from the marquis *de Pavia*, time enough to draw up his army; ſo that when *de Gages* advanced with his army early on the 3d of *February*, he found the *Auſtrians* and *Piedmonteſe* in order of battle. Being thus diſappointed in his main hope, that of a ſurprize, he ordered his army to halt, that he might make new diſpoſitions; but before they could be formed, he was himſelf attacked by *Traun* before *Campo Santo*. The *Spaniards* were computed to be in number about twenty-five thouſand, and the imperialiſts about twenty thouſand. The battle continued from eight in the morning till ſeven at night, it being then moon-light. The *Spaniards* routed the left wing of the *Auſtrian* cavalry; but the imperial and *Piedmonteſe* foot behaved ſo well, that the *Spaniards* were at laſt obliged to retreat; which they did, however, in good order, carrying with them ſome military trophies, ſuch as colours, ſtandards, kettle-drums, and cannon, which gave them a pretence to claim the victory, tho' in fact they loſt it, by *Gages* having failed in his attempt. The

Battle of Parma *loſt by the* Spaniards.

loſs of the *Spaniards* was computed to be about four thouſand men; that of the imperialiſts was not ſo great. The count *de Aſpremont*, the *Piedmonteſe* general, fell upon the field of battle, as did many other officers of great diſtinction and merit on both ſides. The conſequences plainly ſhewed the advantage to lie with the imperialiſts.

Demands of the king of Sardinia.

THE *Spaniards* could not reflect upon the deſperate attack they had made, and the hardſhips they had undergone in the field, without remembering they were fighting in a foreign quarrel, and to gratify the ambition of a haughty *Italian* princeſs. Thoſe conſiderations increaſed deſertions amongſt them ſo greatly, that when *de Gages* returned to *Bologna*, he found his army reduced to half the number with which he took the field. He diſpatched meſſengers in great abundance to his *Neapolitan* majeſty for aſſiſtance; but all was in vain, becauſe it was ſtill poſſible for the *Britiſh* fleet to bombard his capital. *De Gages* therefore, finding that he could not maintain his ground at *Bologna*, retreated to *Rimini*, where he remained till *September* in a very ſtrong camp. But a treaty was now ſet on foot, which bade fair to divide the allies of the houſe of *Auſtria*. The king of *Sardinia*'s miniſter at the court of *London*, intimated to the miniſtry of *Great Britain* the uneaſineſs of his maſter's ſituation; and that he expected, before he embarked farther in the defence of the houſe of *Auſtria*, that her *Hungarian* majeſty would ſtipulate ſomewhat to him by way of indemnification for the great loſſes he had already ſuffered; but ſignified at the ſame time, that he could expect ſuch indemnification only through the interpoſition of his *Britannic* majeſty with the court of *Vienna*. The *Britiſh* court and miniſter thought this indemnification highly reaſonable, and *Oſorio*, the *Sardinian* ambaſſador, was to name his maſter's terms. He demanded to be put into poſſeſſion of *Final*, a ſea-port town belonging to the *Genoeſe*, who had purchaſed it from the emperor *Charles* VI. but lying very convenient for his *Sardinian* majeſty's dominions. He likewiſe demanded poſſeſſion of the *Vigevanaſco*, with that part of the duchy of *Pavia* that is between the *Po* and the *Teſſin*, with the towns of *Placentia* and *Bobbio*, and all the tract of land from the ſource of the *Nura* to the lake *Maggiore*, and the frontiers of the *Swiſs* cantons.

Treaty at Worms.

WHEN thoſe demands were made on the part of his *Sardinian* majeſty, the queen of *Hungary* was not in that diſtreſſed ſituation that had ſo lately obliged her to implore his *Sardinian* majeſty's aſſiſtance. She treated his demands with the higheſt diſdain; but the *Britiſh* miniſtry giving her to underſtand that they muſt be complied with, ſhe was obliged to

acquieſce; and count *Waſner*, her ambaſſador at *London*, having concluded the treaty, carried it to *Worms*, where it was ſigned by *Oſorio* in his maſter's name, he being there attending his *Britannic* majeſty; and from thence it has obtained the name of the treaty of *Worms*. By the third article of that treaty, his *Sardinian* majeſty renounced all claims upon the duchy of *Milan*, and guarantied anew the pragmatic ſanction. By the 4th, his *Sardinian* majeſty's troops were to act in concert with thoſe of the queen of *Hungary*, for repelling the invaſion of the *Spaniards* upon *Italy*. By the fifth article, her *Hungarian* majeſty ſtipulated to augment her army in *Italy* to thirty thouſand men, as ſoon as the ſituation of affairs in *Germany* would permit it; and his majeſty, the king of *Sardinia*, engaged to keep and employ the number of forty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, comprehending in it what would be neceſſary for the garriſons and defence of his own dominions. The ſixth article gave the king of *Sardinia* the ſupreme command of both armies, when there in perſon. The ſeventh article, ſtipulated the naval aſſiſtances which their *Hungarian* and *Sardinian* majeſties were to receive from *Great Britain*. The tenth article ſtipulated the famous ceſſion of *Final*; and the eleventh and twelfth articles regarded the mutual aſſiſtance which the queen of *Hungary* and the king of *Sardinia*, were to give to each other, in defence of their reſpective dominions in *Italy*.

Such were the ſtipulations that concern our preſent purpoſe in the treaty of *Worms*, againſt which *Palavicini*, the *Genoeſe* miniſter, proteſted; and in fact the treaty itſelf proved ineffectual, for the *Genoeſe* fortified and prepared to defend *Final*; nor did either party gain by the treaty. The courts of *France* and *Spain* counter-acted it by one much more political, tending to her catholic majeſty's favourite purpoſe of introducing her ſon Don *Philip* into *Parma* and *Placentia*. It took its riſe from her impatience at ſeeing the combined fleets ſo long ſhut up by that of *Great Britain*, in the harbour of *Toulon*. The terms offered by her to the *French*, who were not fond of riſking their marine in Don *Philip*'s cauſe, were very advantageous; for *France* was to be indemnified for all the loſs ſhe ſhould ſuſtain in aſſiſting the infant duke; and if the *Britiſh* fleet was beat, *Spain* was to aſſiſt her to invade *Great Britain*. When the reſolution of ſailing for *Toulon* was taken by the two courts, admiral *Matthews* was at that of *Turin*; where underſtanding that the *Breſt* fleet had already ſailed, he ſent orders for all the *Britiſh* ſhips of war in the *Mediterranean* to join him, and he himſelf repaired on board his own ſhip. The particulars of the famous ſea-fight that followed,

is well known to the public, as is the miſcarriage that afterwards followed, through the ſhameful animoſities that prevailed between *Matthews* and *Leſtock*. It is ſufficient here to ſay, that the *Britiſh* fleet, at the time of the engagement, was ſuperior in ſtrength to that combined fleets of *France* and *Spain*, and that had it not been for the diſagreement, the combined fleets muſt have been deſtroyed, but they eſcaped, tho' with ſome damage. After this, the king of *Naples* threw off all pretexts to a neutrality, and publiſhed a declaration, in which he complained that his moderation had been abuſed by the court of *Great Britain*; that his frontiers were ſubjected to all the calamities of war; and that the queen of *Hungary* had publickly threatened to invade his kingdoms, with ſeveral other allegations of the like importance. His majeſty therefore aſſembled an army, and joined that of *de Gages*. Prince *Lobkowitz* was at this time general of the imperialiſts in *Italy*, and had received orders from his court to ſupport and favour an inſurrection, which the *Auſtrian* agents were endeavouring to raiſe in *Naples*. It was chiefly with that view that *Lobkowitz* had taken poſt at *Monte Rotondo* in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, while his *Sardinian* majeſty and *de Gages* encamped at *Veletri*, in ſight of the imperialiſts. While the two armies were in this ſituation, *Lobkowitz* detached a part of his troops to make an irruption into *Abruzzo*, where they took the city of *Aquila*, and publiſhed manifeſtos, exhorting the *Neapolitans* to throw off the *Auſtrian* yoke. This attempt proving unſucceſsful, *Brown*, an *Auſtrian* general, of a bold enterprizing genius, ſurpriſed his *Neapolitan* majeſty's quarters; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty he eſcaped being made priſoner, by flying through a poſtern to the quarters of count *de Gages*. It was owing to the courage and preſence of mind of the latter that the *Spaniſh* and *Neapolitan* armies did not ſuffer more than they did from the unexpected attack: for *Brown* perceiving that *de Gages*, after collecting and forming his regiments, was making diſpoſitions for cutting him off from the main body of the *Auſtrian* army, ordered a retreat, after killing about three thouſand *Spaniards*, making an immenſe booty, and acquitting himſelf with vaſt intrepidity. His own loſs was about ſix hundred.

Sea fight off Toulon.

Battle of Veletri.

Retreat of the Auſtrians.

THIS ſhining exploit was more glorious than advantageous to the *Auſtrians*. *Lobkowitz*, either through inadvertency, or what is more probable, from the orders he received, had brought his army into a ſituation where he could not maintain it, the country round him being intirely eaten up, or in the hands of his enemies; add to this, his men were daily dying through fatigue and the heats of the ſeaſon; ſo that he was at laſt

laſt obliged to order a retreat. *De Gages* had foreſeen this, and prepared to follow him. *Lobkowitz* paſſed under the walls of *Rome*, and could but juſt break down *Ponte Molle*, when the van of the *Spaniſh* and *Neapolitan* army appeared. He could not, however, prevent part of his rear-guard being made priſoners at *Nocera*, nor the frequent deſertions that happened amongſt his troops; ſo that his retreat had all the appearances of the moſt precipitate flight; but at laſt having paſſed the mountains of *Gubio*, he arrived at *Bologna*, by the way of *Viterbo*. But notwithſtanding all his addreſs and expedition, his army muſt have been totally ruined, had not count *de Gages*, who followed him, received a peremptory order from his own court, to lay aſide all other conſiderations but that of joining the infant Don *Philip*, who was preparing to march through the *Genoeſe* territories, to diſpoſſeſs the *Auſtrians* of *Parma* and *Placentia*; and this brings us to attend the operations of the infant duke.

In conſequence of the ſecret treaty with *France*, the prince of *Conti*, at the head of a *French* army, had joined him early in the year at *Antibes*; and after paſſing the *Var*, they took *Apremont*, and without oppoſition entered *Nice*. His *Sardinian* majeſty was, at this time, greatly diſtreſſed for money, and obliged to entrench himſelf near *Villafranca*, where he was attacked, and, after an obſtinate engagement, defeated by the combined army. He then was forced to embark with his troops on board the *Britiſh* ſquadron, which carried him to *Vado*. Don *Philip* would then have penetrated through the *Genoeſe* territories, had not admiral *Matthews* threatened to bombard their city if they gave him a paſſage thro' their dominions. Intimidated by this menace, the ſenate interceded with the two princes, who, at their requeſt, changed their route, and marching toward *Piedmont*, they laid ſiege to *Chateau Dauphine*, which the king of *Sardinia* defended in perſon. They loſt four thouſand men before the place; but they took it, and the conſequence was, that *Demont* ſurrendered, which reduced almoſt all the open country of *Piedmont* to ſubmit to contributions; while his *Sardinian* majeſty, to cover his capital, entrenched himſelf at *Saluzza*. The ſiege of *Coni*, one of the ſtrongeſt places in *Italy*, was then formed by the combined army about the beginning of *September*. It was held out by baron *Leutrum*, whoſe gallant defence of the place, gave the king of *Sardinia* leiſure to march with his own troops, and ten thouſand *Auſtrians* under *Palavicini*, to his relief. The *French* and *Spaniards* kept on the defenſive; ſo that the attack made by his *Sardinian* majeſty upon their entrenchments, was bloody and deſperate; and finding it im-

Don Philip joined by the French army.

practicable to force them, he retreated to his camp at *Marasso*. The combined army then resumed its operations against *Coni*; but under prodigious disadvantages, from the heavy rains that fell, as well as the good state of the garrison, which had been reinforced with men and provisions by his *Sardinian* majesty. The siege, however, went on; and tho' the besiegers began to be much straitened for provisions, it was continued, with the greatest obstinacy, till the end of *November*, when the besiegers received certain intelligence, that a reinforcement of six hundred fresh men, under the chevalier *de Soto*, had entered the place; upon which they abandoned their enterprize, in a manner by no means to their honour; for leaving all their sick and wounded to the mercy of their enemies, they retired to *Demont*, the fortifications of which they dismantled. The *French* then marched into *Dauphiny*, as the infant duke of *Parma* did into *Savoy*, where he still kept his footing, and where his army was extremely oppressive to the inhabitants.

Siege of Coni *raised.*

Uneasiness of the king of Sardinia.

NOTWITHSTANDING this retreat, the king of *Sardinia* was under great apprehensions from the *Genoese*. The treaty of *Worms* had not met with the approbation of the public. The *British* minister, by whom it had been concluded, was himself but on a precarious footing at his own court. He knew the queen of *Hungary* had been forced into it; and which was worst of all, the principles on which it was concluded, were justifiable only in point of expediency. Though the terror of the *British* marine had, during the preceding campaign, made an impression upon the *Genoese*; yet, by the preparations they were making, he had reason to believe that they would speedily declare themselves in favour of his enemies; and he knew the dreadful consequences to himself and the house of *Austria*, if they were permitted to march through that territory. All those, and many other considerations, determined him, if possible, to make the *Genoese* his friends, by offering to renounce all his pretensions upon *Final*. But though the *Genoese* seemed to give some ear to this proposal, they had in their councils come to a final determination to accept of the offers of *France* and *Spain*. They had secretly dispatched *Grimaldi* to *Spain*; and a treaty was concluded between *France*, *Spain*, and *Genoa*, which is known by the name of that of *Aranjuez*, and which in fact made Don *Carlos* master of *Parma* and *Placentia*. The principal articles relating to that prince are as follow: "That the republic of *Genoa* shall assist the armies and fleets belonging to the princes of the house of *Bourbon*, with all manner of necessaries, both by sea and land: that the *Genoese* shall join their armies

Treaty of Aranjuez.

armies in *Italy* with ten thouſand men, all well armed and accoutred, and followed by a train of thirty-ſix cannon; but this they ſhall not be obliged to do till after the *French* and *Spaniſh* armies are united, and have paſſed the mountains and narrow paſſes lying between their republic and the *Milaneſe*, and called the ſtraits of *Lombardy*: that the princes of the houſe of *Bourbon* ſhall guarantee the towns, territories, and all the preſent poſſeſſions of the *Genoeſe*: that all the allies, with united forces, ſhall endeavour to obtain a ſettlement in *Italy* for Don *Philip*, the king of *Spain*'s third ſon: that the king of *Spain* ſhall pay the *Genoeſe* a ſubſidy of twelve thouſand pounds monthly, ſo long as the war continues in *Italy*." The remaining part of this treaty contains ſtrong guaranties of the *Genoeſe* rights and poſſeſſions on the part of the two crowns.

THIS treaty being concluded, count *de Gages* on the one ſide of the *Appennines*, and the infant Don *Philip* on the other, made incredible efforts to effect their junction. *De Gages* paſſed the *Appennines*, entered the *Lucqueſe*, and marched by the eaſtern *Riviera* of *Genoa*; and on the 14th of *June*, 1745, his army joined that of the infant duke near *Genoa*. The two armies amounted to ſixty-eight thouſand men, and were ſoon after joined by the ten thouſand *Genoeſe*, ſtipulated by the treaty of *Aranjuez*. All this while his *Sardinian* majeſty had been in a manner treating with the *Genoeſe*, at whom he was exaſperated to the higheſt pitch, when he underſtood that they had not only joined his enemies, but that they had publiſhed a declaration of war againſt himſelf, though they had preſerved an appearance of regard towards his *Britannick* majeſty and the queen of *Hungary*. They were anſwered by a counter-declaration, in which he accuſed them of breach of faith, by having long favoured his enemies, and in other reſpects treated him with very little ceremony. The queen of *Hungary*'s reſentment was ſo high, that ſhe threatened the extinction of the commonwealth, and gave her troops orders to proceed againſt them in all reſpects, and on all occaſions, as enemies; but thoſe threatenings would have made very little impreſſion upon the *Genoeſe*, had not the two powers made the moſt vigorous remonſtrances at the court of *Great Britain*, where his *Britannick* majeſty gave orders for the commanders of his ſhips in the *Mediterranean*, to begin hoſtilities againſt *Genoa*, for breaking her neutrality. The force of the *Britiſh* fleet in the *Mediterranean*, at that time, was twenty-four ſhips of the line; but it muſt have been far inferior to thoſe of the *French* and *Spaniards*, if the *Breſt* ſquadron could have joined the *Spaniſh* fleet, which was blocked up in the harbour

Progreſs of the war in Italy.

Genoa *declares for the* French *and* Spaniards.

bour of *Carthagena*; but that not happening, the *French* returned to the coaſt of *France*, to the amazement of all *Europe*, without attempting any thing againſt even a *British* ſquadron of no more than twelve ſhips, which was ſent out to obſerve their motions. Upon their return admiral *Rowley*, who commanded the *Engliſh* fleet in the *Mediterranean*, ordered commodore *Cowper* with a ſquadron to begin hoſtilities againſt the *Genoeſe*; and he bombarded *Savona*, *Genoa*, *Final*, *St. Remo*, and *Baſtia* in *Corſica*. The damage done on this occaſion was not ſo conſiderable as might have happened had the *Genoeſe* been immediately the enemies of *Great Britain*; and this the queen of *Hungary* complained of.

Great ſucceſs of Don Philip.

COUNT *Schulenberg* was now the *Auſtrian* general in *Italy*, where his army, joined with that of his *Sardinian* majeſty, amounted to no more than forty-five thouſand men. The great object of Don *Philip* was to get poſſeſſion of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Modena*; and his *Sardinian* majeſty found himſelf under the neceſſity to act on the defenſive, and accordingly made the proper diſpoſitions for defending thoſe duchies, as well as the *Milaneſe*. *Schulenberg* was aſſigned to the defence of *Parma*, with twenty-four thouſand men; but he was obliged by count *de Gages* to retire under the cannon of *Tortona*, to preſerve his communication with his *Sardinian* majeſty. Upon his retreat *de Gages*, with thirty thouſand men, took poſſeſſion of *Saravalle*. On the ſide of the *Milaneſe*, the king of *Sardinia* was poſted in the neighbourhood of *Aleſſandria*, with no more than twenty thouſand men, and therefore was obliged to give way to the entrance of the infant duke, and the *French* general *Maillebois*, who commanded under him, into the *Modeneſe*, at the head of forty thouſand *French* and *Spaniards*. The infant duke's firſt exploits were to take *Aqui* and *Seva*; and a paſſage being thereby opened for him to *Aleſſandria* itſelf, the king of *Sardinia* and count *Schulenberg* were obliged to retire beyond the *Tanaro*. On the 24th of *July* count *de Gages*, after an inconſiderable reſiſtance, took the ſtrong citadel of *Tortona*. This acquiſition was followed by the ſurrender of *Parma* and *Placentia* to the duke of *Modena*; and thus the great object of Don *Philip*'s ambition was accompliſhed. Nothing now could reſiſt the fortune of the infant duke. The city of *Pavia* was taken by a ſcalade; and the *Auſtrian* garriſon, conſiſting of two thouſand five hundred men, ſhut themſelves up in the citadel of *Milan*, while the city fell into the hands of *de Gages*, who ſoon after joined his army with that of Don *Philip*; and attacking the *Piedmonteſe* poſts upon the *Tanaro*, they forced his *Sardinian* majeſty, whoſe troops ſuffered greatly upon this occaſion, to re-

re towards the *Po*, for the security of his own capital. By
e 30th of *September*, Don *Philip* took the city of *Alessandria*,
ut not the citadel; and after that he became master of *Va-*
za, *Casal*, *Asti*, *Gabrano*, and *Vienne*, which lies but twenty
iles distant from *Turin*, then almost the only possession that
s left to his *Sardinian* majesty.

NOTHING but the secret policy of the court of *France* could have prevented Don *Philip* from becoming master of that capital likewise; but *d'Argenson*, the *French* minister, hated the *Spaniards*; and there was a personal friendship between the *Sardinian* majesty and *Maillebois*. *Maillebois* persuaded his master, that it was not his interest to ruin the king of *Sardinia*, or to aggrandize the *Spaniards* too much in *Italy*; and that *France* had already obtained her ends, by obliging the queen of *Hungary* to weaken herself on the side of *Germany*, by defending her *Italian* dominions. Tho' his most Christian majesty had made choice of the infant duke to be his son-in-law, yet reasons of state prevailed over all other considerations, and he even obtained an order from the court of *Madrid*, that all military operations without the dominions of the infant duke should be under the direction of *Maillebois*. *De Gages*, on the other hand, warmly pressed for the continuance of the operations against his *Sardinian* majesty, and even for laying siege to *Turin*; and he was seconded by the infant duke himself; but at last receiving intimation of his father-in-law's pleasure, he was obliged to submit to *Maillebois*. Thus *Turin* remained in the possession of his *Sardinian* majesty; and on *Don Philip*, attended by the duke of *Modena* and *de Gages*, made a triumphal entry into *Milan*, from whence he went to *Parma*, of which and *Placentia* he took possession.

Policy of the French.

Don Philip takes possession of Parma and Placentia.

AFTER this event the aspect of the war in *Italy* was unfavourable for the three crowns. His *Sardinian* majesty, to his immortal honour, continued faithful to his engagements; and the death of the emperor of *Germany*, with the accommodation which the queen of *Hungary* had made with his house, the election of her husband the great duke to the imperial dignity, and several other favourable incidents, enabled her to send new supplies to his *Sardinian* majesty, who, on his side, being still vigorously assisted by money from *England*, made a great augmentation of his army, which now amounted to thirty-six thousand men; and he was joined by the prince of *Lichtenstein*, the *Austrian* general, with a much greater number. At the opening of the campaign, in the year 1746, *Maillebois*, with about thirty thousand men, was in possession of the greatest part of *Piedmont*. A still greater army, under the infant duke, covered the *Milanese*, the *Parmesan*,

mesan, and the *Placentine*; while the duke of *Modena*, with eight thousand men, protected his own dominions. The operations of his *Sardinian* majesty, and the *Austrian* army, were so vigorous, that the armies of the three crowns, instead of acting offensively, retired towards the *Mantuan*; while *Lichtenstein*, the *Piedmontese* general, made himself master of *Alessandria*, reduced *Casal*, and raised the blockade of the citadel of *Alessandria*, which had continued during all the preceding winter; so that *Maillebois* was obliged to retire to the Genoese territory. Don *Philip* and count *de Gages* had no better fortune on the side of *Milan*, which the *Austrians* obliged them to abandon; as they did *Pavia*, and at last *Parma* itself, where the *Austrians* found a large magazine of provisions, a fine train of artillery, and a great quantity of baggage. On this occasion, the advice of *de Gages* to the infant duke was to march to *Placentia*, where they could occupy a strong camp against all the efforts of their enemies, till they could be joined by the marquis *de Castellar*, with a fresh reinforcement of *Spaniards*, and the *French* troops under *Maillebois*; and in the mean time he affirmed, that the army under *Lichtenstein* must be ruined by its fatigues, and the diseases already raging in it. This advice was so far followed, that the infant duke retired to the camp near *Placentia*; and *de Gages*, by the excellent dispositions he made, kept the *Austrians* at bay. In the mean while *Pignatelli*, a *Spanish* general, passed the *Po*, in the night time, to *Codogno*, where he beat up the quarters of seven thousand *Austrians*.

but is worsted.

All this while, the queen of *Spain* was so bent upon her *Italian* expedition, that she had employed *Grimaldi* to negociate a separate peace with the queen of *Hungary*, who rejected all proposals of that kind, by the persuasion of the *British* ministry. She attributed the necessity she was under of taking this disagreeable step to the conduct of *Maillebois* and the *French*, who, as she alledged, had sacrificed the interest of the infant duke. The *French* were not strangers to the justice of her complaints on that head; and being in great want of money, with which they knew it was in her power to furnish them, *Maillebois* was ordered to rejoin the infant duke's army as soon as possible, which he did in the beginning of *June*, before the king of *Sardinia*, who was making forced marches for that purpose, could join the prince of *Lichtenstein*. This junction being effected between the infant prince and *Maillebois*, the former found himself at the head of fifty-two thousand men. Her Catholic majesty, before this, had obtained from her husband a provisional order, commanding *de Gages*, as soon as that junction was formed, to

attack

attack the *Auſtrian* army, whatever his ſituation was, and under whatever diſadvantages he might lie. This peremptory order overthrew all the prudent ſchemes of *de Gages*; and having, for form-ſake, ſummoned a council of war, it was, without a contradictory vote, reſolved to attack the *Auſtrian* camp at *St. Lazaro*, which lay about twenty-two miles diſtant from *Placentia*.

Battle of Placentia,

THE *Auſtrians* had ſuſpected or foreſeen ſuch an attempt as this, and had fortified their camp, though naturally ſtrong, with many additional works. *De Gages* had for ſome days left his ſtrong camp at *Placentia*, and was advanced within a very ſhort diſtance of that of the *Auſtrians*. On the 14th of *June*, the diſpoſitions having been concerted in a council of war, *de Gages* began his march early in the evening, and by eleven he reached the *Auſtrian* trenches, which he vigorouſly attacked. Notwithſtanding the *Auſtrians* were prepared to receive him, he muſt have beat them, had the *Bourbonite* officers done their duty; but the attack, though brave and intrepid, was irregular and injudicious. The cavalry was diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, that they could not ſupport the infantry; and though the *French* and *Spaniards*, notwithſtanding this diſadvantage, mounted the trenches of their enemies, whom they forced to retire towards their camp, yet they made no uſe of the enemy's artillery they found within their lines, and had neglected to bring faſcines for paſſing a broad wet ditch, which lay before the *Auſtrian* camp. Such, however, was the incredible ardour of the combined army, that they paſſed even this ditch; but with vaſt loſs, and unſupported by their cavalry. It was now day-break; and the *Auſtrians*, who were upon the point of being totally routed, perceiving the diſadvantages under which their enemies lay, charged them, in their turn, with their cavalry, with a horrible carnage; upon which *de Gages* ordered a retreat. His loſs, in this battle, was about ſix thouſand killed, and about eight thouſand wounded, or taken priſoners; and that of the *Auſtrians* was about four thouſand. *De Gages* made an admirable retreat to his camp at *Placentia*; but ſo critically, that, had he delayed it for a few minutes, his whole army muſt have been deſtroyed, as the *Piedmonteſe*, who were to join the *Auſtrians*, were ſo near the place of action as to hear the firing.

fatal to the French and Spaniards.

THE junction of the *Auſtrians* and the *Piedmonteſe* being thus effected, the command of both devolved upon his *Sardinian* majeſty, according to the ſtipulation in the treaty of *Worms*, and he thereby ſaw himſelf at the head of ſixty-four thouſand men; but the prince of *Lichtenſtein*, who had acquired

King of Sardinia commands the Auſtrians.

quired so much honour by the late battle, being indisposed, he was succeeded in his command by general *Botta*. On the other hand, the marquis *de Castellar*, who had some time before joined Don *Philip*'s army, was left with a strong garrison in *Placentia*; while *Maillebois* and count *de Gages* entrenched themselves between the *Lambra* and the *Adda*; and the infant duke, having passed the *Po*, occupied the open country of the *Milanese*. His *Sardinian* majesty was perfectly sensible, that no time must be lost in driving his enemies out of *Lombardy*. He appointed general *Botta* to march up the *Tydone*, and to block up *Placentia* on the one side, so as to cut off all communication between it and the combined army; while he himself, on the other, passed the *Po*, to dislodge *Maillebois* and *de Gages*, not without hopes of taking the infant duke prisoner, whose head-quarters were at *Codogno*. This was reckoned a masterly disposition. His *Sardinian* majesty took *Lodi*, which lay in the rear of his enemies; and *Botta* lying between *Codogno* and *Placentia*, the situation of Don *Philip*, and his two generals, became very dangerous on all sides.

Death of the king of Spain.

THE death of *Philip* V. king of *Spain*, gave a new complexion to the war. *Maillebois* was ignorant of the disposition of *Ferdinand*, his son and successor, towards the *French* court and towards the war in general, and therefore he proposed retreating to *Tortona*. This was opposed by *de Gages*; but the *French* interest being now as prevalent at the court of *Madrid* as it had been in the late reign, king *Ferdinand* sent an order, under his own hand, to make the retreat proposed by *Maillebois*: it was begun accordingly; but the *Austrians*, who still continued their pursuit, overtook their enemies at

Battle of Rotto Freddo.

Rotto Freddo, and attacked them early on the 9th of *August*. The *Austrians* were commanded by general *Serbelloni*, who fought till *Botta* came up, and the battle continued till four in the afternoon. But though *de Gages* and *Maillebois* did all that could be expected from brave men and able generals, victory declared itself for the *Austrians*. In this battle the *French* and *Spaniards* lost eight thousand men, eighteen pieces of cannon, with many standards and colours. The loss of the *Austrians* was four thousand men killed on the spot; amongst whom was general *Berinclau*. After the battle was over, *Placentia* was summoned to surrender, which it did; and its garrison, said to have consisted of nine thousand men, was made prisoners of war.

DE GAGES and the infant duke of *Parma* continued their march to *Gavi* and *Tortona*, where *de Gages* began to intrench his army, till he could receive reinforcements; but his

new master had now altered his sentiments; and as want success in the court of *Spain* had been generally considered want of merit, his Catholic majesty sent an order for *de las* to resign his command to the marquis *de las Minas*, ich he immediately did. The conduct of the *Spaniards* ards the *Genoese*, on this occasion, was very insincere. It known that *Genoa* was the great object of the vengeance the *Austrians*, who, after taking possession of *Placentia*, made an irruption into the western *Riviera*, towards *Al-*, where their behaviour was such as might have been ected from the most inflamed resentment. The army of two crowns was at this time in the *Genoese* territories; it was computed, that, since the opening of the cam-gn, forty thousand of them had been killed, or taken pri-ers. The consideration of this vast loss, with the prospect me differences arising between her *Hungarian* majesty the king of *Sardinia*, and of the *British* subsidy being drawn from that monarch, had prevailed on his Catho-majesty to give private instructions to *las Minas*, by all ans, to save his troops; and, if practicable, to proceed in way of negociation. The *Austrian* progress in the *Ge-* territory was rapid, and the *Genoese* applied to *las Minas* protection. At first he dissembled the instructions he had ived, and declared he would defend their city to the last; the *Austrians* still advancing, he most ungratefully picked arrel with the *Genoese*; and leaving them to their own , Don *Philip* and he continued their retreat towards nce.

Genoa conquered by the Austrians.

It is foreign to this part of our history to enter upon the iculars of the surrender of *Genoa* to the Imperialists, *Bot-* insolent and inhuman conduct towards them, and the perate efforts they made when they threw off the *Austrian* e. The queen of *Hungary* was now in possession of *Par-* and *Placentia*, and had recovered all her dominions in mbardy; and the king of *Sardinia* began to think her some-at too powerful in *Italy*. After her acquisition of *Genoa*, hing less would satisfy her than the re-conquest of *Naples*; *Botta* proposed, that the *Genoese* should furnish her with passports for that purpose; but this was a measure as little reeable to the court of *Great Britain* as it was to his *Sardi-* majesty, and therefore it was laid aside. In the mean hile, that monarch had passed the *Var* at the head of his my, in pursuit of the infant duke; but, falling sick at *Nice*, e command of his army, which consisted of forty-five thou-nd men, devolved upon general *Brown*, who was assisted by e *British* admiral *Medley*, and a draught of one thousand men

Count Brown enters Provence;

men from the garrisons of *Port Mahon* and *Gibraltar*. *Maille-bois*, in passing the *Var*, had left some posts well fortified to stop the *Austrians* in their pursuit; but *Brown*, by the help of the *British* ships and auxiliaries, surmounted all difficulties and at last laid siege to *Antibes*. The courts of *France* and *Spain* were equally struck with the rapid success of the *Austrians*. His Catholick majesty, and the queen dowager of *Spain*, had little expected so many disastrous events; and they well knew, that while *Genoa* and its territory were in the hands of the *Austrians*, the infant duke could have no prospect of regaining *Parma* and *Placentia*. They threw the blame all upon *d'Argenson*, who, at their request, was disgraced and *Maillebois*'s command was taken from him, and given to the marechal *Belleisle*. He was reckoned the ablest general as well as statesman, then in *France*; but his army did not exceed twenty thousand regular troops, exclusive of the militia. He was however sensible, that the *Austrian* plan of penetration into *France* was impracticable, and had been formed upon wrong principles. At first, he made no opposition to *Brown*, that he might entice him farther into the country, and cut off his retreat; but *Antibes* making a vigorous defence, and withstanding the severe bombardment it suffered from the *British* squadron, and *Belleisle*'s army amounting now to [illegible] thousand regulars, while that of *Brown* was wasting by sickness and desertion, the latter was obliged to raise the siege of *Antibes*, and repass the *Var*, not without suffering great loss in his retreat.

but is forced to retire.

French *invade* Piedmont.

THIS irruption into *Provence*, though greatly applauded at the time it was made, threatened destruction to the *Austrian* interest in *Italy*, and gave the queen-mother of *Spain* fresh hopes of being able to replace Don *Philip* in the duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*. Upon *Brown*'s repassing the *Var*, *Belleisle* and his brother took *Nice*, *Montalbin*, *Villa Franca* and *Ventimiglia*; while the *Austrians* retired towards *Final* and *Savona*. Their retreat encouraged *Belleisle* to form a plan of operations, which he knew would be extremely agreeable to the court of *Spain*, which was no less than making an irruption into *Piedmont*. This spirited measure gave a sudden turn to the affairs of *Italy*. After the expulsion of the *Austrians* out of *Genoa*, the *French* court had made extraordinary efforts in supporting the *Genoese*; while that of *Vienna* was as absolutely bent upon retaking it. *Schuylemburg* had succeeded *Botta* in the command of the *Austrian* army there; and, though he was ill provided for such an undertaking, he received peremptory orders from his court, at all events, to attempt the re-conquest of *Genoa*. This scheme did not coincide with

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Sardinian majeſty's views; and *Schuylemburg* repreſented to his miſtreſs, that it was impoſſible for him to ſucceed, without a reinforcement from that monarch, who, at laſt, by the mediation of the *Britiſh* court, and upon being promiſed a large ſhare of the *Genoeſe* ſpoils, when conquered, agreed to aſſiſt *Schuylemburg* with twelve battalions and a train of artillery. After this agreement, the *Auſtrians* for ſome time were in a fair way of ſucceſs; but the reſentment of the *Genoeſe*, at the horrid barbarities of the *Auſtrians*, prevented *Schuylemburg* becoming maſter of that city. At laſt, his *Sardinian* majeſty became ſo uneaſy at the progreſs of *Belleiſle*, that *Schuylemburg* was obliged to give over the ſiege, at the very time when he thought himſelf ſure of ſucceeding. Nothing memorable is related, concerning the hiſtory of *Parma*, from the time of this event to the concluſion of the peace of *Aix la Chapelle*. Mr. *Wall* was ſecretly employed by the court of *Spain* to diſpoſe the *Britiſh* miniſtry towards a peace, which was the more readily agreed to, as the obſtinacy and ambition of the court of *Vienna* grew daily more and more outrageous; and the putting *Parma* and *Placentia* into the poſſeſſion of a prince of the houſe of *Bourbon*, was by no means incompatible with the ſyſtem of power that had been adopted by *Great Britain*. In 1747-8, though the war was ſtill raging on the continent of *Europe*, the preliminaries of a peace were ſettled; and in *April*, proclamation was made for a ceſſation of arms. This was followed by the meeting of plenipotentiaries at *Aix la Chapelle*, where the marquis *de Soto Mayor* was plenipotentiary on the part of *Spain*, and took care of the intereſts of the infant duke of *Parma*. The ſeventh article of that treaty runs as follows: "In conſideration of the reſtitutions their moſt Chriſtian and Catholic majeſties make, by the preſent treaty, either to her majeſty the queen of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, or to his majeſty the king of *Sardinia*, the duchies of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Guaſtalla*, ſhall, for the future, belong to the ſerene infant Don *Philip*, and be poſſeſſed by him and his male deſcendants, born in legitimate marriage, in the ſame manner and extent as they have been enjoyed by the preſent poſſeſſors; and the ſaid ſerene infant, and his male deſcendants, ſhall enjoy the ſaid three duchies, agreeable to and on the conditions expreſſed in the acts of ceſſion of the empreſs-queen of *Hungary* and the king of *Sardinia*, to be remitted, together with their ratifications of the preſent treaty, to the ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Catholic king, in the ſame manner as the ambaſſadors extraordinary and plenipotentiaries of their moſt Chriſtian and Catholic majeſties ſhall remit, with the ratifications of their ma-

Peace of Aix la Chapelle.

Article concerning Parma *and* Placentia.

majesties, to that of the king of *Sardinia*, the orders to the generals of the *French* and *Spanish* troops, for restoring *Savoy* and the county of *Nice* to persons commissioned to receive them; so that the restitution of the said states, and the taking possession of the said duchies of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Guastalla*, by or in the name of the serene infant Don *Philip*, may be effected at the same time, agreeable to the articles of cession, the tenor whereof is as follows: that the empress-queen of *Hungary*, whose cession was wrote in the *Latin*-language, in order to discharge herself of what she was bound to by the present articles, in a well-grounded hope, that their most Christian and Catholic majesties, as well as the party who shall hereafter be possessed of the three duchies, and his male descendants, will actually, and *bona fide*, fulfil the purport of the articles abovementioned, doth renounce and quit all manner of claims, rights, and pretensions to her belonging, under what title or cause soever, to the said three duchies of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Guastalla*, of which she was formerly possessed; which said claims, rights, and pretensions, she doth hereby in the best and most solemn form she possibly can, transfer to the said serene infant Don *Philip*, and to his male descendants lawfully begotten. She absolves likewise all the inhabitants of the said duchies, in general, from that oath of allegiance which they have taken to her; but as to that they shall hereafter take to those to whom she transfers her rights, it is not to be of force no farther than while the said serene infant Don *Philip*, or any of his descendants, have not ascended the throne of the *Two Sicilies*, or that of *Spain*; for she doth expressly reserve, as well for herself as for her successors, all the claims, rights, and pretensions to those duchies, which formerly did belong to her; as also the right of reversion, provided the said infant Don *Philip* should die without issue male. The cession of his *Sardinian* majesty, which was wrote in the *Italian* language, imported, that he, by virtue of the present act, did renounce, transfer, and set over, as well for himself as for his successors, to the said serene infant Don *Philip*, and to his male descendants lawfully begotten, the town of *Placentia*, and the *Plaisantin*, whereof his majesty was before possessed, for him to enjoy it as duke of *Parma*; renouncing, on this account, all claims, rights, and pretensions to him belonging; but expressly reserving, nevertheless, as well for himself as for his successors, the right of reversion in the cases abovementioned."

In consequence of this article, Don *Philip* was put into immediate possession of the duchies of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Guastalla*. His *Neapolitan* majesty, however, thought that the

the ſtipulation concerning the ſucceſſion of his brother to the kingdoms of the *Two Sicilies* were injurious to his rights; and not only refuſed to accede to the preliminaries, but to ſend a plenipotentiary to aſſiſt at the treaty. Means, however, were found to compromiſe matters between the two brothers; ſo that, when *Ferdinand* king of *Spain* died, in 1759, his *Neapolitan* majeſty, upon the report made him by his phyſicians that his ſecond ſon was unfit for government, paſſed an act of abdication and ſettlement, dated *October* 6, in favour of his third ſon, Don *Ferdinand*, by which he received the ceſſion of the *Italian* kingdoms, his eldeſt ſon being to ſucceed to the crown of *Spain*. It does not appear, that either the duke of *Parma*, or the imperial court, whoſe intereſts are immediately concerned in this great event, have made any remonſtrances againſt ſo arbitrary a diſpoſition of a rich and powerful territory. It is pretty plain, that conſiderations of conveniency, and intereſted politics, have prevailed with her imperial majeſty and her huſband to be ſilent on this occaſion. On the other hand, by the famous family-compact amongſt all the branches of the houſe of *Bourbon*, in which the duke of *Parma* is a party, there is little room to doubt that there are certain ſecret ſtipulations in his favour, to indemnify him for the ſacrifice he has made. *Difficulty on the ſame.*

END of the HISTORY *of* PARMA *and* PLACENTIA.

The HISTORY of GENEVA.

SECT. I.

Containing the Deſcription of Geneva *and its Territory; with a Sketch of its Hiſtory to the Year* 1500.

Deſcription of Geneva.

THE town or city of *Geneva* ſtands on an eminence, at the diſcharge of the *Rhone*, out of the lake of *Geneva*, or lake *Leman*; and below it the *Rhone* joins itſelf to the *Arve*. *Spon*, the learned hiſtorian of *Geneva*, is diſſatisfied with the derivation of the word *Geneva* from the juniper ſhrubs that grew upon the eminence whereon it is built; "as if, ſays he, the *Latin* or *French* tongues were ſpoken four ages before *Rome* was built." But he does not conſider, that both the *Latin* and *Greek* tongues, as well as the *French*, have their roots in the *Celtic*, of which the *Tuſcan* itſelf was no other than a dialect. It is divided by the *Rhone* into three unequal parts, which are joined by four bridges. The largeſt diviſion lies towards *Savoy*; another called *St. Gervais* adjoins to the *Pais de Gex* in *France*; and the third conſiſts of an iſland in the *Rhone*, of ſeven hundred feet in length, and two hundred broad. Its inhabitants in general are *Calviniſts*. It contains ſix churches, of which the fineſt is the cathedral of *St. Peter*. The profeſſors of philoſophy read their lectures in the chapel of the *Maccabees*, where the *Italians* and *Germans* are allowed to perform divine worſhip; and in the year 1707, the *Lutherans* obtained the like indulgence, but within a private houſe. The town-houſe of *Geneva* is a ſtately building; and its univerſity, which was founded in 1558, and has twelve profeſſors belonging to it, is, to this day, famous all over *Europe*.

The manners of the inhabitants,

MANY circumſtances contribute to render *Geneva*, ſmall as its territory is, a moſt delightful place. The air of tranquility, freedom, and politeneſs, that is viſible amongſt the better ſort of the inhabitants, is very inviting for ſtrangers, eſpecially thoſe of a ſtudious or contemplative caſt, to reſide amongſt them. Its neighbourhood, both by art and nature, is enchantingly pleaſant; its air wholeſome; its inhabitants, mechanics eſpecially, are induſtrious and ingenious. The city and ſmall territory about it, is ſerved with excellent proviſions, and at a cheap rate; and it is a general thoroughfare for traders and travellers to and from *France*, *Germany*, and *Italy*.

Italy. Thoſe and many other advantages, joined to the modeſty and regularity of the magiſtrates and learned men here, have brought a great reſort of young foreigners of the higheſt diſtinction, to ſtudy under their profeſſors, and to complete themſelves in the *French* language. The city contains two hoſpitals, a houſe of correction, and an armoury, together with a kind of a large dock-yard for public barges, yachts, and other veſſels.

and government.

BUT that which perhaps contributes moſt to the importance and independency of *Geneva*, is its form of government, which is that of a free republic, the ſupreme power of which is veſted in the general council of citizens and burgeſſes. This council may be called the legiſlature of *Geneva*. It is ſubdivided, or rather modelled, into three other councils; *viz.* a council of twenty-five, or the leſſer council, a council of ſixty, and a council of two hundred. The twenty-five are part of the council of ſixty, as the latter are of that of two hundred, which are formed out of the general council. In the aſſemblies of this laſt the ſyndics, who in fact are the heads of the government, are choſen; as are other ſubordinate magiſtrates, and the wine tax ſettled. The ſyndics are only choſen from amongſt the council of twenty-five, who are charged with the executive part of the government, and who elect the members of the council of ſixty; but the great council elects the leſſer council. The council of ſixty meets only by ſummons from the council of twenty-five; but the proceedings of both are controulable by the great council. Depending upon thoſe councils are ſubordinate colleges, in which a lieutenant and his aſſiſtants preſide; and there is likewiſe a chamber of appeals, from which cauſes might be brought before the leſſer council. In ſhort, every branch of the *Genevan* government is a check upon the other; and the whole is admirably well calculated for preſerving the freedom and independency of their ſtate. Their eccleſiaſtical diſcipline is under the direction of a conſiſtory, who report matrimonial caſes to the leſſer council, and which in all caſes proceeds with great moderation and tenderneſs. Their military eſtabliſhment is properly regimented, of which the field officers are members of the leſſer council; but their garriſon conſiſts of twelve companies of ſixty men each, into which foreigners are inrolled. Upon the whole, though the republic of *Geneva* is far from being a powerful ſtate, yet its policy is ſo admirable, its members are ſo unanimous, and their œconomy ſo excellent, that the neighbouring kingdoms and ſtates treat them with the higheſt eſteem and regard; and the court of *France* always keeps a reſident there. The independency,

however, of their government is owing to the importance of their situation, which would make the acquisition of it so valuable to any particular power, that they all join in its defence, and the preservation of its liberty.

Its antiquity. THE *Genevois*, like other states, run up their antiquities to times long before the Christian æra; and we have a particular detail of its history long before the time of *Julius Cesar*; but as that is blended with the history of the foregoing part of this work, we shall omit it here. It is certain, that it early received the Christian religion, and that the inhabitants were reckoned amongst the *Allobroges*. It suffered in common with other *European* states, by the incursions of the barbarians, about the year 400; and in the year 440, we find one *Isaac* bishop of *Geneva*, whose jurisdiction was pretty extensive. It was at this time that the *Vandals*, who had overrun *Gaul*, settled in the country of *Vaud*; and having built several boroughs, were called *Bourguignons*, and according to modern orthography *Burgundians*. Those people at last were consolidated into a monarchy[a]. The name of their first king, or as he is called by *Sidonius Apollinaris*, a cotemporary author, tetrarch, was *Gonderic*, who dying, divided his kingdom amongst his four sons, *Gondebaud*, who had *Vienne*; *Chilperic*, *Lyons*; *Godesigile*, *Geneva*; and *Gotmar*, *Besançon*. The brothers, as usual in such partitions of territory, carried on bloody wars against one another; and *Godesigile* was slain in a church, but was succeeded in the government of *Geneva* by *Sigismund*, who was either his son or nephew. The barbarity of the times prevents our knowing much either of the civil or military government of *Geneva* till the year 620; but to make up this loss, the names and acts of its bishops are related in ecclesiastical records, the laity being too rude and uninstructed to keep any; and this silence as to temporal affairs, has probably given the first handle for the claim of the bishops of *Geneva* to be its sovereigns. The names of *Cariatho* and *Appellinus*, which last lived till the year 1613, are however preserved as sovereigns of *Geneva*. In the year 620, *Clothair* the king of the *Franks*, drove out the *Bourguignons*, and gave the *Genevois* the form of a civil government; and his grandson *Theodorick* II. erected several churches and religious houses in that city. Between the years 650 and 773, we have only the uncertain names of the *Genevois* bishops and princes, which seem to be confounded together. Towards the end of the eighth century, *Charlemagne* called an assembly of his states at *Geneva*, to consult about a

Kingdom of the Bourguignons.

Meeting of the states at Geneva *under* Charlemagne.

[a] SPON's History of the City and State of Geneva, p. 13.

war

war with *Didier* king of the *Lombards*. We are told, that that great monarch confirmed both the civil and religious privileges of *Geneva*, and erected his own statue in marble over the gate of the church, with an imperial double-headed eagle under it. The eagle was to be seen in *Spon*'s time. After the death of *Charlemagne*, we have nothing relating to *Geneva* but a dry catalogue of its bishops and counts, who carried on their contests about the sovereignty. As an apology for the lameness of their history, we are told of four fires, which at different times destroyed *Geneva* and its archives; so that we are obliged to descend to the year 1050, at which time we find three competitors for the sovereignty of *Geneva*; the bishop, the earl of *Genevois*, and the earl of *Savoy*; and the city was more than once brought to the brink of destruction during their contests. The reader is to observe, that the earldom of *Genevois* is distinct from the present jurisdiction of *Geneva*, though those earls often called themselves counts of *Geneva*[b]. In the year 1120, *Wide*, son to an earl of *Genevois*, was bishop of *Geneva*; and, to strengthen his family claim to the sovereignty, or rather the superiority over that city, he gave his brother an investiture of several villages and castles belonging to the diocese of *Geneva*, as *Bonmont* and *Hautecombe*, with all his temporal jurisdiction in *Geneva*. But *Humbert*, his successor in the bishopric, disputed this grant; and the archbishop of *Vienne*, metropolitan of the province, and apostolical legate, ended the difference by a treaty in 1124, by which it was agreed, first, that the bishop should have the administration of justice and lordship in the city, the coining of money and confiscations of estates, as likewise the fines of those who had dwelt a year and a day at *Geneva*: that the earl should not build any fort without the bishop's consent: that he should have a vidame, or lieutenant, for secular affairs: that he should moreover do homage to the bishop, not respecting any one but the emperor before him: and several other articles touching toll, forfeitures, and fines. *Ardutius*, a man of quality, but, as we perceive by a letter from *St. Bernard* to him, not very well qualified for ecclesiastical functions, succeeded *Humbert* as bishop of *Geneva*; and under the patronage of the emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*, he got the better of the earl of *Genevois*, who had made encroachments upon his jurisdiction; and the earl, in the pope's bulls, is designed under the title of a faithful steward to the bishop. The emperor, however, afterwards gave to the duke of *Zeringuen* the sovereignty of *Geneva*, which he re- A. D. 1157.

Rise of the bishops of Geneva, and its earls.

[b] Spon's Hist. p. 16.

signed in favour of *Amé* the earl of *Genevois*. *Ardutius*, the bishop, by his zeal and assiduity, prevailed with the emperor to annul his grant, as having been obtained by surprize, and to confirm the bishop's right of sovereignty. Those grants in favour of the bishop founded their temporal claims, which the citizens of *Geneva* afterwards opposed. They denied that the emperor could, without the consent of the empire, give away the sovereignty of an imperial city, as theirs was; and they quoted the oath of their bishops, who, at the time of their admission, swore to maintain the privileges and liberties of the city. They admitted, however, that the confidence their ancestors had in their bishops, had rendered them too remiss; but they brought a stream of authorities to prove that their bishop had no temporal jurisdiction over them, and that their power arose entirely from their ecclesiastical capacity. Notwithstanding all their arguments, the bishops seem at times to have acted as sovereigns of the state; though it does not appear that the people, or lay-magistrates, ever made any formal renunciation of their liberties to them.

Succession of its bishop.

ARDUTIUS, who held his see fifty years, was succeeded by *Nantelinus*, who was so pressed by *William* the earl of *Genevois*, that he was obliged to have recourse to the friendship of *Thomas*, the first count of *Maurienne* and *Savoy*, to whom the bishop granted several lands and castles, which the earl of *Genevois* pretended were his property. This produced a war between the two counts, in which the earl of *Genevois* was worsted, and obliged, after the death of *Nantelinus*, to submit to the arbitration of the archbishop of *Vienne*, and *Grandson*, or *Grandison*, bishop of *Geneva*, who built fort *de Peney*, which still belongs to *Geneva*, and is governed by a castellan, who is a member of the great council. After his death several bishops succeeded, who exercised temporal jurisdiction over *Geneva*, and had many contests with their neighbours, in which they were always befriended by the counts of *Savoy*; one of whom, *Amé* IV. in the year 1285, came to *Geneva*, and with menaces demanded to be reimbursed for the charges of the war he had carried on with the earl of *Genevois*, on account of the city. *William* of *Constance* was then bishop, and proposed to compromise matters with the earl of *Genevois*; but the *Savoyard* party amongst the inhabitants prevailed, and the earl of *Savoy* obtained the possessions of the earl of *Genevois* within the city, which was likewise to serve him as a place of arms, he promising, at the same time, to defend it at his own cost against all enemies, and that there should be a free intercourse between his states and *Geneva*. It was likewise agreed, that the earl should become vidame

A treaty between them.

of

f *Geneva*, and that he ſhould have a bailiff under him, as eing poſſeſſed of the earl of *Genevois*'s property there. This reaty, to which the biſhop was obliged to conſent, continued a force ſome years.

In the year 1291, *Humbert* dauphine of *Vienne*, and a friend to the earl of *Genevois*, attempted to ſurpriſe *Geneva*, while the earl of *Savoy* was fortifying it. His deſign was diſcovered; but, after burning part of the ſuburbs, he encamped before the city, with an intention to beſiege it regularly. The biſhop endeavoured, by intreaties, to divert him from his deſign; but the courage of the inhabitants proved more effectual than his ſubmiſſions, for they forced the dauphin to raiſe the ſiege. In his retreat he took and plundered two caſtles belonging to the biſhop, who thereupon excommunicated him. War continued between the courts of *Savoy* and *Genevois*, after the death of *William* of *Conſtance*, whoſe ſucceſſor was *Martin*, as his was *Amé*. The prelate equally dreaded both counts, and was therefore ſuſpected by both; and under him the earl of *Genevois*, who had built a caſtle called *Gaillard*, within a league of *Geneva*, gained ground; for he made an alliance with the biſhop and commonalty of that city, and paid homage to the church for ſeveral lands. This biſhop is noted for a remarkable decree he iſſued, that the inhabitants of *Geneva* ſhould begin the computation of their year from *Chriſtmas*, and not as they had always done before from *Eaſter*.

Attempt of the dauphin defeated.

GENEVA, however, remained ſtill a bone of contention between the two counts; and in the year 1307, the dauphin of *Vienne* got poſſeſſion of the caſtle of *Entremont*, belonging to the earl of *Savoy*. That earl was ſhut up at *Geneva*, where he ſtill maintained his footing; but he marched out of that city to retake his caſtle. The earl of *Genevois* and his friends laid hold of that opportunity to appear at the head of an army before the city, which ſent out deputies to treat with him. His propoſals ſeemed reaſonable to the deputies; but when they made their report, the city was divided into two factions, which came to blows with each other. That of *Savoy* prevailed; for though the earl of *Genevois* and his followers were introduced into the city, they were driven out of it by the *Savoyard* party, with the loſs of one hundred and thirty-two men; and the *Savoyards* put to death, in a judicial way, ſeveral of their chief antagoniſts, and confiſcated the goods of others. Next year a difference happened between the biſhop and the earl of *Savoy*, on account of the latter having coined money at *Nion*, which lay within the dioceſe of *Geneva*; but his right to that coinage was confirmed by

Diſputes about Geneva,

by arbitrators, upon condition of the ſtamp being different from that of *Geneva*; that he did homage for the ſame; and that the eighth part of the profit ſhould go to the biſhop. The year 1309 was remarkable for the diſputes that happened between the biſhop and the people of *Geneva*, who complained that he had illegally extended his power. The biſhop cited them before his metropolitan, the archbiſhop of *Vienne*; but the people declining his juriſdiction, he excommunicated them, and obliged them to ſubmit to his terms. The people of *Geneva*, however, conſidered this ſubmiſſion, not as a proof of his legal right, but of his uſurped power, *Peter* of *Forigny* ſucceeded *Amé* as biſhop of *Geneva*; and in the year 1313, *William* earl of *Genevois* did homage to him for his poſſeſſions. The biſhop ſoon after accepted the like homage from *Edward* earl of *Savoy*; and this produced new wars amongſt all the three, which continued many years. In 1321, a fire reduced great part of *Geneva* to aſhes; and in the year 1330, the battle of *Monthouz*, or *Monthon*, was fought between the counts of *Savoy* and *Genevois*, in which two thouſand men were killed; but the advantage lay on the ſide of the *Savoyards*. Another great fire broke out, which conſumed two-thirds of the city of *Geneva* in 1334.

which is excommunicated.

The Genevois make peace.

In 1342, *Peter* of *Forigny*, after being biſhop of *Geneva* for thirty-one years, was ſucceeded by *Alamand*; but the differences between the counts of *Savoy* and *Genevois* were now compromiſed. *Amé* VI. was then earl of *Savoy*; and in his minority he did homage to *Alamand*, for his *Genevois* poſſeſſions; but growing up, he was by *Charles* IV. emperor of *Germany*, made vicar of the empire in that country; and in that capacity, joined with that of vidame, he claimed the temporalities of *Geneva*. *William* of *Marcoſſay* was then biſhop; and the emperor coming in 1366 to *Geneva*, he and the ſyndics prevailed upon him to revoke the vicarſhip he had granted to the count. The latter, however, refuſed to give up poſſeſſion, and the emperor was obliged to publiſh four ſeveral decrees againſt him, with penalties in caſe of his non-compliance. The biſhop appealed to pope *Gregory* XI. who then reſided at *Avignon*, to whoſe arbitration the earl likewiſe ſubmitted. His award was, that the earl ſhould reſign his letters of the vicarſhip, and relinquiſh all he held belonging to the church; but that he ſhould be confirmed in the vidamate, and in poſſeſſion of the caſtle of the iſle. The earl ſubmitted to this deciſion, which ſeems to have reſtored peace to *Geneva*; and in the year 1387, *Adamor* was biſhop of *Geneva*. He publiſhed an act, confirming the liberties and privileges of the city: the moſt material articles of it are,

The liberties confirmed.

"That

"That all proceſſes brought before the vidame, or ſteward, ſhall not be tranſacted in writing, but by word of mouth, in the mother tongue: that criminal caſes ſhould be tried by the ſyndics choſen by the citizens: that no one ſhould be put to the rack by them: that it ſhould be lawful to none but citizens to ſell wine: that the care of watching the town ſhould be committed to none but citizens; and that neither the biſhop, or any other deputed by him, ſhould exerciſe any authority after ſun-ſetting: that the citizens, burgeſſes, and freemen of the city, might chuſe every year ſyndics, or recorders, for the town, to whom the commonalty ſhould give full power and authority."

NOTWITHSTANDING thoſe excellent regulations, the earls of *Savoy* did all they could to eſtabliſh themſelves maſters of *Geneva*; but the ſpirit of the people rendering that impracticable, they invented various pretexts for keeping ſome footing in the city; but the magiſtrates always took care that it ſhould be upon ſufferance; and the requeſts and conceſſions on both parts are ſtill carefully preſerved, as evidences of *Geneva*'s independency on the houſe of *Savoy*. In the year 1398, *William* of *Lornay* was biſhop of *Geneva*, and had the courage to cite the earl of *Genevois* to appear before him, to anſwer a charge of felony; and the earl not appearing, he was outlawed, and his eſtate declared to be forfeited to the church. Two years after, *viz. June* 22, 1400, the emperor *Wenceſlaus* gave *Geneva* a confirmation of her rights, in ſo ample a manner, that no ſucceeding emperor or king of the *Romans* could violate them. The next year died the earl of *Genevois*; and *Odo* his uncle, and ſucceſſor, made a compromiſe with *Amé* the earl of *Savoy*, to whom he reſigned his eſtates, part of which was claimed by *Humbert*'s daughter; but the earl of *Savoy* did homage to the biſhop for the whole. In the year 1409, *John de Bertrandis* having ſucceeded *William* of *Lornay*, was called upon by the earl of *Savoy*'s vicar-general, to do homage to that earl for *Geneva*; but the emperor *Sigiſmund* interpoſed, and the claim was dropt. This *Bertrandis* was a cardinal, and aſſiſted at the council of *Conſtance*, and was ſuſpected of being a favourer of *John Huſs*, who was burnt there. He afterwards made a viſit to *Charles* VII. of *France*, and laid before him the injuſtice of his ſubjects intermeddling in the quarrel between the city of *Geneva* and the earls of *Savoy*; and obtained an order, prohibiting ſuch practices for the future. In the year 1415, the emperor *Sigiſmund* paid a viſit to *Geneva*, where he was magnificently entertained for three days. Two years afterwards he erected *Savoy* into a dukedom, in favour of *Amé*, the eighth earl, who

The earl of Genevois outlawed.

A cardinal biſhop of Geneva.

paid a visit to *Geneva*, in company with pope *Martin* V. and fifteen cardinals. This was in the year 1420. The purpose of this visit was, to petition the pope for the sovereignty of *Geneva*, of which *John* of *Pierrencize* was then bishop; and to him the pope referred the duke's suit, which was founded upon the inability of the bishop to punish crimes in the city and territory, unless assisted by the power of *Savoy*. The bishop summoned the people to a general assembly, and laid before them the duke's request, which had been approved of by the pope. It was unanimously rejected by the inhabitants, who, in their turns, required the bishop to be true to his charge, in which case he might depend upon their assistance for maintaining his just rights, and those of the city.

Pretensions of the earl of Savoy.

The constitution of Geneva settled.

THIS noble spirit encouraged the bishop, and produced a most excellent act in favour of liberty; for he entered into a formal concord or agreement with the people and the syndics, never to alter the constitution without their consent. This act was ingrossed in writing in *Latin*; and the observance of it sworn to by the bishop, the syndics, and the council, under the title of "A transaction between the reverend father *John*, patriarch and minister of the bishopric of *Geneva*, on the one part, and the citizens, burgesses, and commonalty of *Geneva*, on the other, against the endeavours and suit of duke *Amé* to pope *Martin*." It was then subscribed by all the magistrates, commonalty, and clergy of *Geneva*, to the number of seven hundred and twenty-seven; and the year after was confirmed by the emperor *Sigismund*, who declared *Geneva* to be an imperial city, under the title of *Nobile Imperii Membrum*, and took it into his immediate protection against all princes, the duke of *Savoy* in particular. *John* of *Pierrencize* was succeeded by *John* of *Courtecuisse*, who was bishop for no more than one year. He was succeeded by *John* of *Brogny*, who in his younger days kept swine. He was then so poor, that not being able to buy a pair of shoes at *Geneva*, the shoemaker gave him credit for them, upon condition he should pay him when he came to be a cardinal. A cardinal taking a liking to the boy, brought him up to literature; and becoming cardinal of *Ostia*, and bishop of *Geneva*, he rewarded the generous shoemaker by making him steward of his household. He erected the chapel adjoining to the church of the *Maccabees*, where the philosophy lectures are held; and was so little ashamed of the meanness of his birth, that he bore a hog for his arms. He was succeeded in 1426, by *Francis of Mies*; and while he was in the chair, in 1430, another great fire happened in *Geneva*, which burnt down *St. Peter's* church, and a great part of the town.

History of John of Brogny.

In

In 1432, *Ame* I. duke of *Savoy*, turned hermit at *Ripaille*, near *Tonon*, upon the lake *Leman*, resigning the title, but not the revenues, of duke of *Savoy* to his eldest son *Lewis*, and that of earl of *Genevois* to *Philip* his younger son. According to our historian [a], he obliged the duke his son to live at *Tonon*, in so frugal a manner, that he amassed money enough to purchase himself the popedom at the council of *Basil*. His history as pope, under the title of *Felix* V. is foreign to this part of our work. His dignity, however, gave him authority enough to strip the bishop of *Geneva* of the greatest part of his revenues; and, upon that prelate's death, he made himself administrator of the bishoprics of *Geneva* and *Lausanne*. His reign, as pope, seems to have been very ridiculous; though, in other respects, he appears not to have been a weak prince. He held the bishopric of *Geneva* from the year 1444 to 1451, and governed it by an administrator or vicar; but, in the mean while, the emperor *Frederick* III. paid a visit to *Geneva*, and persuaded *Felix* to resign the popedom. It is remarkable, that, while he was in possession of that bishopric, he and his sons were so far from invading the sovereignty of *Geneva*, that they were at great pains to confirm all its rights and privileges; and his holiness declared, under his hand, that the *Genevois*, though not obliged so to do, lent him six hundred soldiers for the assistance of the city of *Lausanne*; and acknowledging, that the syndics, burgesses, and their successors, were no way obliged to such things, unless it came from their own free will, leaving them in their ancient liberty. In the year 1450, the *Genevois* assisted *Felix* against the *Friburghers*, with another body of troops under *Burdignin*, their chief syndic. Next year, *Felix* died; and is said to have been buried with a Bible under his head, at the end of which was a *Latin* inscription, importing, "That the city of *Geneva* is situated amongst mountains; that it was of small extent, sandy, and its inhabitants desirous of novelties."

and pope Felix, who is bishop of Geneva.

FELIX left *Cyprian*, archbishop of *Tarentaise*, his vicar in *Geneva*; and the people were so well pleased with the conduct of the house of *Savoy*, that *Peter*, his grandson, though but eight years of age, was appointed bishop of *Geneva*, which he held by his administrator for seven years and eight months. He was succeeded by his younger brother *John-Lewis*, son of duke *Lewis*, who, having a warlike turn, vigorously maintained his own authority and the privileges of the people, and forced his brother *Janus*, earl of *Genevois*, to resign the title of earl of *Geneva*, which he had assumed; but this intimacy with the house of *Savoy* soon cost the *Genevois* dear. Duke

Succeeded by his grandson.

[a] Spon. p. 74.

Lewis

Lewis had a ſon, *Philip*, whom he kept ſo bare in his pocket that the young man not only accuſed his mother, who was a *Cyprian* by birth, of laviſhing her huſband's riches upon her lovers, but was guilty of ſo many riots and murders about his father's court, which was held at *Tonon*, that the latter applied to his ſon the biſhop, and the ſyndic of *Geneva*, for an aſylum in that city, where he was accordingly received, and was lodged in the convent of the Grey Friars of *Rive*.

Remarkable adventure at Geneva,

THERE appears to have been ſome truth in part of *Philip*'s charge againſt his mother; for he interrupted a cargo of cheeſes that were conveying to *Fribourg*, in which a large ſum of gold was concealed. On this diſcovery, he found means to get admittance into *Geneva*, where he informed his father of his mother's practices, and reſtored to him all the money, excepting what he had beſtowed upon his accomplices. After this, *Philip* attempted to apprehend and puniſh all the *Cyprians* who were about his father's court; but they having taken refuge amongſt the inhabitants of the city, he was obliged to leave *Geneva*. The uxorious duke, far from being pleaſed with this diſcovery and reſtitution, accuſed the citizens of conſpiring with his ſon againſt him; and one of the ſyndics was hanged on that account. This did not appeaſe the duke: he prevailed with his ſon to put him into poſſeſſion of the archives of *Geneva*, which he carried to *France*, and preſented to *Lewis* XI. who ſent them to *Lyons*, where *Spon*, who was a phyſician in that city, conſulted them, when he compoſed his hiſtory. The duke, at the ſame time, prohibited all merchants, travelling to or from his country, to go by the way of *Geneva*; and prevailed with the king of *France* to impriſon *Philip*, whom he offered to ſet at liberty, if the *Genevois* would acknowledge the duke for their ſovereign; but they rejected the terms. In the year 1465, duke *Ame* IX. of *Savoy*, proſecuted his father's deſigns againſt *Geneva*; but was, at laſt, obliged to reſtore the intercourſe between his ſubjects and the *Genevois*; an act which the late duke had made uſe of as an argument of their dependency upon the houſe of *Savoy*. *Ame* IX. died in 1472, and left his wife *Yoland*, ſiſter to *Lewis* XI. of *France*, guardian to his children. *John Lewis* of *Savoy* was ſtill biſhop of *Geneva*, which he governed by vicars; and the dutcheſs *Yoland* was in that city when *Charles* duke of *Burgundy*, being defeated by the *Swiſſes* at the battle of *Morat*, took refuge at *Gex*, in the neighbourhood of *Geneva*. The dutcheſs went with her children to pay him a viſit; but the duke detained her priſoner by force; and would have ſeized the perſon of the young duke her ſon, had he not been hid in a corn-field by one of her domeſtics. After this, the duke's *Lombards*, as they are called, ravaged

which loſes its records.

Troubles of Geneva,

the

the neighbourhood of *Geneva*; the bishop of which, by way of retaliation, hanged up all the duke's subjects that were found in *Geneva*, to the number of two hundred. This did not prevent the victorious *Swisses* from ravaging the state of *Geneva* in their turn; but they were, with some difficulty, prevailed upon to desist, and to agree to a conference at *Fribourg*, where the *Genevois* and *Savoyards* consented to raise a sum of money, of which two thousand eight hundred crowns of gold were to be furnished by the *Genevois* for paying the *Swiss* troops. The interruption of the intercourse with *Savoy* had impoverished the *Genevois* so much, that they were unable to raise the sum so soon as the *Swisses* demanded; so that about two thousand of them mutinied, and, breaking from their commanders, they would have plundered the city, had not the people of *Ligne* interposed, and obtained time for the *Genevois* to raise the money; which they did, with the utmost difficulty, by melting down their church-plate, and that of private citizens, besides laying heavy taxes on the people. This transaction happened in 1476. Next year the bishop, wisely considering the *Swissers* to be the natural allies of *Geneva*, proposed a perpetual league between them and the *Genevois*; but the latter were so jealous of their bishop's intentions, that they rejected his proposal; and he was obliged to limit the duration of the league to the term of his own life.

which leagues with the Swissers.

THIS year was distinguished by some very remarkable adventures at *Geneva*. The bishop had two favourites, the one *Pommieres*, the other *Chissy*; the former of whom, being disgusted, retired to *France*; and, by representing the duke of *Savoy* and the bishop of *Geneva* as enemies to that crown, he obtained the bishopric of *Vivieres*. He proposed to the *French* king, at the same time, to surprise *Chissy* at the bishop of *Geneva*'s court, and to carry him into *France*, till he should be forced to reveal all the bishop's secrets. He undertook to execute this infamous exploit himself; and accordingly repaired, with three or four of his brethren, to *Geneva*, on pretext of seeing their friends, and staid there fifteen days; during which time their other accomplices, by degrees, dropt into the city, till *Pommieres* thought them numerous enough to execute his purpose. Being well acquainted with the bishop's court and manner of living, and that his guards served only for shew, early in the morning the conspirators rushed into the bishop's bedchamber, where they found *Chissy*, whom they carried out in his shirt, with his hands bound behind him, to be put on horseback, the bishop not daring to oppose them. The youngest brother of *Pommieres*, during this

A. D. 1477. *History of the bishop's favourites.*

this tranſaction, was amuſing himſelf in entertaining ſome ladies of the court; and, before he could make his retreat, was taken priſoner, and by the biſhop put into the cuſtody of the relations of *Chiſſy*, who thereby obtained his liberty, by being exchanged for the other. This did not ſatisfy the biſhop, who, in the year 1479, underſtanding that the biſhop of *Vivieres* was at *Piedmont* upon a party of pleaſure, he ſurpriſed him at the head of about forty horſe, and killed him with his own hand as he was ſitting at table, ſome of his companions undergoing the ſame fate.

Famine in Geneva. In the year 1480, the city of *Geneva* was viſited by a famine, and ſo great a mortality, that ſeven thouſand of its inhabitants died; as did their biſhop, *John-Lewis*, the year following, of a peſtilential fever at *Turin*. This prince and prelate has the character of being brave and generous; but very amorous. Though he was, in general, vindictive, yet he had ſentiments of juſtice, as appeared by his forgiving a miller, who beat him for being too intimate with his wife, and making him a preſent of the cloaths he wore when he underwent the diſcipline.

Diſputes about the ſucceſſion to the biſhopric. Upon the death of the biſhop *John-Lewis*, the pope, the chapter, and the people, were divided in giving him a ſucceſſor. The pope appointed his nephew, *Lauro Vere*, cardinal of *St. Clement*'s; the people were for *Francis*, archbiſhop of *Auch*; and the chapter choſe *Urbain* of *Chivron*, who reſigned his right to *Francis* of *Savoy*, as the cardinal of *St. Clement*'s did his to *Compois*, biſhop of *Turin*. *Francis* of *Savoy*, however, by the aſſiſtance of his family, drove *Compois* out of *Geneva*, and taking poſſeſſion of the ſee, he is noted for ſpending four hundred crowns at an entertainment which he gave to his brother *Philip*, lord of *Breſſe*, and his nephew *Charles*, duke of *Savoy*. *Compois* ſought relief at *Rome*; and, after ſome ſtruggle, matters were ſo compromiſed, that *Francis* of *Savoy* remained biſhop of *Geneva*; and, being like his predeceſſor, a laic, he had vicars who officiated under him, and took upon himſelf the title of adminiſtrator and protector of that church. Being ſettled in his new dignity, he prevailed with his nephew the duke of *Savoy*, and the earl of *Genevois*, to retract ſome acts which they had paſſed in prejudice of the church of *Geneva*; and the duke obtained leave to reſide in that city. Upon the death of *Francis*, in 1490, *Charles* of *Seyſſel* was choſen biſhop of *Geneva*; but *Anthony Champion*, chancellor of *Savoy*, was appointed by the pope. Both parties obſtinately ſtanding to their claims, *Champion* having got the metropolitan of *Vienne* on his ſide, and being aſſiſted by the lord of *Breſſe*, took arms and drove his antagoniſt out of the

the city. In the following year, one *John Gay* instigated the peasants about *Fourigny*, to an insurrection against their nobles, who oppressed them. They were encouraged by the example of the cantons of *Switzerland*, to make this attempt for asserting their liberty; but being no more in number than one hundred and twenty, they were first prevailed upon by the lord of *Bresse*, with fair words, to return home, after committing many outrages; and being dispersed, they were taken and executed as rebels.

Philip *of* Savoy *bishop.*

UPON the death of *Champion*, *Philip* of *Savoy*, who was but seven years of age, was chosen bishop of *Geneva*; and his election was confirmed by pope *Alexander* VI. who assigned the bishops of *Lausanne* and *Nice* for his guardians. Like some of his predecessors, he had a warlike turn; and, after his father's death, he threw off the ecclesiastical habit. In 1498, *Philibert* duke of *Savoy* came to *Geneva*, and was so delighted with its situation, that he obtained leave of the bishop and the magistrates, not only to reside there, but to keep courts of justice for his own subjects only. He was attended by *Rene*, his natural brother, a young man of a haughty tyrannical disposition; and to him the duke, who was immersed in pleasure, committed the management of his affairs. *Rene* having a particular spite against the *Genevois*, sought to make his brother absolute in that city; and under the colour of the court of justice that had been erected, he arrested one *Levrier*, a *Genevois*, which was so much resented by the bishop and syndics, that they cut off the right hand and head of a *Savoyard*, who had been guilty of coining money within their state.

SECT. II.

Geneva *recovers its Liberty from the Duke of* Savoy; *Agreement between the Duke of* Savoy *and the City*; *Imprisonment of the* French *Ambassador*; *History of* Berthelier *of* Geneva; *Original of the Word* Hugonots; *Alliance between* Geneva *and* Fribourg; *Struggles between the* Genevois *and the Dukes of* Savoy; *the Dawnings of the Reformation in* Geneva; *Agreement between the Protestants and* Romanists *in that City, where* Farel *preaches, and where the Mass is abolished in* 1535.

Geneva *asserts its liberty.*

THE *Genevois* maintained their liberties against the repeated attacks made upon them by the dukes of *Savoy*, under most amazing disadvantages. As those princes were in

a manner poſſeſſed of the keys of their city, the little trade the *Genevois* carried on lay at their mercy; and money, almoſt unknown to the inferior ranks of the people, was very ſcarce with their ſuperiors. Notwithſtanding all thoſe diſcouragements, their love of independency made them happy; and they had the ſpirit to oppoſe *Rene* in all his tyrannical practices. The reſidence of the duke of *Savoy* in their city, though it brought them ſome money, corrupted the manners of their youth, and gave *Rene* hopes of ſucceeding in his ſchemes of tyranny. He accuſed one *Eyria*, a *Genevois* gentleman, of having entered into a conſpiracy with a phyſician of *Lyons* to poiſon the duke; and having trepanned the phyſician, he was brought bound hand and foot to *Geneva*, where he was thrown into the priſon of the iſland, and beheaded, after being put to the rack by *Rene*'s orders. This inhuman proceeding exaſperated the magiſtrates and inhabitants of *Geneva*, who had in vain remonſtrated againſt it, ſo greatly, that *Rene* durſt not venture to put to death *Eyria*, who eſcaping out of priſon, fled to *Bern* in *Swiſſerland*, and prevailed with thoſe virtuous republicans to lay the oppreſſions and miſconduct of *Rene* before the duke his brother. At the ſame time, a bare-footed friar, in preaching before the duke, compared him to a great purſe, which was filled with a great many ſmaller purſes, all ſtuffed with money, alluding to *Rene* and his aſſociates, but, properly ſpeaking, had none belonging to itſelf. This ſermon, and the remonſtrances from *Bern*, opened the eyes of the duke, who gave *Rene* three days for leaving his dominions, upon pain of death. *Philibert*, at the ſame time, perceiving he had no right to *Geneva*, retired to *Chambery*; and thus *Geneva* once more recovered its independency.

and recovers it.

Duke of Savoy *renews his claims upon it.*

EYRIA was then called home; but ſoon after the plague broke out in the city, and diſſentions prevailed amongſt the citizens. By the conſtitution of *Geneva*, and indeed the ſame prevails in other republics, no man could be judicially put to death there, without confeſſing the crime for which he ſuffered. One *Cotton* being capitally convicted, died on the rack rather than confeſs; and this accident was repreſented in ſuch colours of inhumanity to the duke of *Savoy*, that he renewed his claim of juriſdiction over the city. The *Genevois* were forced to ſuffer the matter to be referred to arbitration; and the arbiters, though moſt of them were the duke's ſubjects, giving ſentence againſt him, he ſwore by God and *St. Peter*, that he would deſiſt from his claim, and leave the death of *Cotton* to the cognizance of his nephew the biſhop, when he ſhould come of age. This happened in the

the year 1503, while *Geneva* was afflicted with an intolerable famine.

NEXT year was remarkable for the reign of one *Mortel*, a thief of peculiar art and address in *Geneva*. Neither locks nor bolts could withstand him; but he was so moderate in his depredations, that he generally left behind him more than he carried off; and he was so punctual in paying his debts and tavern bills, that he was every where well received, which made the common people entertain a notion, that he was assisted by fascination, or witchcraft. He was, however, sometimes apprehended; but so extraordinary was the strength of his constitution, that he endured the torture, and even made slight of it, so that he was always acquitted. He was as singular in his death as in his life. He fell sick of the plague, and his mother who attended him, seeing him deprived of speech, and afraid that he might recover, through the strength of his constitution, shut him up in a coffin, and had him buried alive. Duke *Philibert* of *Savoy*, a prince of a mild and equitable disposition, died in 1504, and was succeeded by his brother *Charles*. This prince, more ambitious than *Philibert*, being at variance with the inhabitants of *Valey*, obtained of the *Genevois* an aid of two hundred men, which were sent him under captain *Burdignin*. He then demanded from them six pieces of ordnance, which, at the instigation of *Peter Faccon*, *Levrery*, *de Fonte*, *Hurich*, and other leading men, were refused him. The duke vowing revenge against those citizens, they purchased, by the payment of a crown a year, the protection of the canton of *Fribourg*, with liberty to reside still at *Geneva*. The duke of *Savoy* refused either to enter the city, or to swear to maintain its privileges, till *Levrery* was delivered into his hands; upon which the latter was imprisoned by the bishop's chancellor. The canton interposed; and the other cantons shewing dispositions to protect the liberty of *Geneva*, *Levrery* was not only set at liberty, but sent to the bishop, who was then at *Piedmont*, to complain of the encroachments of the duke's officers upon *Geneva*; and *Anthony Pecolat*, another citizen, was sent to complain to the duke himself, who being apprehensive of a confederacy of the *Swiss* cantons against him, consented to come to *Geneva*, where he and his mother received small presents of plate from their state, and not only swore to maintain its privileges, but acknowledged that the court of justice, which he held in the town, was merely by the indulgence of the syndics and council.

A remarkable robber.

Beginning of the alliance between Geneva and Fribourg.

IN the year 1510, *Philip* of *Savoy*, after being bishop of *Geneva* for fifteen years, resigned his bishopric to *Charles* of

Succession and disputes of the bishops.

Seyssel, brother to that bishop who had been driven out by *Champion*; and *Charles*-himself was made earl of *Genevois*, and afterwards duke of *Nemours* in *France*. *Seyssel*, soon after his election, obtained from the emperor *Maximilian*, king of the *Romans*, a confirmation of the city's privileges. Next year the walls round *St. Gervais*, one of the divisions of *Geneva*, were finished; the expence being defrayed by an excise on wine, and a loan of money. The duke of *Savoy* offered to assist them with workmen, and they accepted of his offer; but not till he had given it under his hand, that he assisted them only as a neighbour, and not on account of any right he pretended over their city. Notwithstanding this declaration, he laid a deep scheme for subverting the liberties of *Geneva*, by effecting a peace between the king of *France* and the *Swisses*, whom he persuaded to interpose in his behalf with the *Genevois*. It had been usual for the latter, before their breaches with the house of *Savoy*, to hold annual fairs; and the disuse of them was of great prejudice to both parties. The duke proposed to restore them, and thereby to renew the footing of his family in *Geneva*, as well as to increase his revenue, by the toll upon goods brought through his country. The terms, however, that were annexed by the duke to this proposal were,

Proposals of the duke of Savoy

"FIRST, that the city and bishop should appoint an officer to keep account of the profit of each fair, one third part of which should be given to the duke, bishop, and city. Secondly, that the city should, once a year, make a present to the duke. Thirdly, that the warding the gates should belong to the duke, during the time of the fairs. Fourthly, that the duke should have, henceforward, fines paid for every new building, both in city and suburbs."

rejected.

As those proposals tended towards a direct superiority of the duke over the city, the *Genevois* unanimously rejected them. Notwithstanding this the duke, who was a thorough politician, tried other means to accomplish his ends. Several meetings were proposed, and some were held, but all to no purpose; so jealous were the citizens of his views. Corn this year was so scarce at *Geneva*, that one *Francis Mallet*, the dean of the chapel of the *Maccabees*, lent his plate to the magistrates of the city, who caused it to be coined for the supply of the poor; and he was for this generous humanity made a citizen *gratis*.

A. D. 1512.

Danger of Geneva

IT must be acknowledged, notwithstanding all the precautions the *Genevois* had taken to secure their liberties against the house of *Savoy*, they were still very precarious. The duke's vidame was in possession of the island of the *Rhone*, where

where the prison for lay-persons stood, as that for the clergy did within the bishop's jurisdiction. The vidame's jailor had been excommunicated for debt, and was arrested by the bishop's officers; and those of the vidame, in their turns, imprisoned them. A tumult ensued, and the vidame was forced to surrender himself prisoner to the bishop's people; but at last mutual releases passed on all sides, and all appeared satisfied.

from the duke of Savoy.

BOTH the duke of *Savoy* and the bishop were then absent from *Geneva*; but both of them, on this occasion, repaired to that city. The duke laid hold of the opportunity to revive his claims upon the sovereignty of *Geneva*; but the matter being fairly discussed, it appeared that the vidame was to blame. Not satisfied with this, the duke still insisted upon his rights, and that the bishop should put to death the citizens we have already mentioned, who had obtained the protection of the canton of *Fribourg*, he not daring to do it by his own authority, for fear of provoking the *Swiss* confederacy. The bishop shewing a becoming firmness against this demand, the duke told him, that as he had made him bishop, he would strip him of that dignity, and render him the poorest priest in his diocese. The bishop, however, died in 1513, lamented by the people of *Geneva*, for the prudence, rectitude, and steadiness of his conduct; and his death bade fair to overthrow the constitution of *Geneva*.

and the pope.

THE *Genevois*, who were no strangers to the encroachments of the pope, and the ambition of the house of *Savoy*, shut the gates of their city upon the death of their bishop *Charles* of *Seyssel*; and the chapter chose for their bishop *Amé*, abbot of *Beaumont*; an ecclesiastic of noble extraction, and a fair character, only too much addicted to women. This choice being made, the chapter obtained the concurrence of the confederate cantons; and a joint letter was sent, with a deputation to the pope, at the abbot's expence, for a confirmation of his election; but his holiness had already been prevailed upon by the duke of *Savoy*, to grant the dignity to *John* of *Savoy*, prothonotary of *Auch*. This *John* of *Savoy* was the reputed natural son, by a common woman, to *Francis* of *Savoy*, bishop of *Geneva*, and had been provided for by the duke in an obscure station in the church. Being of a mean appearance, and of an abject disposition, the duke thought him a proper person to be preferred to the see of *Geneva*, as fearing from him no opposition to his ambitious views. It is even said, not without probability, that *John*, before his promotion, took an oath, by which he promised to comply with whatever the duke should command, with regard to his claims on the city.

John *of* Savoy *bishop.*

The *Genevois*, unable to withstand at once the papal and the ducal power, were obliged to receive him as their bishop; and he entered upon his office with great pomp, and at first with appearances of moderation and generosity; for he even obtained a promise from the duke of bringing the fair from *Lyons* to *Geneva*, with great advantages to the last.

Dispute about a French ambassador.

TOWARDS the end of the year, *Villeneufe*, the *French* king's minister, having disobliged the *Swiss* cantons, in his return to *France* stopped at *Geneva*, where deputies from *Bern* and *Fribourg* demanded of the magistrates and council, that he should be put into their hands; and in case of non-compliance, they threatened them with an immediate invasion. The bishop was then absent, and the danger was pressing; for the protection of *France* was at too great a distance to shelter them from the resentment of the cantons. After deliberation it was resolved, to put the ambassador under arrest; that a guard should be raised, and the gates shut, to preserve the public peace; and that, in the mean time, he should be lodged in the episcopal palace. Nothing, however, would satisfy the cantons, but that the ambassador should be immediately delivered up, while the court of *France* as strenuously insisted upon his being released. The syndics and magistrates applied to the bishop, who refused to give the ambassador up, because his enemies might put him to death; and advised the magistrates not to comply, because their compliance would be a kind of acknowledgment of superiority in the cantons over the city, besides making the *French* king and nation their enemies. The *Swisses*, however, proving intractable, and seeming determined to put their threats into execution, the magistrates told them, that though they could not deliver the ambassador up, yet the deputies might take him by force, which they accordingly did; and he was carried prisoner to *Bern*, where he underwent the rack; but was afterwards set at liberty.

who is carried off:

and about the rights of the Genevois,

THE connection by marriage that happened between the family of *Medici* and the duke of *Savoy*, gave the latter great hope of prevailing with hope *Leo* X. to authorize his claim upon the sovereignty of *Geneva*. To facilitate this, he obtained from the bishop a conceſſion of all his rights over that city. The pope would readily have agreed to this request; but it was opposed by the conclave, who were of opinion, that the bishop's resignation of his temporalities to the duke was invalid. In the mean while it appeared, that the bishop was no better than the dependent and vassal of the duke. He was deeply in debt, on account of the expences of his nomination at the court of *Rome*; and the duke of *Savoy* received the revenues of the bishopric, and the abbey of *Pignerol*; so that

that the prelate uſed to ſay, that he had nothing belonging to a biſhopric about him, but his mitre and croſier ſtaff. His poverty led him to oppreſs the poorer clergy, and thoſe who had ſuits in his court; ſo that he ſoon became equally hateful and deſpicable in the eyes of the *Genevois*. At laſt, being ſupported by the vidame, he wrongfully impriſoned a lawyer of good character, one *Vandel*, who had four ſons, who reſolved to reſcue him; and the people taking their part, the biſhop and the vidame were abandoned, even by their own creatures, and were obliged to releaſe the priſoner; but he harboured an implacable reſentment againſt thoſe who had been moſt forward to oppoſe him, particularly againſt one *John Bernard* and *John Pecolat*. *who prevail.*

THE latter, in converſing with the biſhop of *Maurienne*, and the abbot of *Beaumont*, who were complaining of the wrongs they ſuffered from the biſhop, jokingly deſired them to be eaſy, intimating that the prelate (A) would not be long lived, being already far gone in the venereal diſeaſe. Theſe words being repeated to the biſhop by one of his ſpies who overheard them, he pretended that they implied a deſign againſt his life; and one of his ſervants happening to die of eating too heartily of a diſh of unwholſome fiſh that had been prepared for the biſhop's table, and ſeveral others falling ill of the ſame, he pretended that they had been poiſoned by *Petolat*. *Perſecution of* Pecolat, *and other* Genevois.

AMONGST the reaſons urged by the cardinals againſt the validity of the biſhop's conceſſions of his temporalities, the ſtrongeſt was, that it could not take place, but in caſes where the people are in rebellion againſt their biſhop, and he too weak to reduce them. The duke of *Savoy* and the biſhop, therefore, omitted no means to provoke the *Genevois* to rebel; and the natural vivacity of the *Genevois* laid hold of every opportunity to turn the biſhop and his officers into contempt. At laſt, upon an occaſion which is too ridiculous for hiſtory to tranſmit, the duke and the biſhop came to *Geneva*, with an intention to puniſh ſome young men, particularly one *Berthelier*, who had been guilty of ſome frolics againſt the biſhop's officers. They were attended by the archbiſhop of *Turin*; but upon examination the affair was ſo far from deſerving the name of rebellion, that, by the archbiſhop's advice, the perſecution was dropt againſt all but *Berthelier*, and one or two of the principals, who were particularly obnoxious to the eccleſiaſtical power, and to the *Savoyards*.

(A) His expreſſion was proverbial, *Non videbit dies Petri*, which is applied to popes when they are near their end (1).

(1) *Spon. pag.* 53.

Cruelty used against Pecolat,

THE bishop began now to despair of being able to prevail against the *Genevois* within the city, and withdrew to *Focigny*; where, in concert with the earl of *Genevois*, the duke of *Savoy*'s brother, and other noblemen of that court, he apprehended *Pecolat* at the village of *Presinge*, together with his companion, and one servant. *Pecolat*'s process had been privately drawn up by the vidame of *Geneva*; and being brought prisoner to the bishop's house at *Forigny*, he was there three times put to the rack, to make him confess a design against the bishop's life, on account of the words he had dropt, and the accident of the dish of fish. *Pecolat* denied all; but at last worn out by the force of torments, and being told that his companion's servant had accused him, he answered whatever they desired him to say. The inhabitants of *Geneva* took *Pecolat*'s part, and remonstrated to the duke of *Savoy* upon the injustice of imprisoning him without the city, and trying him before any jurisdiction but that of the syndics, who were his lawful judges; upon which he was carried to *Geneva*, and being imprisoned in the castle on the island, he retracted all he had said, as having been extorted from him by the force of torments. A dispute then arose between the syndics on the one part, and the duke and the bishop on the other; the latter insisting that *Pecolat* ought to be racked again. The syndics, though they were afraid of the duke, hesitated upon this; and the prisoner, under pretence that he was a clerk, and not amenable to a temporal jurisdiction, was carried to the bishop's prison. The barbarity of his enemies went so far, that perceiving him to be proof against the rack, they imagined that he was assisted by some supernatural power which lay in his beard, and ordered a barber to cut it off. *Pecolat*, knowing what torments were intended against him, and afraid of his own weakness, had the resolution to snatch the barber's razor, and to cut out part of his own tongue. This, with the torments he had suffered, procured him many friends; and the officer who was to pronounce sentence against him, not only refused to perform that office, but advised him to appeal to the archbishop of *Vienne*, who sent an order to stop all proceedings against him, even by the bishop himself. One *Victor*, a young man of spirit, had the courage to serve this order upon the bishop; upon which *Pecolat* was removed to the castle of *Peney*, belonging to the duke. The consequence was, that the bishop, disregarding the summons of his metropolitan, was excommunicated, as were all his officers, which created such a tumult in the city, that the clergy joined with the people, and forced the bishop's officers to release the prisoner, which was done just at the time when an order came from *Rome*, annulling the sum-

who cuts out his own tongue.

mons and the proceedings of the metropolitan. *Pecolat*, we are told, afterwards recovered the use of his speech, because he had cut off only part of his tongue; but he attributed the same to a miraculous intercession.

Remarkable persecution of Berthelier.

In the mean while, the case of *Berthelier* proved still more interesting to the duke and the bishop. He was a young man of great resolution, vivacity, and address, and had always distinguished himself against the family of *Savoy*. Perceiving that the duke and the bishop were resolved, at any rate, to put him to death, he escaped in disguise to *Fribourg*, where he had purchased the privilege of a citizen, and engaged the *Fribourgers* so much in his interest, that they not only sheltered him, but sent a messenger to the duke and the bishop, to request that *Berthelier* should either be tried at *Fribourg*, where they might send lawyers to assist at the trial, or before the syndics of *Geneva*, if they would furnish him with a safe-conduct to that city; but with a condition annexed, that some of the *Fribourgers* should be present at his trial. The duke and the bishop declined both those proposals; and the duke himself made a journey to *Fribourg*, but without being able to prevail with the *Fribourgers* to deliver up *Berthelier*. At last, rather than exasperate the *Fribourgers*, and embroil themselves with the other cantons, the duke and the bishop granted a safe-conduct to *Berthelier*, in the terms he had demanded, and he presented himself before the syndics. He boldly justified all he had done against the duke and the bishop, and set aside *Pecolat*'s evidence as being extorted by the rack; so that nothing appearing against him but a few youthful frolics, the syndics would have acquitted him, had they not been deterred by the power of his persecutors, who offered him a pardon, which he refused to accept of, as having been guilty of no offence.

His courage.

BERTHELIER was so far from being intimidated by this persecution, that during its continuance he was pursuing the plan of an alliance between *Fribourg* and *Geneva*, as the only means of securing the independency of both states; and the house of *Savoy* was equally intent upon defeating it, great numbers of the inhabitants of *Geneva* being *Savoyards*, and attached to that interest. This encouraged the duke to proceed with cruelty against such of the *Genevois* as he found in his own dominions; and he put to death at *Turin*, two young gentlemen of respectable families at *Geneva*, as being accomplices with *Berthelier*, after extorting a confession from them by the force of torments. A copy of this confession was sent to the syndics of *Geneva*, who paid no regard to it, and who sent deputies to the duke and the bishop, complaining loudly of what had been done. The duke dissembled; but the

Threats of the bishop against the Genevois.

the bishop threatened the city with the utmost penalties, if the magistrates did not renounce their connexions with *Fribourg*, and give up *Berthelier* and his accomplices to punishment. *Spon*[a] informs us, that the deputies had been debauched by the duke and the bishop, who gave them an answer in writing, such as the deputies themselves dictated; but the letter was not to be delivered till the syndics and council of *Geneva* had sworn to comply with the contents. The deputies returning, after an absence of five or six weeks, acquainted first the lesser, and then the greater council with the preliminary conditions; adding, at the same time, that if they were not complied with, the duke had sworn that no *Genevois* should possess his property in safety. The council treated this absurd and imperious proceeding with the indignation it deserved. They refused to take the oath; and returning the letter unopened, it was with difficulty the people were prevented from throwing the deputies into the *Rhone*.

Their alliance with Fribourg.

The independent *Genevois* now were sensible that nothing could save their liberties and estates from ruin, but the conclusion of the alliance proposed by *Berthelier* with *Fribourg*. *Besançon Huges*, one of the syndics of *Geneva*, befriended it warmly; but the *Savoyard* party was so prevalent at *Fribourg*, as well as *Geneva*, that it met with great difficulties; and at last *Besançon* proposed, that if the alliance could not be rendered general, that an association should be entered into between its friends in both cities; those in *Geneva*, amounting to three hundred of the principal and most resolute of the citizens, who had set their names to the form of an association for that effect. Those associators were, by the *Savoyard*, termed *Eignots*, a *Swiss* or *High German* word, which signifies confederates by oath; and *Spon*, with great appearance of justice, thinks that from thence arose the famous word *Hugonot*, notwithstanding the various other etymologies that are assigned to it. The *Eignots*, on the other hand, called the *Savoyard* party *Mamalukes*, in allusion to the *Egyptian* soldiery, who, being originally Christians, had renounced both their religion and liberties, to become slaves to the sultan. The *Savoyard* party in *Fribourg* objected to the proposed alliance, because it was not clear to them that the *Genevois* were an independent people, and at liberty to enter into such an engagement. This objection being reported by the deputies at *Geneva*, the citizens were split into factions and cabals. The duke of *Savoy* and the bishop, perceiving that the *Eignots* had the majority in *Geneva*, complained to the *Fribourgers* of their debauching their subjects from their allegiance. The

Origin of the word Hugonot.

[a] Ibid. pag. 61.

Fri-

Fribourgers, in answer to this, affirmed, that the magistracy of *Geneva*, in temporals, were independent of the bishop; and that if the duke would prove his sovereignty over that city, they would proceed no farther in the alliance; and that they were willing to enter a saving clause in the treaty as to his rights, till they could be judicially discussed. They added, that they were so far from being enemies to the bishop's ecclesiastical authority, that they were ready to defend it against all who should attack it.

Complaints of the duke of Savoy and the bishop.

THE duke and the bishop, far from being satisfied with those answers, complained of the *Fribourghers* in the next general assembly of the confederate cantons, for admitting the *Genevois* into their burghership, alledging, that the *Genevois* by their constitution could pretend to no right of burghership, being only *inderfassen* or inhabitants of their own country, by sufferance from the house of *Savoy*, whose dominions surrounded them. This plea was refuted by the *Genevois*, who produced evidences that the dominions he held about *Genea*, had formerly belonged to them. While those disputes lasted, the abbot of *Beaumont*, and *Bonnivard*, prior of *St. Victor*, two young citizens, warm in the cause of liberty, and several other inhabitants, with the consent of the council of *Geneva*, took up their burghership in *Fribourg*; and at last the alliance between that city and *Geneva* was fully completed, and *Berthelier* was formally acquitted by the syndics, of all the crimes that had been laid to his charge, by the bishop having only a slight fine imposed upon him for his youthful excesses.

THE duke of *Savoy* now perceived that the *Genevois* set both his and the bishop's power at defiance. At first he proceeded with temper, and joined with the bishop in sending one *Salleneufe*, a man of experience in business, to be their temporal deputy in *Geneva*; but the inhabitants disowned his authority. The duke had no better success in the complaints he had brought before the general assembly of the cantons; and while he endeavoured to amuse both the *Fribourgers* and the *Genevois* with terms of accommodation, he secretly assembled an army of seven thousand men at *St. Julien*. Before he began his march towards *Geneva* he sent a herald, who demanded audience in a full assembly of the council; which being convened, the herald refused to seat himself along with the syndics, but placed himself in a chair above them, alledging, that he appeared there as representing the duke of *Savoy*, the lord and master of their city. He then delivered his commission, which contained a demand, that the council should provide splendid and magnificent lodgings for the duke in their town-house, and that they should furnish him and his

company, which consisted of ten thousand men, with victuals and all fitting entertainment, because, concluded he, the duke intends to appear with that equipage to do himself justice.

They declare the Genevois *rebels,*

THE reader, from what we have already mentioned, may easily form an idea of the arguments made use of to evade this demand; upon which the herald pronounced them to be rebels; and other ceremonies of the like kind passed on the part of his attendants, and all of them left the city. The magistrates were not wanting to themselves on this occasion; they made the best dispositions they could for their own defence; they obliged even the *Savoyard* party to take arms, and all of them appeared determined to defend their liberties to the last extremity. They sent messengers to acquaint the *Fribourgers* with what had happened, but they were intercepted by the duke's army, and put to the strappado, till they discovered all they knew with regard to the city. By this time the duke's army was increased to the number of ten thousand, and he was advanced as far as *Gaillard*. The *Fribourgers* suspecting what had happened, sent *Marty*, one of their number, to endeavour to persuade the duke to proceed no farther against their allies the *Genevois*. *Marty* reported his commission to the duke, who pretended, that he only wanted to enter *Geneva* as a friend, to put an end to the dissentions and heart-burnings of the inhabitants, and he sent *Marty* to persuade the *Genevois* to give him admittance; but in the mean while his army, which was destitute of great artillery, appeared at the gates of the city, while the citizens, who had never seen any action, deserted their posts, and a general confusion ensued. The magistrates in public demanded from *Marty* what they had to trust to from the *Fribourgers*, a suspension of arms having been granted by the duke till next morning. *Marty* frankly acknowledged that, however well affected his countrymen were towards the *Genevois*, their assistance must come too late to defend them from the duke; upon which the inhabitants threw down their arms, and gave over all thoughts of resistance.

and take Geneva,

NEXT morning *Marty* and the syndics sent to *Gaillard*, to capitulate with the duke, who promised to enter the city only at the head of five hundred men, besides his ordinary train. This capitulation, however, was most infamously broken. The earl of *Genevois*, the duke's brother, ordered the walls to be broken down, that the duke might enter as a conqueror through the breach; and soon after the whole *Savoyard* army marched into the city, where the soldiers were guilty of all manner of abuses and enormities, while the earl of *Genevois* took

took up his quarters in the town-houſe, and ſeized upon the public arſenal and artillery, as well as the keys of the gates. Not contented with this, proclamation was made by the duke's orders, that no citizen ſhould preſume to appear in the ſtreets, or even to put his head out of a window, under pain of being publickly whipped. Notwithſtanding this ſeverity, we are told, that ſome of the *Genevois* appeared abroad with their ſwords by their ſides, but were forced to undergo the penalty. It is probable that the *Eignots* within *Geneva*, ſtill depended on ſuccours from *Fribourg*, where the ſpirit ran ſo ſtrong in their favour, that the *Genevois* deputies obtained a company of infantry, which was ſoon after augmented to ſix or ſeven thouſand men, ſome of them *Savoyards*, and they formed themſelves into ſeparate bodies, under different colours. They ſet out on their march with incredible expedition, and perceiving that they could do nothing againſt *Geneva*, they marched to the country of *Vaud*, where they ſeized the duke's governor *Lullus*, and deſired him to acquaint his maſter, that he ought to beware in what manner he treated the *Genevois*, becauſe they were determined to make ſevere repriſals upon his ſubjects.

The duke was ſenſible that his ſoldiers were all undiſciplined and cowardly; and he took the advice of the *Fribourgers*, who entered *Morges* without reſiſtance. He immediately ordered another proclamation to be made, ordering, that none of the *Genevois* ſhould be moleſted either in perſon or eſtate, on pain of death, and then poſted a body of horſe to guard the important poſt of *Nyon*, which lies between *Morges* and *Geneva*, on the ſide of the lake. He ſent for the deputy of *Fribourg*, and deſired him to repair with his deputies to *Morges*, to endeavour to pacify matters, promiſing that no harm ſhould come to the *Genevois*. The deputy reflecting on the duke's late ſcandalous breach of faith with the *Genevois*, treated his requeſt with a mixture of indignation and ſcorn, and refuſed to obey it. The duke's deputies therefore repaired to *Morges* by themſelves; but meeting with no ſucceſs in their commiſſion, he ordered them to repair to the other cantons, and endeavour to prevail with them to interpoſe their authority with the *Fribourgers*. In the mean while he aſſembled the general council of *Geneva*, and he demanded of the members, that they ſhould renounce their burgherſhip with *Fribourg*, and ſend deputies to *Morges*, to aſſure the *Fribourgers* that they had ſuffered no outrages, and that *Huges* and *Malbreiſſon*, his coadjutor, had no public commiſſion from them. The *Fribourgers* treated this meſ-

but it is relieved by the Fribourgers.

ſage

A treaty. sage as being extorted by force, and carried their point. (B) The duke was forced to agree to make an immediate payment of four thousand crowns, upon their promising to return home, without doing any other damage to the country than living at free cost, and to withdraw his army from *Geneva*, without injuring either the city or inhabitants, whom he was to leave in full possession of their privileges. He found himself, however, under great difficulties, to raise the money; but at last the *Genevois* agreed to pay one half, and the earl of *Genevois* pledged his plate for the other, which was to be redeemed by the *Genevois*. The duke remained at *Geneva* sometime after his army had left it, and there, on account of the plague, he retired to *Tonon*, in the *Chablais*, from whence he sent a safe-conduct by the vidame *Consigli* to *Huges* and *Malbreisson*, desiring them to attend him. They obeyed him, but had so indifferent an opinion of his honour, that they left the safe-conduct in the hands of the wife of *Huges*, with instruction to send it to *Fribourg* if she heard they were detained. This was a necessary precaution; for they had not travelled a mile from *Geneva*, than the vidame inquiring about the safe-conduct, was told that it had been sent to *Fribourg*, but that they were very willing to return to *Geneva*. This put the vidame into a passion: when they arrived at *Tonon*, the duke, surprised and vexed at his disappointment, put them under a strict arrest; but dismissed them, after making them swear to renounce the burghership of *Fribourg*, and all public business without his leave. Soon after, by arresting *Porral*, who was secretary of *Geneva*, he got into his hands the contract of burgherships between that city and *Fribourg*.

In *May* 1519, the differences between the duke of *Savoy* and the two confederate states, *Fribourg* and *Geneva*, were laid before a general meeting of the cantons at *Zurich*, and accommodated on the following terms. "That the duke should desist from all attempts against the bishop and city of *Geneva*; in which case no use was to be made of the confederacy between *Geneva* and *Fribourg*, and the *Fribourghers*, who demanded more money, were exhorted to be content with the four thousand crowns they had already received." This accommodation being made under the sanction of the cantons, for some time restored peace to *Geneva*; and the *Eignots* and *Mamalukes*, as they were called, began to resume their intercourse with one another.

(B) This expedition happening during lent, when little food besides herrings were to be had, it was called the Herring campaign.

THOUGH

THOUGH the duke of *Savoy* was thus baffled in his attacks upon the independency of *Geneva*, yet having the biſhop at his devotion, he was ſtill very powerful in that city. Having *fled*, ſtill an implacable thirſt of revenge againſt *Berthelier*, he employed the vidame *Conſigli*, who was a thorough paced ruffian, to arreſt him in the biſhop's name, which he did near the gates of *Geneva*. *Berthelier*, on this occaſion, behaved at once like a philoſopher and a patriot, though offered his life if he would ſubmit to the duke, and own him as his maſter; and being carried to the priſon on the iſland, he refuſed to be examined by any but his lawful judges the ſyndics; upon which, without any farther ceremony, his head was next day ſtruck off (A), by the ſentence of the biſhop's provoſt. The *Eignot* party were ſtruck with conſternation at *Berthelier*'s death, and the *Fribourgers* demanded ſatisfaction for it; but the duke threw the blame of it upon the biſhop. By this time the *Savoyard* party had got a great aſcendency in the government of *Geneva*; and the *Fribourgers*, who ſought only a pretext to break with the duke, demanded more money, while he, on the other hand, inſiſted on ſatisfaction for the damages his country of *Vaud* had ſuſtained, and referred the *Fribourgers* for payment to the *Genevois*, whom, at the ſame time, he adviſed to pay no more. This management increaſed his party amongſt the citizens, who were diſguſted at the new demands of the *Fribourgers*; and he had even intereſt enough to get the new ſyndics ſet aſide, on pretence that they had not been legally elected, and that they had encouraged the *Fri-*

Duke of Savoy *baffled.*

(A) The reader perhaps will not be diſpleaſed, at being informed of a few more particulars of this extraordinary perſon. When he ſaw the vidame approaching to arreſt him, he knew his fate, but refuſed to make his eſcape, tho' he might have done it. When he gave his ſword to the vidame, he boldly told him to keep it well, for he muſt account for it; and when ſhut up in cloſe priſon, he was ſo unconcerned, that he diverted himſelf with a little ſquirrel, which he commonly carried about with him in his boſom. Though in mean circumſtances, yet he had learning and great parts; and being told he muſt die, he wrote upon his priſon wall, "*Non moriar ſed vivam, et narrabo opera Domini.* "I ſhall not die, but live and "declare the works of the "Lord." When he came to the place of execution, he was not ſuffered to ſpeak in public, and took very little notice of a confeſſor who was offered him. His epitaph was as follows:

Quid mihi mors nocuit? virtus poſt fata vireſcit.
Nec cruce, nec ſævi gladio perit illa tyranni. (1)

(1) *Spon. p.* 71, 72.

bourgers

bourgers in their exhorbitant demands. In their room were choſen citizens of the *Savoyard* party.

but prevails again.

THE magiſtracy and council being thus new modelled in favour of the duke and the biſhop, two deputies, *Richard* and *Goulaz*, were ſent by the ſyndics to the cantons at *Zurich*, to clear the duke from having any hand in *Berthelier*'s death, and to vindicate the biſhop's proceedings in that matter; to throw the blame of the *Fribourgers* demands upon the diſplaced ſyndics, and to exhort the deputies of the cantons to interpoſe with the *Fribourgers* to renounce their alliance with *Geneva*. In anſwer to thoſe inſtructions, the *Fribourgers* juſtified themſelves with great ſpirit and firmneſs, and repreſented the death of *Berthelier* in the blackeſt light; but, notwithſtanding all they could do, the ſenſe of the cantons, who were for preſerving the public peace, was in favour of the *Savoyards*. The duke of *Savoy* at this time reſided at *Geneva*; and, upon his departure thence, he appointed the ſieur *Salaigne* to be his vidame there, in ſtead of *Confex*, who was extremely unpopular. In the year 1522 died *John* of *Savoy*, biſhop of *Geneva*, whoſe body is ſaid to have been ſo emaciated with venereal diſeaſes, that after his death it weighed no more than twenty-eight pounds. He had in his life-time made *Peter* of *Baume*, who was of the noble family of *Montrevel* in *Breſſe*, his coadjutor; and he died expreſſing great remorſe for the troubles he had brought upon the *Genevois*, at the inſtigation of the houſe of *Savoy*. Next year *Peter*, having been choſen biſhop of *Geneva*, entered upon his office, after taking the oaths to qualify himſelf, which were as uſual adminiſtered by the ſyndics upon the bridge of the *Arve*. The new biſhop prevailed with the ſyndics and the magiſtrates to poſtpone the entertainments and ſhews, deſigned for him till the arrival of the duke and ducheſs of *Savoy*. This happened a few days after, and their entry was made at an expence, and with a pomp, to which the *Genevois* were entire ſtrangers. The young gentlemen of the city were dreſs'd in ſilks, velvets, and cloths of ſilver, and the ladies formed themſelves into a troop of *Amazons*, armed and diſciplined in the ancient manner. The ducheſs, however, having been diſappointed in her favourite ambition of lodging in the town-houſe, gave ſo little attention to the honours that were offered her, and beheld the *Genevois* with ſo diſguſting a coldneſs, that ſome of them ſhrewdly remarked, it had been more proper to have expended the money, in welcoming them to the city, upon fortifications to keep them out of it. The *Savoyard* party apologized for the behaviour of the ducheſs as owing to her education, and the cuſtoms of her native country,

Death of Peter *of* Savoy.

country, she being an infanta of *Portugal*. At last the *Genevois* were better reconciled to her manners, and the residence of the duke's court at *Geneva* making money circulate, nothing passed but mutual entertainments and feasts; and the duchess was brought to bed of a son at *Geneva*, who died soon after in *Spain*, before the father could perform his promise of making him prince of *Geneva*, the sovereignty of which was most passionately coveted by the duchess.

Danger of the Genevois losing their liberties.

THE duke of *Savoy* by thus enervating the minds of the *Genevois* made them forget the care of their liberties; and their dependency, which they had hitherto so jealously preserved, received daily violations. The inhabitants either neglected, or through their expences were unable, to repair the fortifications of their city; their bishop, though well intentioned, was voluptuous and indolent, and possessed so many livings under the duke of *Savoy*, that he durst not disoblige him; but above all the *Genevois* were deprived of all hopes of protection, either from the emperor or the king of *France*, who were at war with each other, while the duke kept himself neuter, with a view of becoming master of *Geneva*. In this state of affairs the duke, notwithstanding the last accommodation, carried his claims upon the sovereignty of *Geneva* higher than ever; and *Levrery*, the son of the lawyer of that name already mentioned, having the courage to oppose him, he was put to death, almost in the same manner as *Berthelier* had been, whom he imitated in his courage, constancy, and behaviour, disdaining to fly when it was in his power to have made his escape. While this tragedy was acting, the bishop, who ought to have interposed his authority to prevent it, was in *Piedmont*, but had left the care of the bishopric to his brother *Sorlin*, who was of the same character with himself, and withdrew to *Remilly*, to avoid being sollicited to interpose in favour of *Levrery*.

The Eignot party worsted.

HIS death brought the *Genevois* to a sense of their danger. *Richardet* was chosen one of the syndics, and called upon *Boulet*, the treasurer of the *Savoyard* party, to account for the public money which he said had been idly dissipated. *Boulet*, instead of complying, upbraided *Richardet* with being an *Eignot*; upon which the latter broke his syndical staff upon the treasurer's head. *Boulet* complained to the duke's council at *Chambery*; but the syndics refusing to acknowledge its authority, their estates in *Savoy* were confiscated, and they applied for protection to the bishop, whom they empowered to carry their complaints by way of appeal to *Rome*, he pleading inability to give them redress. But he was now intirely at the devotion of the court of *Savoy*; and he not only put into his

own pocket three hundred crowns, which had been given him to carry on the appeal, but prevailed with the general council to retract it, and to refer the matter to himself. This affair at first met with some approbation; but the duke's vidame proceeding to violence, forced the heads of the *Eignots* to fly from *Geneva*, some of whom were taken in their flight; but *Hugo* the chief, and a few of his friends, escaped to *Fribourg*. There they applied to the magistrates for protection in terms of the alliance between them; but receiving only fair promises, they addressed themselves to the states of *Zurich*, who at their request sent deputies to the duke. Upon their application, he readily agreed to the release of the prisoners, and the return of the exiles; but it was upon conditions so dangerous to the public liberty, that they rejected them, and once more applied for a general alliance with the confederate cantons.

Rise of the reformation.

THE reader is here to observe, that by this time the doctrines of *Luther* had made a vast progress both in *Germany* and *Switzerland*; and the cantons were so much divided in matters of religion, that they gave less attention than they otherwise would have done to the affairs of *Geneva*. The duke of *Savoy* was sensible of this; and coming from *Chambery* to *Geneva*, he ordered a general council of the inhabitants to be summoned, where he appeared attended by his chancellor and guards in all the state of a sovereign prince. His chancellor, without much preamble, demanded that the assembly should immediately recognize the duke's sovereignty, renounce all alliance with the *Swisses*, and disclaim all connections with the fugitives. But the people were less terrified than amazed at his proceedings, and refused to comply with any of his demands. He then changed his method of proceeding; and both he and his officers endeavoured to win them over by friendly protestations and fair promises, which made some impression upon the counsellors; but the syndics persevered firmly in their opposition. In about twelve days after, the *Swiss* deputies, from the cantons of *Fribourg* and *Soleurre*, came to the *Genevois*, and promised the inhabitants their assistance against all attacks upon their liberties and independency. This message was delivered, and debated upon in a general assembly of the *Genevois*, where the *Savoyard* party had such an ascendency, that the deputies were ordered to acquaint their principals, that the subjects of *Geneva*, who had applied to them for protection and assistance, had no legal authority for so doing, and that they were well satisfied with the duke of *Savoy*'s proceedings and intentions; and letters to the same purpose were sent likewise to the cantons of *Bern* and *Lucerne*.

ON the 10th of *December*, the duke ordered another general council to be convoked, where, amongſt other things for the eſtabliſhment of his own authority, he demanded, that the council ſhould renounce all foreign connections, which was accordingly agreed to and proclaimed. The chief *Eignots* diſowned the authority of this council, as being partial, irregular, and under undue influence; and on the 22d of the ſame month, *John Bandieres*, and the ſecretary *Vandelli*, preſented themſelves before the council, at the head of the wives and children of the fugitives, and above two hundred other citizens, who had ſigned a writing given in by *Vandelli*, approving of all that had been done with regard to the foreign alliances by the fugitives. This bold ſtand gave a favourable turn to the *Eignot* party; and it was agreed, that the biſhop ſhould be invited to return from *Pignerol*, and reſume his functions at *Geneva*. *Ambition of the duke of Savoy.*

HE was, by this time, tired of the mortifications that had been impoſed upon him by the duke of *Savoy*, and complained heavily of them to the ſyndics, promiſing to maintain their privileges to the utmoſt; but recommending to them ſecrecy in their proceedings, and their voting by ballot, as at *Venice*. This was a wiſe advice; and at the next election of ſyndics, *John Philippe*, who had great credit with the cantons of *Fribourg* and *Bern*, was choſen the chief. The *Eignots* now carried every thing before them. The fugitives returned to *Geneva*; and *Huges*, as then ſpokeſman, acquainted the council, that the cantons of *Bern* and *Fribourg* had agreed to enter into a defenſive alliance for twenty-five years, or for ever, as ſhould be thought moſt proper. The citizens had three days granted them to deliberate upon this propoſal; and then another general council being held by the ringing of the great bell, not above five or ſix members gave their negatives to it; but the biſhop, who was preſent, proteſted againſt every thing that might prejudice his authority. Thus the alliance was completed, and the permanent foundations of the *Genevois* liberty were laid. Eight *Genevois* deputies ſwore to the agreement at *Bern* and *Fribourg*, and as many from thoſe cantons did the ſame at *Geneva*, where they were received under the diſcharge of the city cannon, and entertained at the public expence, amidſt the loud and general acclamations of the people. *The Eignots prevail.*

THE clergy, who in general were devoted to the houſe of *Savoy*, were ſtartled at this revolution, but the ſyndics promiſed them protection, provided they behaved dutifully. The duke of *Savoy* repreſented the new alliance as being inconſiſtent with the engagements between him and the two cantons; *Exile of the Mamalukes.*

tons; but he received no other ſatisfaction than that thoſe engagements were ready to be diſſolved when he pleaſed. The chief *Mamalukes*, to the number of forty-two, were obliged to leave *Geneva*, and take ſhelter in *Savoy*; but it was intimated to them by the *Genevois* ſyndics, that they were at liberty to remain in *Geneva*, if they would behave like honeſt men. According to *Spon*[a], that was far from being their intention; for they entered into a conſpiracy with the vidame, who remained ſtill at *Geneva*, for ſeizing the chief *Eignots*, and cutting off their heads. This conſpiracy being diſcovered, the conſpirators were ſummoned by ſound of trumpet to appear, and upon their remaining contumacious, they were declared to be traitors, and their eſtates forfeited. *Gruet*, the biſhop's vicar, being ſuſpected of favouring the duke, was depoſed, and his place filled up by the abbot of *Beaumont*. The vidame himſelf at laſt fled, as did his deputy and jailor; and thus an end was put to all the authority of his court, which was the greateſt grievance the *Genevois* had ſuffered. In doing this, the ſyndics proceeded with great formality, and executed by their own authority a malefactor, who was confined in the vidame's priſon, their own common ſerjeant acting the part of his provoſt. After this the duke of *Savoy*, whoſe arms over the caſtle gate in the iſland were broken down, and his officers, never more exerciſed any juriſdiction in *Geneva*.

and expulſion of the Savoyard *power out of* Geneva

THIS great revolution was planned and completed, with a perſeverance, moderation, and regularity, which do not always reſide with the ſpirit of liberty; and it muſt be acknowledged, it was chiefly owing to the diſcernment, honeſty, and abhorrence of tyranny in the *Fribourgers*, who brought the *Bernois* into their confederacy. The *Genevois* did not, as was too often the caſe with the other republican ſtates of *Italy*, proceed with rancour againſt their antagoniſts. They agreed, at the biſhop's interceſſion, to readmit into the city ſuch of the *Mamalukes* as ſhould behave with moderation, upon their paying a fine; but this reconciliation was prevented by the duke of *Savoy*, who threatened, if the *Mamalukes* agreed to it, to treat them as enemies, and if they did not, to reſtore them upon honourable terms. His chief dependence was upon his intereſt with the confederate cantons; but the allies gave him to underſtand, that he had no grounds for hope from that quarter, and that they would hear no arguments he could urge in favour of his claims upon *Geneva*. Thoſe altercations continued till the 22d of *December*, 1526,

[a] SPON. p. 32.

and

and were renewed next year; when the duke refused to make satisfaction for some murders committed by his subjects upon the *Genevois*, or to suffer the fugitive *Mamalukes* to appear at *Geneva*, though they were offered letters of safe-conduct by the bishop.

THE latter was now so much in the interest of the confederates, that the duke's party formed an ambuscade for carrying him off, as he was going to say mass without the town, and this obliged him to retire to *Franche Comte*, having first cancelled all the evidences of his opposition to the confederacy. Fifteen days after his retreat, he sent a letter, or the copy of one, written by the emperor to the duke of *Savoy*, injoining him to desist from all his claims of sovereignty over *Geneva*, which was an imperial city. By this time the *Mamalukes* had removed their cause before the archbishop of *Vienne*, but the great council of the *Genevois*, encouraged by the imperial letter, refused to acknowledge that tribunal; and an act was passed, that no *Genevois* from thenceforward should prosecute a suit before that court. In the mean while the duke of *Savoy* was so much exasperated with the bishop, that he confiscated all his livings in *Savoy*, but offered to restore them if he would join with him in establishing the vidamate in *Geneva*; which the bishop was so far from doing, that he remitted all his own temporal power to the syndics, for the ease of the suitors in his court. *Danger of the bishop.* A. D. 1527.

A WHIMSICAL institution which took place at this time, had almost overthrown the new established liberty of *Geneva*. Certain *Vaudois* gentlemen eating broth with wooden spoons at the castle of *Vaud*, some of them proposed in jest to join together, to oblige the *Genevois* to make use of the like spoons. The joke soon grew serious; a fraternity of the Spoons was instituted; each member hung his spoon about his neck by way of badge, and *Francis* of *Pontverre*, who had the reputation of a good soldier, was chosen to be their captain. The duke of *Savoy* seemed to dislike this association at first, but was better reconciled to it, when he perceived that those knights of the spoon made war in earnest upon the *Genevois*; so that in a very short time, he and they came to a good understanding with each other. The *Genevois* applied to their confederate states for succour; but unfortunately for them, the two cantons of *Bern* and *Fribourg* were at variance together, on account of religion. All they did at first was to send deputies to persuade the knights to forbear hostilities; but that proving ineffectual, they sent two companies of soldiers, of about eight hundred each, who pretending that they were obliged only to defend the city, and not to *History of the fraternity of the spoon.*

act offensively against the duke's subjects, with whom they were in alliance, lay idle in and about *Geneva*, where they ate and drunk of the best at free cost. The truth is, neither of the cantons at this time chose to provoke the duke; and nothing, worth mentioning, was done to suppress the knights for above two years. During this time, the *Mamalukes* continuing contumacious, sentence of death was pronounced against them by the syndics.

Perplexing situation of the Genevois.

In the year 1528, the *Genevois* found themselves in a very perplexing situation. Their friends, the *Bernais*, had driven the *Roman* catholick religion out of their jurisdiction, while the *Fribourgers* zealously retained it: and the *Bernois* wanting to propagate their new faith amongst certain peasants, whom the *Fribourgers* pretended to be their subjects, each state applied to *Geneva* for assistance. This was a case that had not been provided for by the articles of the alliance; and the *Genevois*, to please both parties, sent each a company of one hundred and fifty men; that designed for the assistance of *Bern*, being commanded by *John Philippe*, and the other by *Richardet*. The reconciliation that soon after happened between the two cantons, prevented any bad consequences from the absurdity of this conduct; for both parties returned home without coming to action. All this while the knights of the spoon were insulting the *Genevois* under their own walls; and a difference happening between *Huges* and *Bonivard*, no care was taken to repel them effectually. The *Genevois* laboured at this time under a more essential difficulty. Their city was filled with the reformed fugitives from *Fribourg*, and *Roman* catholics driven from *Bern*. The latter state exhorted them earnestly to forsake the errors of popery, and the *Fribourgers* to stick close to the religion of their ancestors, under the forfeiture of their friendship. Both parties agreed upon the necessity of reforming the clergy; and the *Genevois* consulted *Bonnivard*, the abbot of *St. Victor*, on that head, as being a man of honesty and understanding. His answer was, "If you will be ruled by me, you shall do one of these "two things: that is, if you continue debauched, as ye are "at present, you must not wonder if others be so too: and, "secondly, if you will reform the clergy, you must first "shew them the way by your good examples." An incident that happened soon after, more fully explained *Bonnivard*'s sentiments. The *Mamalukes* had obtained from the archbishop of *Vienne* a writ of excommunication against the *Genevois*, for their contempt of his authority, and it was fixed up in most public places. *Bonnivard* travelling along with the *Genevois* deputies, observed one of those writs fixed up in the high

high road, and stopped to read it, which they were simple enough to dissuade him from doing; "for (said they) as soon as ever you shall have read it, you will stand excommunicated." He smiled at their simplicity, and replied, "You are much mistaken; for if ye have condemned the *Mamalukes* unjustly, ye are excommunicated by God himself; but if justly, what power has the archbishop of *Vienne* over your consciences?"

THOSE are incidents material to the knowledge of the original of *Geneva*'s reformation. The good sense of *Bonnivard* created doubts, and a spirit of inquiry in the minds of the *Genevois*; and being already sufficiently exasperated by the spiritual claims of the *Romish* clergy, the more they inquired, the more they were disposed to embrace the doctrine of the reformers. While this suspence lasted, there was a cessation of hostilities between the *Genevois* and the knights of the spoon; but *Pontverre*, in marching through *Geneva*, openly expressed himself in terms so insolent, and at the same time so threatening to the *Genevois*, that they were alarmed, but without daring to shew their resentment. Next year, in passing through the city slenderly attended, some of the inhabitants who knew him put him to death, though in no very warrantable way; but the syndics, though they did not approve of the action, protected his followers, and sent his body for interment to his friends, who complained to the duke of his murder, as it was called. Though the duke had no great regard for him, yet he sent deputies into *Switzerland*, who complained bitterly of the *Genevois*; but they were so well vindicated by *Vandelli*, who escaped all the ambuscades laid for him by land, by crossing the lake in a boat, that the cantons would take no cognizance of the matter. This exasperated the fraternity of the spoon still more, who received fresh assistances from their allies; and the cantons of *Bern* and *Zurich* interested themselves so far in their quarrel, that they sent deputies to inquire into the grounds of it, and to report the same at a meeting of the cantons, which was to be held at *St. Julien*. Their report was so favourable for the *Genevois*, that after various negociations, the duke of *Savoy* was prevailed upon to pay the auxiliaries from *Bern* and *Fribourg*, and to admonish the knights of the spoon to forbear their hostilities against the city. His admonitions were disregarded, and their insults continued even to the plundering some houses in the suburbs. The rest of the year was spent in various altercations about dissolving the fraternity of the spoon, which was generally looked upon to be an illegal and a predatory institution; but nothing effectual was done, saving that the *Bernois* and *Fribourgers* renewed their assurances of friendship

Rise and progress of the reformation at Geneva.

A. D. 1529.

for the *Genevois*, and cancelled their treaty of alliance with the duke of *Savoy*.

Encreaſe of the power of the magiſtrates.

By this time the biſhop of *Geneva* had laid aſide all buſineſs; ſo that the magiſtrates were obliged to re-eſtabliſh a kind of commiſſion for managing the affairs of the biſhopric, and *Richardet* was choſen his ſteward, with four aſſiſtants, who have ever ſince been called auditors. When this regulation was intimated to him in the *Franche-comté*, he approved of it; but was ſo immerſed in indolence, that he deſired to have no further concern in the matter, that he might do nothing farther to exaſperate the duke of *Savoy*, with whom he had renewed a correſpondence. Next year the plague raged in *Geneva* to ſuch a degree, that a ſet of miſcreants, who had recovered from it, and therefore thought themſelves proof againſt it, entered into a confederacy for propagating it; but being diſcovered, they were puniſhed with the moſt exquiſite tortures. Both the duke and the *Knights of the Spoon* continued their hoſtilities againſt *Geneva*; and the biſhop, who remained ſtill in *Franche-comté*, was prevailed on to give them his countenance. This encouraged them ſo much, that they formed a ſcheme for ſurpriſing the city itſelf, by ſcaling the walls in the night-time. Their courage failed them in the attempt; but they plundered the ſuburbs of *St. Leger*. Not only the allies, but the other cantons of *Swiſſerland*, conſidered the caſe of the *Genevois* as a common cauſe; and, ſays *Spon*[a], "There ſet out from *Bern* ſeven thouſand men, and twelve pieces of ordnance, under the conduct of the governor of *Erlach*; from *Fribourg* two thouſand, with four pieces of cannon; and ſome time after, five hundred from *Soleurre*, with two pieces of cannon. Two or three thouſand volunteers joined this army." All thoſe auxiliaries arrived at *Morges*, where they ſtaid four days, while the knights thought proper to break up their camp. This army, however, which was more formidable than any that had been ſeen for ſome hundreds of years in thoſe parts, ſtruck the duke of *Savoy* with very ſerious apprehenſions; and he ſent *de Vauru* to aſſure the *Genevois*, that he knew nothing of the late attempt upon their city, though *de Vauru* had appeared as one of the heads of the knights.

Danger of Geneva,

which is delivered by its allies.

The leaders of the confederates, while at *Morges*, propoſed terms of accommodation between the duke and the *Genevois*; but the latter earneſtly deſired to have a conference with him at *Geneva*. Upon the army of the cantons decamping from *Morges*, and looking upon the *Knights of the*

[a] Ibid. p. 92.

Spoon,

Spoon, as being no better than outlaws and ruffians, they burned down the caſtle of *Rolle*, and moſt of their houſes in the *Vaud*, and then marched to *Geneva*, where they arrived about the 8th of *October*. A peace was propoſed between the duke and the *Genevois*, and haſtily concluded at *St. Julian*. The terms were, "that the priſoners ſhould be releaſed on both ſides; and that no acts of hoſtility ſhould paſs from either party, under penalty, on the duke's part, of the forfeiture of the country of *Vaud*; and of the *Genevois*, of the revocation of the alliance." It is probable, that the *Genevois* agreed to this peace, chiefly with a deſire to get rid of their friends, who had conſumed all that was eatable in their territory, and left the inhabitants on the point of ſtarving. Nothing had been ſtipulated either as to the vidamate or the alliance; and the duke of *Savoy* continued to inſiſt upon the revival of the one, and the diſſolution of the other, in an aſſembly of the cantons held at *Payerne*, *December* the 3d. He likewiſe inſiſted upon the fugitive *Mamalukes* being reſtored to *Geneva*, and to all their honours and eſtates there; and upon his being paid two hundred thouſand crowns, to indemnify him for the expences of the war. The deputies of the cantons were for referring the matter to the emperor; but that expedient was rejected by the *Genevois*, who inſiſted upon referring it to a general aſſembly of the cantons. The affair came before the latter on the 31ſt of the ſame month; and their determination was, that the affair of the fugitives ſhould be poſtponed; that the alliance with *Geneva* ſhould be confirmed; that *Bonnivard*, who had been illegally impriſoned by the duke, ſhould be releaſed; and that the duke ſhould pay to the three cities twenty-one thouſand crowns, which he was to raiſe upon the biſhop of *Geneva*, and the *Knights of the Spoon*; and that the agreement at *St. Julien* ſhould ſtand good, but that the vidamate ſhould be reſtored to him.

A peace.

A. D. 1530.

Differences ariſe anew.

THE duke rejected all the terms of this arbitration that were in his own diſfavour; but appointed a perſon to act as his vidame. The *Genevois* would not admit him, becauſe the other articles were not complied with, and fortified their city, ſo as to ſecure it againſt all ſurprize; while the duke, on the other hand, threatened to raiſe an army of ten thouſand men to reduce them, and prohibited all manner of proviſions from being carried into the city out of his dominions. But the religious diſputes, which now began to be very warm at *Geneva*, promiſed him greater advantages than all he could hope for from his arms, as they threatened an utter diſſolution of the confederacy.

Conduct of the duke of Savoy.

CERTAIN young *Genevois*, either from a ſpirit of controverſy, or the love of truth, fixed up in all public parts of the city,

Progress of the reformation in Geneva.

city, a number of propositions, which they undertook either to defend or confute; but the tendency of the disputations was generally against the established religion. The reader who reflects upon that invincible love of liberty that was inherent in the natives of *Geneva*, and the perpetual struggles they had with their bishops, whose lives were far from being exemplary, cannot be surprised that the *Genevois* imitated their neighbours the *Swisses*, in canvassing the absurdities in religion. By what can be gathered from their history, the ecclesiastics amongst them differed in little or nothing from the laity, excepting in their hasty performances of their modes of worship; for they served in their armies, and wore swords when they appeared abroad. One *Veily*, a canon, drew his sword upon one of those young *Genevois* disputants, who stood upon his own defence; and a fray ensued, in which several persons were wounded. Upon this the syndics published an order against all such public disputations for the future, and against the broaching of new doctrines. Soon after this order was published, the *Bernois*, who were extremely zealous for the conversion of the *Genevois*, persuaded *William Farel*, an eminent reformer, and *Anthony Saunier*, to repair to *Geneva*, where, though in defiance of the civil power, they preached the new doctrines as they were called, and gained many secret converts. The clergy took the alarm; and though two syndics were their friends, they were obliged to leave the city. Their place was supplied by *Anthony Froment*, one of *Farel*'s disciples; a brisk lively young man, who introduced himself under the character of a reading and writing tutor into many families, where he instructed his pupils, their parents, and friends, in the principles of the reformed religion; but his success chiefly lay amongst the women. His mission was not long a secret; for his audiences soon grew so crouded, that the magistrates could no longer wink at such assemblies; and an order was issued from the council, commanding him to desist. This order was delivered to him by the common serjeant, while he was in the middle of his sermon; but he returned the usual answer on such occasions, that it was better to obey God than man. This answer being reported to the council, a warrant was issued to apprehend him; and this obliged him first to abscond, and then to leave the city. Those proceedings made great noise in the cantons of alliance. The *Fribourgers* repeated their threatnings to break with the *Genevois*, if their magistrates did not effectually put a stop to the new doctrine. The answer of the magistrates was, that they had done all they could, and that they would strengthen the ecclesiastical power for that purpose. It is likely that they were not very sincere in those confessions, for

Disputes about religion.

or the reformed daily encreased; and the *Roman* clergy, the more the *Genevois* read the scripture, became the more detested. At last, in one of their assemblies which they held in a garden, one *Guerin*, a cap-maker, took upon him to administer the sacrament, for which he was obliged to fly the city. It must be acknowledged, that those first reformers amongst the *Genevois*, were not remarkable for their meekness. Several tumults happened between them and the established clergy; and blows were frequently dealt between the followers of both parties. The magistrates, however, continued to protect the Papists, and to banish such of the Protestants, particularly *Olivetan*, as were most forward in preaching and disturbing the public peace, by presuming to accuse the mass of idolatry.

THIS offended the *Bernois*; and they in their turn threatened to break with the *Genevois*, if their magistrates continued their severities against the reformers. Thus the city was divided between the *Bern* and *Fribourg* interest. The *Romish* clergy had still great credit; they complained that the threatening letters which had been sent from *Bern*, had been procured from thence by the reformed faction at *Geneva*; and while the council was assembled, about two hundred of the *Roman* Catholics called out for justice against the reformed, whom they threatened to punish if the magistrates declined it. This tumult being appeased, with great difficulty, and by fair words, four days after another of a more threatening nature broke out. One *Baudichon* had assembled, at his house, about two hundred reformed, all of them men of spirit and courage, well armed, and determined not to be insulted by the *Romanists*. The popish part, on the other hand, assembled in great numbers in the church of *St. Peter*; and great preparations were made on both sides to come to bloodshed. Two of the syndics repaired to *St. Peter*'s, and two to *Baudichon*'s, to endeavour to compromise matters. In the mean while the great bell was rung by the *Romanists*, which was a signal for all of them to put themselves in arms. Some eminent citizens were wounded; the city gates were shut; the great artillery was drawn out against *Baudichon*'s house; and some of the council put themselves at the head of the *Romanists*. It happened, as it generally does on those occasions, that father was divided against son, and husband against wife, and all burned with irresistable fury; so that nothing was now expected but an unnatural scene of blood. The priests blew the flame, as believing their party the most numerous; but the syndics, by their incessant labours for peace, brought the reformed in *Baudichon*'s house to consent

The Bernois offended.

to

An insurrection, to a treaty. This proposal was rejected by the *Romanists*, who advanced to the assault; but understanding that they would meet with a warm reception, they halted, and began to listen to some *Fribourg* merchants, who happening to be in the place, interposed, and brought both parties to consent to a parley. This interposition being seconded by the prudence of the syndics, three hostages on either side were interchanged for keeping the peace; and next day the articles of agreement were published by the syndics. The substance of them was,

and accommodation. THAT all enmity should cease on both sides, in words as well as deeds: that none should rail against the sacraments of the church; but that all persons might use their own liberty: that flesh should not be eaten on *Wednesdays* and *Saturdays*: that none should preach without licence from the syndics and superiors; and that nothing should be maintained in sermons that could not be proved out of the holy scriptures. Those articles were solemnly sworn to, the syndics taking the oath of the laity, and the vicar, of the clergy, for their observance.

The Fribourgers *demand satisfaction.* IT is easy to perceive, that, by this concordate, the reformed, or as they were then called, Gospellers, carried their main points. The *Bernois*, sensible of the strength of their party, sent a herald to desire that *Peste* and *Baudichon*, two of the chief Gospellers, should not be molested; and after *Easter* they sent *Farel* and another minister to *Geneva*, to dispute with the popish preachers. This renewed the tumults. The *Romanists* met together in a quarter of the city called *Molard*. Swords were drawn; the great bell was rung, and the canon *Verley* appeared armed from head to foot, brandishing a naked sword, as the champion of the *Romanists*. Above seven hundred appeared on each side, and *Verley* was killed in endeavouring to make his retreat; while *Coquet*, a syndic, was wounded in the head, in endeavouring to separate the combatants, which was at last effected with great difficulty; and two of the ringleaders were imprisoned. *Verley* happening to be a *Fribourger*, that canton demanded satisfaction, not only on those who actually killed him, but on *Coquet* and the magistrates, who had not suppressed the tumult. Some days after deputies came from *Bern*, who acted as mediators; and at last it was agreed, that every person might be at liberty to go either to mass or sermons, as he pleased; and this compromise was likewise sworn to, the other standing still in force.

THE bishop, all this while, was absent; but was now in hopes that the divisions of *Geneva* would render his presence there

here so necessary, that he might re-establish his authority. On the 1st of *June* he arrived at that city, having been met a league out of town by the syndics. His first care was to release several ecclesiastics out of prison, and then he assisted with the *Fribourg* deputies, at a general council, which was held after mass. In that council a president of *Franche-comté* harangued the members, in favour of the bishop, and against the Gospellers. It soon appeared, that the reformation had taken too deep root to be crushed by his authority amongst the *Genevois*. *Verley*'s kindred having assembled one hundred and twenty men at *Fribourg*, passed the lake, and advanced to *Gaillard*, from whence they sent to *Geneva*, and once more demanded justice for their kinsman's death. Here the old dispute between the bishop and the syndics, concerning jurisdiction in capital cases, was revived; and he was given to understand, that he had no power to judge the prisoners; upon which, finding all his endeavours in vain to establish his authority, he hastily left *Geneva*, about the middle of *July*, and retired into the duke of *Savoy*'s dominions. In the mean while nine men and a woman were indicted for *Verley*'s murder, before the attorney-general; and being acquitted, the attorney offered to enter an appeal, which was rejected, the syndics acquainting him, that they owned no superior on earth, and therefore would admit of no appeal. To prove, however, that they were in earnest to punish the murder, one *Thoberet*, who was convicted of having stabbed *Verley*, was publicly executed. This example of justice did not quiet *Verley*'s relations, who fell upon the *Genevois* Gospellers wherever they met them; and those bickerings were often attended by bloodshed.

The bishop returns to Geneva.

FROMENT was now returned to *Geneva*, together with one *Alexander Camus*, another reformer; while one *Furbity*, a doctor of the *Sorbonne*, appeared at *St. Peter*'s church, in the champion for popery. The indiscreet zeal of *Froment* and *Camus* led them to break the late pacifications, by publicly contradicting *Furbity* in the church; upon which *Camus* was banished, and *Froment* put under arrest. This proceeding disobliged the *Bernois*, whose religion being *Lutheran*, was not implicitly embraced by the reformed of *Geneva*. It is probable, likewise, that the syndics neither approved of the indiscretion of the reformed preachers, nor of the forwardness of the *Bernois*, in pressing upon them their religion. The *Bernois*, on the other hand, were disgusted with the slowness of the syndics; and to quicken them, they demanded the arrears owing them on account of the late war. They likewise insisted upon *Furbity* being punished, for preaching

Demands of the Bernois

ing erroneous and blasphemous doctrine, and complained of the treatment of *Froment* and his companions. The *Genevois*, upon the *Bernois* deputies entering the city, took them to be *Lutheran* ministers; and the Papists, both laics and ecclesiastics, ran to arms; but understanding how matters went, they were quieted. Upon the application of the deputies to the council, the custody of *Furbity* was offered to the grand vicar, who refused to receive him; and the council made the best apology they could to keep the *Bernois* in temper. Soon after a herald came from *Fribourg*, complaining that *Farel*, who was returned to *Geneva*, was suffered to preach, and again threatening to break off their alliance. The episcopal and *Savoyard* parties foresaw that it would be impossible for the syndics to preserve their alliance both with *Bern* and *Fribourg*, and this encouraged the grand vicar, on the 1st of *January* 1534, to give notice to all the parishes, that none should presume to preach, either in public or private, without licence from the bishop or himself; and that all the inhabitants should, under pain of excommunication, burn the *French* and *Dutch* bibles.

Insisted upon.

THREE days after fresh deputations, on the former account, arrived from *Fribourg* and *Bern*; but the latter were by far the most importunate. They demanded the arrears that were owing to their state, and insisted upon satisfaction for *Furbity* having railed against their religion. The *Genevois* promised the payment of all that was justly due to them, but pleaded that they had no power over *Furbity*, because he was an ecclesiastic. Upon this the deputies, in a rage, threw upon the table the letters of association; but took them back upon *Furbity* being ordered to answer for himself in the town-house. This revived the dispute between the spiritual and temporal courts. Though the magistrates had declared, that they did not mean to injure the bishop's rights, by ordering *Furbity* to answer before them; yet the bishop sent express orders, that his case should be remitted to the ecclesiastical court; while the *Bernois* insisted, with equal perseverance, upon his being tried by the syndics alone, and that one of their ministers should be permitted to preach in *Geneva*.

Conspiracy discovered.

IT must be acknowledged, that the *Genevois* magistrates had, at this time, a most difficult task to manage; but the discovery of a dangerous design formed against their liberties soon determined the part they were to act. Amongst other instances of bloodshed between the professors of the two religions, one *Pennet*, a Papist, killed *Perral*, a Protestant; and the murderer, accompanied by *Portery*, the bishop's secretary, took refuge in the steeple of *St. Peter*'s church, with design

to ring the great bell in the night-time, and alarm their party. The syndics, in being informed where they were concealed, entered the church, made both of them prisoners, and *Pennet* next day lost his head. *Portery*'s house was then searched, and many blank commissions, and other papers, sealed with the duke of *Savoy*'s coat of arms, were found in his closet, with an order for appointing a governor over *Geneva*, who was to act, in temporals, as the bishop's lieutenant, and to punish the reformed with the utmost severity. Papers of the same import were likewise found under the bishop's hand; and, in short, a discovery was made of a design to render *Geneva* subject to the house of *Savoy* and the bishop.

THE evidences of this conspiracy were read on the 10th of *February*, in the general council, convoked for electing the syndics, and produced great effects. The *Bernois* deputies animated the *Genevois* against the *Savoyard* party, and promised, in the names of their principals, to stand to their alliance. *Portery*'s indictment was drawn up, and his relations pleaded the bishop's pardon in bar to his trial; but the syndics refused to admit it; and being convicted of man-slaughter, treason, and sedition, he was executed according to his sentence. This served to encrease the intestine divisions of the city, where, after the discovery of the late conspiracy, the magistrates evidently leaned to the reformers. The ridiculous expedient of a public disputation between *Furbity* and the ministers was tried before the council of two hundred, who condemned *Furbity* to make a public recantation in the church of *St. Peter*, of the expressions which had given offence to the *Bernois*. He was accordingly led to the pulpit, and the form of the recantation put into his hands; but instead of pronouncing it, he began to harangue the auditory in favour of popery; upon which he was pulled from the pulpit, and kept close prisoner. He was not the only preacher whom the *Bernois* complained of; they accused the preacher of *Rive*, one of the parishes of the city, of maintaining doctrines that were not to be found in the scripture, extracts of which they produced in writing. The syndics answered, that the preacher should be warned not to propogate such doctrines for the future. The *Bernois* then complained of one of their ministers having been banished the city; but the syndics and council replied, that they could not repeal his sentence of banishment. Lastly, the deputies desired that they might be allowed a chapel and chaplain for themselves; both which were accordingly granted them.

Consequences of it.

BY this time, the reformed had secretly taken a resolution to try their strength with the *Roman* Catholics, and endeavoured

Progress of the reformation,

voured to get possession of the church of *Rive*. For this purpose a reformed minister openly contradicted a preacher, who had delivered a sermon there on the first *Sunday* in *Lent*; and on the 1st of *March*, *Baudichon* and *Amy Perron*, with other vigorous reformers, obliged *Farel* to get up into the pulpit, after the preacher had finished his discourse, and to confute him. This was the first time that the reformed had preached in a regular place of worship within *Geneva*; nor does it appear after that, that they ever quitted possession of the church of *Rive*, where they not only preached, but baptized, married, and administered the sacrament. Some of the counsellors and new deputies from *Fribourg* complained of those proceedings, as encroachments and breaches of the late pacifications. The magistrates laid the fault upon their allies of *Bern*, whom they said they could not disoblige at a juncture so critical to their liberties; and they exhorted the *Fribourgers* to join them in defending them against the bishop, which they were so far from doing, that they utterly renounced their alliance with them, by tearing the seals from the treaty. Thus an alliance, which was formed upon the noble principles of liberty, was cancelled through fantastic differences in religion.

which gains ground.

On *Whitsun-eve* the heads of the images over the church gates were struck off, by some unknown offenders; and *Bernard*, a priest of *St. Peter's* church, renounced popery, and was married by *Peter Vieret* to *Amy Perron's* sister. In short, the party of the reformers every day gained ground. This was the more extraordinary, as the episcopal and ecclesiastical power and property in *Geneva*, was at least equal to those of the temporal, and indeed can only be accounted for by the ignorance, heat, imprudence, and pride of the ecclesiastics themselves. Lamentable, however, were the divisions that reigned both in public and private, when the two parties came near to an equality, and which encouraged the bishop to attempt once more to re-assume his authority. He was supported by the duke and nobility of *Savoy*, who raised a considerable body of soldiers to assist him to enter *Geneva*, the gates of which were to be opened by his party within the city, while the charges of the cannon that defended the walls were to be privately drawn. The vigilant syndics, three of whom were now Protestants, discovered this conspiracy; and at nine of the night preceding the morning of the intended execution, they shut their gates, and put the inhabitants under arms; but continued the signals that were to be given to the bishop by his accomplices within the city. His scouts finding all the gates shut, and that all was quiet within, concluded

cluded that the design was discovered, returned to *Lebuyset*, within two miles of *Geneva*, where the bishop was; and thus the design came to nothing, the *Savoyards* only plundering a few open houses, and making *Peter Vandel* prisoner; but he was soon after exchanged. As to the bishop, he retired again to *Franche-comté*; and thinking that he was ill served in *Geneva*, he turned out his officers there, and settled at *Gex*; but the magistrates of *Geneva* refused to send him the seal of the bishopric when he demanded it.

A GENERAL assembly of the cantons was then held at *Baden*, and the *Genevois* laid their grievances before it. The *Bernois*, at the same time, sent deputies to desire the duke of *Savoy*, who affected to be in good understanding with them, not to abet the enemies of *Geneva*; but they received little satisfaction. The duke complained of the *Genevois*, for the indignities they had formerly done him, and of their lately demolishing his altar in the church of *Rive*; and not only demanded that the bishop should be re-admitted, but that his vidame should be restored in the city. In answer to this, the *Genevois* referred themselves to the treaties of *St. Julien* and *Payerne*; but refused to re-admit the bishop. Several other conferences were held on the same subject, at *Tonon* and *Lucerne*; but all was to no purpose. About this time the magistrates of *Geneva* had the honour of receiving a letter, written to them by the *French* king, informing them, that he had set at liberty two of their countrymen, *Baudichon* and *Cologny*, who had been imprisoned at *Lyons* for their religion, and requesting the *Genevois* to set *Furbity*, who was his subject, at liberty. Even that powerful intercession did not prevent the *Genevois* from asking leave of the *Bernois* before they would grant the request; and then *Furbity* was exchanged for *Saunier*, a minister. *An assembly at Baden.* A. D. 1535.

THE impolitic proceeding of the *French* king, who persecuted the Protestants within his own dominions, while he favoured them in the empire, was of vast service to the reformation in *Geneva*, as it filled that city with *French* refugees, and furnished them with men and preachers of far greater abilities than any the Papists had to oppose to them. New converts were likewise every day renouncing the errors of popery, even among their own clergy. During all those proceedings, the syndics took care to be attended with a captain and a herald belonging to the *Bernois*, to give countenance to their party. On the 4th of *April*, a woman, an inhabitant of *Bresse*, under pretence of being a proselyte to the reformation, came to *Geneva*, where she was discovered, and executed for attempting to poison three ministers. *Viret* *A female poisoner discovered.*

was the only one who tasted the poison, and it almost killed him. The woman accused a canon as being her confederate; and he was imprisoned by order of the syndics.

Unsuccessful attempt of the Genevois.

On the 5th of *May* the *Genevois* attempted to surprise the town of *Peney*, which they considered as belonging to their jurisdiction, though in possession of the bishop. Their attempt proved unsuccessful, though five hundred men and seven pieces of cannon were employed in it; and after losing two or three of their number, they returned to *Geneva*. This attempt, the justice of which does not clearly appear, occasioned hostilities to break out between the people of *Peney* and *Geneva*; and the latter, for that and many other reasons, proceeded in strengthening and augmenting their fortifications. The bishop and his court continued still at *Gex*, where he had the mortification to see an end of all his authority in *Geneva*. The syndics, on the other hand, affected to do nothing but upon the clearest evidences of scripture and reason. *James Bernard*, guardian of the convent of Grey Friars of *Rive*, and brother to the *Bernard* of the same convent, who had abjured popery the year before, held public disputations at the convent of *Rive*, against *Caroli*, a doctor of the *Sorbonne*, and *Chapuisy*, a *Dominican* friar, who were champions for popery. The bishop prohibited all his clergy, as the duke of *Savoy* did his subjects, from being present at those disputations; but they were mightily encouraged by the syndics, who ordered four secretaries to attend, and to take down all that passed at them, with a view of publishing it. On the 22d of *July*, *Farel*, at the head of many of his hearers, drove the *Romish* clergy and auditory out of *St. Magdelen*'s parish church, of which he took possession; and six days after he preached at *St. Gervais*, attended by a guard of fifty men, assigned him by the syndics, for preventing disturbances. On the 5th of *August*, he preached at *St. Dominick*'s; and at last, on the 8th of the same mouth, at *St. Peter*'s itself, under the sound of the great bell.

It was a misfortune, not peculiar to *Geneva*, that the spirit of her reformers carried them sometimes into unwarrantable, nay barbarous excesses. Being in possession of their churches, they not only destroyed the relics and images there, but demolished the statue of *Charlemagne*, which stood over the great gate of the church, which was erected by himself, as is most probable; an outrage that gave great concern to the lovers of antiquity and learning. Next day *Baudichon*, *Vandel*, and *Amy Perrin*, who had been appointed captains of the city-guard, went at the head of their men to the churches of *St. Gervais* and *Dominick*, where their zeal against popery led

ed them to deſtroy a noble picture which had coſt ſix hundred lucats; and they would have pulled down the fine chapel of Rene of *Savoy*, had not the ſyndics interpoſed with their ſtaves, nd prevented them. Next day *Farel* preached before the council of two hundred; and the 22d of *Auguſt* gave the fa- al blow to the *Romiſh* religion in *Geneva*, by the ſyndics paſ- ing an order for utterly abrogating the ſame, and for eſta- liſhing the Proteſtant doctrine. We know of no tumults that his great revolution of religion was attended with. The uns of *St. Clare* had leave, if they pleaſed, to continue in heir convent; but perceiving they could not be indulged with aving the maſs celebrated there, they begged to be carried o the duke of *Savoy*'s dominions, to which they were eſcorted y the ſyndics, and where the duke built them another con- ent at *Aney* (B).

The Roman Catholic religion expelled out of Geneva.

At this time, all the regular military force of *Geneva* mounted only to four hundred volunteers, who were com- anded by *Baudichon*, inſtead of the ſyndic *Philip*. *Claude* f *Savoy*, a *Genevois*, was ſent to *Bern*, to prevail with that anton to ſend them ſome aſſiſtance. The *Bernois* were then n good terms with the duke of *Savoy*, and offered to be me- iators between him and their allies; but declined to ſpare he troops that were required; upon which *Claude* went to aiſe ſupplies in *Neufchatel*. Having raiſed ſome, the depu- ies of *Bern*, as they were marching through their country, procured them to be diſbanded, while the *Savoyards* inter- cepted three of the *Genevois* deputies, and confined them in the caſtle of *Chilon*.

(B) Thoſe nuns were but nine in number, one having turned Proteſtant; and ſome of them had not, for thirty years, been out of the walls of the convent. They were a whole day in travelling to *St. Julien*, which is but a league; but were vaſtly aſtoniſhed when they found themſelves in the open fields, where they took the ſheep and oxen for lions and bears. Before their departure, *Farel*, with great zeal, preached a ſermon, in which he exhorted them to marry; but without any effect. Their journey is recorded by one of themſelves, called ſiſter *Juſſie*, in a little tract, entitled, *The Beginning of the Hereſy in* Geneva; which is written with inimitable ſimplicity.

SECT. III.

Containing the Progress of the Reformation amongst the Genevois, *and their Wars with the Duke of* Savoy; *Arrival of* Calvin *at* Geneva; *his History there, with that of* Servetus, *whom he procured to be burned*; Calvin's *Troubles and Death*; *Successes of the* Genevois *against their Enemies*; Beza *appears among them*; *and their History continued to the Year* 1603.

A. D. 1536. *Difficulties of the* Genevois,

NO people perhaps, under the denomination of a republic or a sovereign state, ever were at a lower pass than the *Genevois* were, when they had the spirit to reform themselves from the errors of popery; and what is still more, to shake off the yoke of their bishop and the duke of *Savoy*. They had amongst them neither trade nor manufactures, and so little money of their own, after the expulsion of the *Savoyards*, that it was with the utmost difficulty two pieces of coarse money of the *Geneva* coin were discovered, to be patterns for a new coinage. They were on all hands surrounded by enemies, who had every motive for hating them that revenge, ambition, and popery could inspire. They were even destitute of provision for their daily support; and now that their friends the *Bernois* had failed them, they seemed to be abandoned by all human aid, as the people of *Gex* had intercepted and cut off the few auxiliaries, who still appeared willing to follow *Claude*. The *Savoyards* had seized upon *Peney*, where they committed the most inhuman outrages, and carried away the inhabitants, whom they accused of treason, prisoners to *Gex*; but the *Genevois*, though thus surrounded with difficulties, and though they scarce possessed a foot of ground they could call their own, without their gates, never seemed to have entertained the least thoughts of submitting to their former tyrants, either temporal or spiritual.

who are oppressed by the Savoyards.

WHILE they were in this distress, they were relieved, by an accidental effect, of their poverty. Having no manufactures, and little agriculture of their own, the poorer sort generally sought their livelihood in *France*, where they were employed as printers and compositors, and in other ingenious arts, particularly about *Lyons*. Those poor journeymen could not withstand the call of their country's distress, and about six hundred of them took arms for her relief, being commanded

manded by one *Roboan*, a printer, and one *Francis* of *Montbel*, sieur of *Veray*. Beginning their march with that intention, they found the *Savoyards* in possession of all the passes as far as *Salleneuve*. Notwithstanding this they forced their way to *St. Claude*; and *Montbel* undertook to acquaint the *Genevois* of their approach, and to desire them to favour their entering the town, by making a sally. *Montbel* discharged his commission with great danger to himself; for being alone he was taken for a spy; and as he was approaching the gates of *Geneva*, he was fired upon by the inhabitants. He found means, however, to acquaint them with his instructions; and the *Genevois* made the sally accordingly with all their force and artillery. Both parties, however, were so ignorant in military discipline, that they missed each other upon the road, so that part of the auxiliaries fell into the hands of the *Savoyards*, and part threw themselves into *Geneva*.

Favourable turn of their affairs.

THIS reinforcement, inconsiderable as it was, gave a favourable turn to the affairs of the *Genevois*; it enabled them to make sallies, and to procure provisions. Though they were rather straitened than besieged in their city, yet they were threatened with all the miseries of a siege; but the fortune of the war was now changed, and they enlarged their quarters. Their enemies had taken the convent of *Our Lady of Grace*; but being obliged to quit it, the *Genevois* razed it to the ground; and on the 16th of *January*, they defeated their enemies, in an attempt they made to surprise their city by a scalade, on the side of *Gervais* and *St. Victor*. Those small successes, joined to the apprehensions of famine, gave them courage and an additional degree of weight with their allies of *Bern*, who, resenting the attempt of the *Savoyards* to surprise their city, declared war against the duke of *Savoy*, and sent him back the articles of agreement they had entered into with him, promising, at the same time, to send the *Genevois* a speedy reinforcement. This induced the duke to fill the neighbourhood of *Geneva* with an additional number of soldiers, in order to cut off all resources from the inhabitants. This was so far from discouraging the *Genevois*, that they resolved, under *de Veray*, to beat up the enemy's quarters; and accordingly, in a sally, they surprised a body of six hundred horse and foot, whom they cut into pieces, or made prisoners, with the loss of not above three or four of their own men. Some days after this action, being disappointed of the succours promised them by the *Bernois*, they fitted out a bark, and as many boats as carried eight hundred men across the lake, where they alarmed the country of *Savoy*, and plundered *Gentoux* and *Versoy*, even to the bells

of their churches. This expedition was commanded by *de Veray*, who next day took poſſeſſion of *Sacconex*, which had been abandoned by the enemy on the approach of the *Bernois* auxiliaries that were now in motion; and in thoſe two caſtles they found a vaſt quantity of proviſion, which they ſent to *Geneva*, where it proved a moſt ſeaſonable relief to the inhabitants: they then blew up the fortifications of *Peney*, which had long been a thorn in their ſides, and which they had not men to garriſon.

They are aſſiſted by the Bernois.

ABOUT the 31ſt of *January*, the *Bernois* auxiliaries were advanced in their march to *Geneva* as far as *Nyons*, having deſtroyed all that part of the *Vaud* through which they paſſed. *Charles* III. was then duke of *Savoy*; but he was ſo ill ſerved by his ſubjects, that he was obliged to take mercenaries into pay, who plundered his dominions equally as his enemies did, ſo that his ſubjects of the *Vaud*, as well as the *Chablais*, conſidered the *Bernois* rather as their protectors than their foes. The city and caſtle of *Gex* ſurrendered to the *Bernois*; as did *Tonon*, though lying on the other ſide of the lake; and the caſtles of *Juſſy* and *Gaillard* were, upon ſummons, delivered up to the *Genevois*. At laſt the *Bernois* auxiliaries, who, with thoſe of *Neufchatel*, did not amount to above ſeven hundred men, arrived at *Geneva*. In a council of war it was reſolved to attack fort *la Cluſe*, which they took, and ſent the garriſon, conſiſting of five hundred men, priſoners to *Gex*. But the joy of the *Genevois*, who returned from this expedition loaded with booty and proviſions, was greatly damped by the avarice and inſolence of their *Bernois* auxiliaries, who demanded, for their expence of the war, all the revenues of the vidamate and the biſhopric. The ſenate, on the other hand, repreſented to the *Bernois* the diſhonour of ſtaining the generous aſſiſtance they had given them, by a demand which would ſubject them to the ſame oppreſſion from which they had been relieved; and the demand ſeems, at that *time*, to have been dropt. The truth is, the *Bernois* were no inconſiderable gainers by breaking with the duke of *Savoy*. It gave them an opportunity of making themſelves maſters of *Lauſanne* and *Yverden*; and at laſt, by the help of the *Genevois* frigate, they took the caſtle of *Chilon*, where they delivered *Bonnivard*, who had been many years confined priſoner in a dungeon. The *French* king, *Francis* I. was maſter of the greateſt part of *Savoy*, *La Breſſe*, and *Piedmont*, and deſired the *Bernois* to confine their conqueſts within the *Vaud* and the *Chablais*. The *Fribourgers*, at the ſame time, though at peace with the duke, took poſſeſſion of the county of *de Romant*, leſt, as they pretended, it ſhould fall into the hands

of

of the *Bernois*. Thus the duke was ſtripped on all hands; and in the beginning of *May* this year, the *Genevois* poſſeſſed and garriſoned *Juſſy*, *Thy*, *Peney*, *Bellerive*, and *Seligny*; but demoliſhed the caſtle of *Gaillard*.

THE *Bernois* had never loſt ſight of their claim upon the *Genevois*, whom they now thought to be in a condition to ſatisfy it; and a meeting was held at *Bern* for that purpoſe, where matters were ſettled on the following terms. The alliance between the two ſtates was continued for twenty-five years; the *Genevois* obliged themſelves to pay to the *Bernois* ten thouſand crowns in ſix months time; the *Bernois* were to be admitted into *Geneva* as often as they thought proper, and to be put into poſſeſſion of the lordſhip of *Gaillard*, the abbey of *Bellerive*, and the caſtle of *Cholex*. Thus the *Genevois* preſerved the revenues of the vidamate, the biſhopric, and the valuable abbey of *St. Victor*. *A new alliance.*

FAREL, who ſeems to have had in his compoſition a ſtrong tincture of enthuſiaſm, ſtill continued at the head of the *Genevois* reformation; and it is more than probable, that the ſyndics thought he had too much ſway with the common people. The perſecution of the Proteſtants ſtill raging in *France*, the famous *John Calvin*, with his brother *Anthony*, came to *Geneva*, in his way to *Baſil* and *Straſbourg*. He was a man of parts and zeal for the reformation; and his learning was far ſuperior to that of *Farel*, who, with great difficulty, engaged him to remain at *Geneva*. By their joint labours the Proteſtant religion acquired great ſtrength; but the diviſions and imprudence of its profeſſors had almoſt ruined it. The *Bernois* were ſmitten with the itch of diſputation, upon the moſt ridiculous trifling matters of religion; and aſſuming a ſuperiority over the *Genevois*, preſſed the latter to comply with them in every whimſical article as a matter of ſalvation. In the year 1537, an Anabaptiſt endeavouring to introduce his doctrine into *Geneva*, was diſputed with by *Farel*, who prevailed with the magiſtrates to baniſh him and his followers out of the city. They retired to *Swiſſerland*, where the *Bernois* put ſome of them to death. In *March*, *Caroline*, a famous champion for popery, came likewiſe to *Geneva*; and *Farel*, after diſputing with him, prevailed with the magiſtrates to drive him out of their city likewiſe. *Farel* then preſumed to differ with the *Bernois*, upon the articles of making uſe of unleavened bread in the ſacrament; and of women being married with their hair diſhevelled. This created a breach in the friendſhip between the two ſtates; and *Calvin* joining with him in rejecting the doctrine of conſubſtantiation, it was widened. *Religious affairs.*

The Protestant ministers expelled;

IT was no wonder that the *Genevois* magistrates were prejudiced against men who could thus endanger the peace and liberty of a state for such whimsical trifles. The *Romish* party was indefatigable in representing and exaggerating those absurdities; and at last the magistrates, who are said to have been *Roman* Catholics in their hearts, cited the three principal Protestant preachers, *Calvin*, *Farel*, and *Courant*, who was blind, to appear before them, which they accordingly did, and offered to defend their Confession of Faith. They had against them, not only the *Romish*, but the *Bernois* interest; and upon their refusing to conform with the canton of *Bern*, in celebrating the sacrament, the syndics ordered them to depart the city in three days time, which they were obliged to do. *Calvin* retired to *Basil*, and from thence to *Strasbourg*; as *Farel* did to *Neufchatel*; but both of them held a frequent correspondence with their friends in *Geneva*; and it was easy to foresee, that their exile would be of no long duration. Their banishment was followed by the persecution of the other Protestant clergy, some of whom were prudent enough to comply with the *Bernois* discipline in indifferent matters; while others, particularly *Saunier* and *Matturin Cordier*, were banished for not complying with the *Romanists*, by administering the communion in a wafer.

DURING the year 1539, the liberty as well as the religion of the *Genevois* was in suspence. The banished ministers and their followers had the merit of maintaining the independency of the state in both. The *Bernois* pretended to dictate; the *Roman* Catholics improved the differences to their own purposes; and the magistrates, without troubling themselves about the affairs of religion, passed a decree in the general council, that whosoever should so much as advise a change of government, should lose his head. This was a necessary precaution; for a faction now sprung up, who called themselves Artichauds, or Artichokes, from their wearing leaves of that plant as badges, who favoured the superiority of the *Bernois* over *Geneva*. Those Artichauds had been enemies to the banished pastors. Three of them resided as deputies at *Bern*, and had agreed to give up to the *Bernois* the lordship and abbey of *St. Victor*, with other articles extremely prejudicial to the public liberty. This agreement being reported in the general council, the deputies were sent for home, imprisoned, and condemned to lose their heads as traitors. Being men of great interest, their condemnation produced considerable disturbances. *John Philippe*, who was then captain-general of the troops, and had borne the highest posts in the state, befriended them, and killed a partizan of the other faction.

tion. This in an instant lost *Philippe* all his interest and popularity. He endeavoured to make his escape, but was taken; and though the *Bernois* earnestly interposed in his favour, he lost his head. *Richardet*, another leader of the same party, was killed by a fall, in trying to make his escape over the city walls. Two of the three deputies who were under sentence of death, had been joint syndics with *Philippe* and *Richardet*, when the reformed ministers were banished out of *Geneva*; and nothing was now more talked of than the repeal of that banishment. In the mean while the emperor *Charles* V. sent a letter to the citizens of *Geneva*, encouraging them to maintain their independency against the *Bernois*, to whom he had wrote to desist from their claims; and threatening the *Genevois* with his highest displeasure, if they did not maintain themselves in the possession of those privileges that had been granted them by his ancestors. Those letters being read in the general council, an order was made for repealing the banishment of the ministers; and *Calvin* was accordingly invited to return to *Geneva*. He was at that time settled at *Strasbourg*, where he had vast success in making converts; and it was with great difficulty he was prevailed upon to return to *Geneva*, where a consistory was now established. Being returned, his exile seemed to have given him new lustre. He applied himself indefatigably to the duties of his function: he kept up a close correspondence with the most eminent Protestants all over *Europe*; and at last he became in a manner the dictator of the state, where he established that ecclesiastical policy which still prevails there. The high credit he was in was of service to *Geneva*, where many useful manufacturers and artists took refuge on account of their religion.

A. D. 1540.

but restored.

In the year 1542, the plague being at *Geneva*, the great palace there was fitted up for an hospital; but the magistrates held *Calvin* in so great esteem, that they would not suffer him to attend the infected, and he went to *Strasbourg*, where he renewed his disputations with *Caroline*. Next year *Peter* of *Baume*, bishop of *Geneva*, died, and that dignity was conferred by the pope upon *Auberive*, who resided at *Arnig*. Some pretend that *Calvin* was jealous of the superior parts of the excellent *Castalio*, who was his fellow labourer in the ministry, and that he employed underhand means to procure his expulsion from *Geneva*. It is certain that *Castalio* was accused before the council of maintaining some heterodox opinions, particularly with regard to the song of *Solomon*, which he considered as an amorous poem, and the descent of Christ into hell; which being disapproved of by the council, he was deposed from his ministry, and obliged to withdraw to *Basil*.

Death of the bishop of Geneva.

In

A scene of wickedness discovered. In the year 1545, a most incredible scene of wickedness was discovered in *Geneva*. That city had been often subject to the plague, which a set of miscreants, who were employed as cleansers, and who being recovered had nothing to fear from the infection, endeavoured to spread. Those wretches, consisting of men and women, erected themselves into a kind of fraternity, and made use of cant words to express their detestable practices. One *Lentilles* was at their head; and it was common for them to collect the morbid matter in rags, which they dropped or distributed in places which were not infected. One *Tallent*, an accomplice of *Lentilles*, had been discovered in this detestable crime at *Tonon*, and being apprehended he confessed his guilt, and impeached *Lentilles* and his confederates. *Lentilles* being apprehended, was confronted with *Tallent*; but would confess nothing, tho' racked to the most exquisite degree till he expired. All they could extort from him, was his desiring them to seize upon all who attended the hospital. This being done, seven men and twenty-four women were tried, convicted, and upon their own confession burnt alive; and a surgeon, and two others had their skins pulled off them by red-hot pincers. All of them acknowledged that *Lentilles* had engaged them, under the most horrible oaths, to the perpetration of their crimes. Those executions, in a few weeks, restored the city and state to salubrity, after losing twenty thousand people.

Dissentions in Geneva. Nothing memorable happened for some years after in *Geneva* but religious disputes. *Calvin*'s rigorous discipline shut up the taverns, put a stop to all sports, and prohibited all profane dancing and singing, which gave great offence to the young *Genevois*; but it was in vain they repined. *Calvin* got the magistrates on his side, and the contumacious were threatened with excommunication if they did not submit. A member of the council, however, had the courage to impeach *Calvin*'s doctrine as being unsound; but the magistrates, without farther inquiry or application, committed him to prison, and condemned him to do penance for his accusation, by walking through the city with a torch in his hand. A letter about this time was intercepted from *Calvin* to *Viret*, and read before the council, accusing the *Genevois* of impiety and hypocrisy. *Calvin* being questioned upon this letter, boldly justified it; but applied his reflections to particular persons; upon which he was acquitted, and he continued his disputations and publications upon religion with vast success. He met with a keen opponent in the person of *Belsec*, who had been a *Carmelite*, but pretended to embrace protestantism, and at the same time charged *Calvin* with making

God

God the author of sin, and with other absurd tenets. *Calvin* defended himself, as is said, with great learning, and was seconded by *Farel*; and *Bolsec* was first imprisoned, and then banished the city. One *Troillet* was another of *Calvin*'s opponents, but was silenced by the secular power, though that did not prevent many disturbances on the head of religion from arising.

Condemnation of Servetus.

But the most impious abuse of the secular power in matters of religion, happened in the case of the famous *Michael Servetus*, a *Spaniard*, and one of the most learned physicians of his age. It is far from being our intention to enter upon the speculative points of this unhappy gentleman's doctrine in which he differed from *Calvin*; we shall relate facts. *Servetus* had been imprisoned for his opinions at *Vienna*; from whence making his escape, he took refuge at *Geneva*. It was natural for him to hope for an asylum amongst a people who had founded their liberties upon their right of thinking for themselves in matters of religion, and disclaiming authority in points of conscience. He was deceived; and being arrived at *Geneva*, he was thrown into prison, and accused by *Calvin* of some heterodox opinions with regard to the Trinity, and other articles of faith. He was at the same time robbed by the magistrates of a gold chain, and a considerable sum of money, which never were returned him; so that he was in danger of perishing for want in the prison. Being called upon to make his defence, he did it with so much freedom and learning, that *Calvin* could oppose him with nothing but the secular power, which condemned him to be burnt alive. *Servetus* suffered this sentence without retracting his opinion, to the indelible infamy of those concerned in it. This cruelty gave many advantages to *Calvin*'s enemies. He was represented as a favourer of persecution in matters of religion, which was the strongest charge that he himself had brought against the *Romish* church; and the defence he made for himself was vague and illiberal; for it contained nothing more than recriminations upon *Servetus*, and a pretended confutation of his heresies, as if those bare allegations, had they been proved, could have justified murder.

Jealousy of the Genevois.

The fiery spirit of *Calvin* seemed to communicate itself to the laity of *Geneva*. The *French* had retired to that city in such numbers, that the *Bernois* sent the magistrates some intimations of their having formed a design against their liberties; upon which the people of *Merindol* and *Cabrieres*, who had fled for refuge to *Geneva*, were employed in farther fortifying the city. This did not satisfy the hot-headed citizens, and under *Amy Perrin*, their captain general, they entered into a

design

design to massacre all the *French* within *Geneva* in one night. This detestable conspiracy was discovered by the council, who put to death as many of the heads of it as fell into their hands; but thirty of them fled, and were condemned in their absence. They, however, procured the *Bernois* to intercede for them, but to no purpose, which produced many tumults in and about the city.

Valentine Gentil *condemned.*

GENEVA was now the chief sanctuary of all the reformed, whom religion had driven from their own countries. The *English*, the *French*, the *Italians*, and other nations, had their several churches there, or in the suburbs, and their transactions make a considerable figure in the ecclesiastical history of that time. In the year 1556, the confederacy between *Geneva* and *Bern* was renewed; and next year it was rendered perpetual. In the year 1558, some *Italians* professing *Arian* principles, which they neither understood nor could explain, came to *Geneva*; amongst them was *Valentine Gentil*. The secular power continued to be the great test of truth amongst the *Genevois*; and those heretics, as an answer to their doubts and doctrines, were required to sign the confession of faith drawn up by *Calvin*. Some complied through convenience; amongst others was *Gentil*; but others, because they would not comply, were forced to leave the city. *Gentil*, notwithstanding his subscription, continued to dogmatize upon *Arian* principles, and to oppose the doctrine of *Calvin*; upon which he was committed to prison, and great doubts arose, whether he did not deserve the fate of *Servetus*. *Gentil* was, however, more pliable at this time than *Servetus* had been. He exhibited a writing, by which he retracted his opinions; and by a seeming repentance prevailed with the magistrates to inflict upon him no other punishment than burning his books, and obliging him not to depart the city without their leave. Notwithstanding the mildness of this censure he joined with *Matthew Gribalde*, a disciple of *Servetus*, and withdrawing from *Geneva*, he propagated his doctrines in the county of Gex, where the bailiff obliged him to a second recantation; but being irreclaimable, he was afterwards burnt at *Bern*.

A college instituted at Geneva.

THE great apology for *Calvin* pursuing those sanguinary persecuting measures is his sincerity, and his being satisfied as to the truth of what he taught. He had now acquired a reputation all over *Europe*, which occasioned a resort of Protestants to *Geneva*, to the vast benefit of that city. About the year 1558, those emigrants encreased so greatly, that it was judged necessary to found a college at *Geneva* for their reception and education. This college was divided into seven classes, in which *Greek*, *Hebrew*, and philosophy, were taught by

by ſeparate profeſſors, while *Calvin*, and the famous *Theodore Beza*, read the divinity lectures. The ſtatutes of this college were afterwards printed. About this time *Emanuel Philibert*, duke of *Savoy*, ſucceeding to his father, who had been ſtripped of almoſt all his eſtates, obtained the reſtitution of part of them from the cantons; but complained bitterly that the *Genevois* encouraged his ſubjects of *Lucerne* and other places in their contumacy. A like complaint was brought againſt the *Genevois* by *Charles* IX. the *French* king, who taxed their ſtate with being the ſource from which all the diviſions and diſtractions of his kingdom proceeded. In anſwer to thoſe charges, the *Genevois* did not deny their having encouraged foreigners to ſtudy there, and to qualify themſelves for the proteſtant miniſtry; but they proteſted that they never entertained the leaſt thoughts of fomenting diſobedience in ſubjects againſt their ſovereign; and as to the *Savoyards*, they declared, that they had no farther connection with them, than by praying God to deliver them from military cruelty.

GENEVA was at this time conſidered on the continent of *Europe*, as being the great ſeat of the reformed religion. Their magiſtrates were ſo ſevere in their diſcipline, that they put a banker to death for being guilty of adultery; and another perſon condemned to be whipped for the ſame crime, having appealed for a mitigation of his puniſhment to the council of two hundred, was ſo far from receiving it, that he was put to death likewiſe by their ſentence. In all religious diſputes, the *Genevois* divines were the umpires, and they furniſhed preachers and miniſters to all the reformed ſtates in *Europe*. In the year 1564 *Calvin* died, and his corpſe was attended to the grave by almoſt all the inhabitants of *Geneva*. Nothing remarkable happened in that ſtate till the year 1566, when *James Paul Spiffame* was put to death at *Geneva*. He had been biſhop of *Nevers*, and had retired to that city on account of his embracing the reformed religion. He had, at his own requeſt, been admitted a citizen; and he was ſo much eſteemed for his learning, that he was ſent as a miſſionary into *France*, for the propagation of proteſtantiſm. During his abſence a ſuſpicion aroſe of his wanting again to reconcile himſelf to the church of *Rome*; and it was diſcovered that, being married, he had antedated his nuptial contract, that he might enable his ſon, whom he had by his wife before marriage, to inherit his large eſtate. Being impriſoned upon this charge, he was examined, convicted, and put to death, upon his own confeſſion. It was, however, believed by many, that his chief crime conſiſted of his having diſobliged *Catharine*

Death of Calvin.

tharine de Medici, whose influence with the syndics procured his execution.

Geneva in danger. THE duke of *Savoy*, in the year 1567, procured from the *Bernois* the restitution of *Gex*, *Gaillard*, *Terny*, and *Chablais*, on condition of the inhabitants being indulged in the profession of the protestant religion. That same year the duke *d'Alva* being to pass through *Savoy*, the duke of *Savoy* endeavoured to engage him in an attempt to make himself master of *Geneva*, and for that purpose raised a considerable army. His design taking air, many of the *French* protestants repaired to *Geneva*, and offering their services for the defence of the city, they were formed into companies, under proper commanders; and such other precautions were taken, that the duke, without making any attempt upon the city, proceeded to *Flanders*. He was no sooner gone, than the foreigners at *Geneva*, who had been formed into seven companies, marched to the relief of their brethern in *Gex* and *Versoy*, and took possession of both places, which were abandoned by their garrisons. Soon after this *Geneva* was again visited by the plague, and other natural calamities; but nothing remarkable happened in its government till the year 1578, when *Henry* III. of *France* made an alliance with the *Swisses*, in which *Geneva* was included, as being the key and bulwark of *Switzerland*. It was stipulated by this alliance, that in case that city was besieged, the cantons should send a sufficient number of men to its assistance at the king's charge; and, on the other hand, that the city should suffer his troops to pass through it, marching orderly in rank and file, granting no retreat or passage to his majesty's enemies. This treaty was concluded at *Soleurre*, betwixt the king and the cities of *Bern*, *Soleurre*, and *Geneva*; *Zurich* was afterwards comprehended, at the suit of the sieur *de Cocumartin*, ambassador from the king to the *Swisses* [a].

Duke of Savoy renews his attempts against it. IN the year 1582, the duke of *Savoy* renewed his attempt to make himself master of *Geneva*, being encouraged thereto by a *Dauphinois*, who lived at *Tonon*, and pretended that he had confederates, who would open the gates of the city as soon as the *Savoyards* should appear before it. The duke upon this raised a number of men; and one *Lance*, who commanded in the quarter of *St. Gervais*, undertook to give his troops admittance into the city; but gave information of what he had done to the council, after he had got all the money he could from the duke. The *Savoyards* were to be commanded by the count *de Raconis*, who advanced to *Gex*, where the

[a] SPON. pag. 123.

Dauphi-

Dauphinois, who had some reason to be suspicious of the event, left him. This defection made the count believe that he was betrayed; and though he found the gates of *St. Gervais* open, he durst not enter, but retired to *Terny* and *St. Julien*. The truth was, that *Geneva* at that time was plentifully furnished with Protestant soldiers both from *France* and *Switzerland*, besides natives, who were well prepared to receive the count, had his army entered the city. He, on the other hand, being at the head of a considerable army, of which fifteen hundred were raised out of the popish cantons, resolved to attempt something against the city by open force; but he was defeated in all the attempts he made, and obliged to retire after plundering the neighbouring villages. Upon his retreat an inquiry was made after his accomplices, and a printner, with three others, were beheaded on that account.

Case of the Jews.

ABOUT this time the *Jews* suffered a violent persecution both in *France* and *Germany*, and fixed their eye upon *Geneva*, as the most commodious situation in which they could settle. They offered to repair thither to the number of eight or ten thousand; to build houses in a quarter that should be allotted them, which they were to fortify and garrison at their own charges; to serve with the other citizens as soldiers; to pay a yearly tribute, and to raise their proportion of all other taxes. A considerable number of the *Genevois* were strongly disposed to accept of this offer; but prejudice and prepossession prevailing, it was rejected, and the *Jews* were obliged to purchase their peace with the *Germans*.

Natural calamities in Geneva.

THE year 1584 was distinguished by a most dreadful hurricane, earthquakes, and tempest, that happened in *Geneva*, and all over its neighbourhood, which buried a great number of men, castles, and houses. In *October*, the same year, the city of *Zurich*, considering *Geneva* as the key of the *Swiss* cantons, entered with it into a perpetual alliance; the memory of which is preserved by a *Latin* inscription in the town-house, and the same was celebrated by great rejoicings at *Geneva*. Next year an extraordinary famine succeeded, which carried off a vast number of the *Genevois*, and the fields were filled with numbers of villagers, expiring with hunger. The effects of this calamity were long felt, and encouraged the duke of *Savoy*, in the year 1588, to apply to the pope for assistance, to make himself master of *Geneva*. His holiness received the *Savoyard* ambassador with great respect, but consulted the bishop of *la Cave*, who was a *Genevois* by birth, as to the practicability of the proposal. The bishop giving his opinion against it, his holiness answered the ambassador, that he would not expend the church's treasure in advancing the

duke

duke of *Savoy*'s temporal concerns; but that he was ready to assist him in reducing *Geneva* to the power of the church. The duke communicated this answer, with which he was highly exasperated, to the *Spanish* ministry, who dissuaded him from having any connection with his holiness; upon which he resolved to attempt the thing by force; but the *Genevois*, at this time, found a powerful ally in *Henry* III. of *France*.

Duke of Savoy *seizes* Saluces.

THE duke of *Savoy*, taking advantage of the distracted divisions of that kingdom, had seized upon the marquisate of *Saluces*; and *Henry* sent *Harlay* sieur *de Sancy*, one of his ministers of state, to persuade the *Genevois* to break with the duke. *Sancy* offered, in his master's name, not only to furnish them with troops, but to bear all the charges of the war, and that they should keep all the conquests they should make. This matter being laid before the council, some of the members thought the proposal too hazardous to be embraced; but the advantages attending it were so evident, that it was agreed to by a great majority. The inducement was, that the duke had shewn himself an open enemy to their state; that by complying with the king's request, they would obtain advantages for the Protestants in *France*; and that they would be sure of the friendship of the prince palatine, and the *Swisses*, during the war.

The war continued.

FROM *Geneva*, *Sancy* proceeded to *Switzerland*, where he induced the *Bernois* to declare war against the duke; and the *Genevois* being furnished with some able officers from *France*, took the field with six companies of foot, and three troops of horse, commanded by two *Frenchmen*, *Quitry* and *Beaujeu*. In the night time they surprised and took *Monthoux*, and in the morning they took the castle of *Bonne*, which is situated at the entrance into *Focigny*, from the *Genevois* country. They then broke down some bridges in the *Chablais*, to prevent the enemy's approach, and at last laid siege to the important castle of *St. Joire*, which belonged to the baron of *Hermance*. This nobleman had been the capital enemy of the *Genevois*, and the contriver or manager of the chief enterprizes against them. The duke of *Savoy*, little expecting that the *Genevois* would have acted offensively, had made no dispositions for saving the castle, which fell into the hands of the *Genevois*, and with it all the material papers relating to the operations of their enemies against their city. On the 7th of *April* they pursued their good fortune, by besieging and taking *Gex* itself, the governor and garrison of which they sent prisoners to *Geneva*. By this time, the duke of *Savoy* being alarmed at the progress of the *Genevois*, dispatched *Senat*, his

his governor of *Remilly*, with eight troops of horſe, and nine companies of foot, to recover the places they had taken. He preſented himſelf before *Bonne*, which was defended by one *Bois* for the *Genevois*; and though its garriſon did not exceed ninety men, he durſt not attack it. In the mean time the *Genevois*, under *Quitry*, beſieged *La Cluſe*, ſituated at the foot of mount *Jura*; but *Quitry* found the place ſo ſtrong, that the garriſon held out till it was relieved by *Sonas*. In this ſiege, which was very deſperately carried on by the *Genevois* and *Bernois*, they loſt the baron *St. Lagier*, and ſome of their beſt officers.

AFTER this, the head quarters of the *Genevois* were at *Cologny*, in the neigbourhood of *La Cluſe*, where they were joined by colonel *Erlach*, with ſome auxiliaries from *Bern*; and laying aſide all farther thoughts of beſieging *La Cluſe*, the whole army marched back to *Geneva*, where they were joined by ſome reinforcements from *Soleurre* and the *Griſons*. They then, about the middle of *April*, beſieged and took the caſtle of *Tonon*, having tranſported their artillery thither by water, with ſeveral other ſtrong places in the *Chablais*. After that they laid ſiege to the fort of *Ripaille*; but the duke of *Savoy* came to its relief with three thouſand men. Though the *Genevois* appeared as principals in this war, yet the numbers they brought into the field were very inconſiderable, compared to thoſe of the *French*, the *Swiſs*, and the *Griſons*, for their army amounted in the whole to ten thouſand men. They were, however, far from being united, and the *French* behaved but very poorly; but the *Genevois* and the *Swiſs* acted ſo bravely, that *Ripaille*, though the garriſon conſiſted of five hundred men, was obliged to capitulate. After this the *French* army withdrew to *Franche Comte*, and the *Bernois* ordered three thouſand men to protect the conqueſts that had been made in the bailliages of *Vaud* and *Chablais*. The withdrawing of the *French*, had almoſt ruined the affairs of the *Genevois*. They ſaw themſelves burdened with the charge of a war, while their treaſury was empty, and their magazines exhauſted. The duke of *Savay*, on the other hand, had great reſources, and by this time had raiſed an army of about eight thouſand men, the command of which he gave to the baron of *Hermance*, who immediately retook the caſtle of *St. Joire*, and ſome other places in the *Chablais*, and beſieged *Marcouſſy*, which made a vigorous defence, and was relieved by a party of three hundred *Genevois*. The latter, however, upon the main, found themſelves unable to maintain the places they had taken, and therefore abandoned them all, excepting *Bonne* and *Monthoux*, or *Monthon*. They at the ſame time

Succeſs of the Genevois.

began to raiſe a fort near the bridge over the *Arve*, in the neighbourhood of their city, in which they were interrupted by the duke of *Savoy*, at the head of two thouſand horſe and foot, but he was repulſed with loſs; as he was in two vigorous attacks which he made upon the *Genevois* caſtle of *Terny*, belonging to the abbey of *St. Victor*. The duke, to be revenged, ravaged the adjacent country; and bringing up his heavy artillery, he began a furious cannonade againſt the caſtle, which being old and defenceleſs, the garriſon was obliged to ſurrender, on promiſe of having their lives ſpared; but this capitulation was infamouſly broken by the duke, who ordered them all to be hanged.

who are exaſperated with the duke of Savoy.

THIS breach of faith exaſperated the *Genevois*, who were now much better ſoldiers than the *Savoyards*; and, notwithſtanding the inequality of their numbers, they had the better in all encounters. The duke was again repulſed at the fort near the *Arve*, and five hundred *Genevois* muſqueteers beat four thouſand *Savoyards*, upon the plain of *Ouattes*, half a league diſtant from the ſame fort, killing two hundred, amongſt whom were ſeveral general officers, with the loſs of no more than two men, and four or five wounded of their own. This deſperate engagement obliged the *Savoyards* to keep for ſome time within their intrenchments. The duke, hearing that the van of the *Bernois*, under colonel *Erlach*, was advancing to *Geneva*, attacked them in the village of *Eſcoran*, near *La Cluſe*, but was ſo warmly received, that he was obliged to retreat with loſs. About the ſame time he was forced to raiſe the blockade of *Bonne*, and to abandon the village of *Feling* in *Focigny*, where part of his army was quartered. Notwithſtanding thoſe partial advantages, the duke continued greatly ſuperior to the *Genevois*, even though they had been joined by forty companies of *Bernois* auxiliaries, commanded by the advoyer of *Vatteville*: but the duke's army lying between that reinforcement and the *Genevois*, he redoubled his efforts againſt the latter, before they could be joined by their auxiliaries, and made repeated efforts againſt the fort on the *Arve* and *Bonne*, but all without ſucceſs. In the mean while, ſome of his counſellors propoſed a peace between him and the canton of *Bern*; but his demands being very high, only a three weeks truce was concluded, to the infinite prejudice of the *Genevois*. The truce being expired, the *Genevois* at laſt were joined by their auxiliaries, and both fell into the country of *Focigny*, where they took ſeveral forts; the *Savoyards*, in the mean while, making repriſals in the lordſhip of *St. Victor*, where *Bois*, one of the beſt officers of the *Genevois* was killed.

THE

THE assassination and death of *Henry* III. of *France*, which happened about this time, put the duke of *Savoy* upon invading *Provence*. He had been disappointed in his design of subduing the *Genevois*; but thinking it dangerous to leave *Bonne* in the hands of his enemies, he besieged it, and battered it so furiously, that the garrison was obliged to surrender, on promise of having their lives saved; but the duke as usual broke the capitulation, and put them all to death, excepting *Mercier* the minister, who was reserved, and afterwards flayed alive. It is hard to say what the consequence might have been, had the duke pursued this advantage; but he was intent upon his expedition to *Provence*. Finding the *Genevois* resolved not to submit to him, he built a fort at *Versoy*, which commanded their navigation upon the lake; and leaving it under the government of the baron of *Serra*, he withdrew his army beyond the mountains, as the *Bernois* did to their own country. Upon their retreat, the *Genevois* found themselves in a most deplorable situation, by having lost the navigation of the lake. The governor of *Versoy* threatened to oblige them by famine to come with halters about their necks, and make their submission to the duke his master, which they were sensible must be the case if they could not take *Versoy*. Their force in *Geneva* was at that time eight hundred foot, two troops of horse, two troops of light horse, and one hundred and fifty volunteers, all of them commanded by the sieur *Lubigny*, a *Frenchman*. They had for some days harrassed the garrison of the fort by false alarms, and on the night of the 7th of *November* they resolved to attack it, as they imagined that the garrison of the castle would be then fatigued. They divided their little army into four parts; and after performing public prayer, they marched out upon the expedition with petards and scaling ladders. Their greatest dependence, however, was upon seventeen resolute soldiers, who with iron crows in their hands, conducted by a peasant, forced their way by a narrow passage into the body of the place, where they overthrew all before them, while the division without, had leisure to break open the gate, and scale the walls; and entering the place, the governor, with the loss of two hundred men, was driven into the castle, which he was in a day's time obliged to surrender, to the great joy of the *Genevois*, who immediately set fire to the place, and destroyed all its fortifications, and carried the provisions and ammunition, which they found in it in great abundance, to *Geneva*. The rest of the winter was spent in skirmishes of no great importance, farther than as they served to render the *Genevois* excellent soldiers.

Death of Henry III. of France.

Progress of a new war.

In which the Genevois are successful.

In the beginning of *January*, 1590, the *Genevois*, who still kept the field, after beating a party of the *Savoyards*, were repulsed in an attack they made upon the castle of *Bastie*, near *Versoy*; but bringing up their heavy artillery twelve days after, they took it, and demolished it. Soon after they reduced the castle of *Monthoux*, and by way of repriſal, they put the garriſon, who were the inveterate enemies of *Geneva*, to the ſword. About the ſame time they took the city and caſtle of *Gex*, and repulſed the *Savoyards* in two freſh attempts which they made upon their fort on the *Arve*. In *April*, *Lubigny*, the *Genevois* general, took the caſtle of *Pierre*, near *Farges*, which had been a great thorn in the ſide of *Geneva*, and then he once more formed the ſiege of *La Cluſe*. The place was exceedingly ſtrong, and a great body of *Savoyards* under Don *Amadeo*, a natural ſon of that duke, was advancing to relieve it. *Lubigny*, however, took his meaſures ſo well, and puſhed his attacks ſo warmly, that the governor of the place, a *Piedmonteſe*, having only twenty-eight ſoldiers left, ſurrendered the fort, which *Lubigny* entered on the twenty-firſt of *April*. Soon after *Amadeo* arrived with his army before the fort, and perceiving, by a diſcharge of artillery from the walls, that it was in the hands of the *Genevois*, he carried, through the cowardice of one captain *Eſgaillon*, a poſt in a neighbouring mountain, a poſt which commanded the fort, and rendered it untenable by *Lubigny*, who was forced to abandon the ſame, after blowing up part of the fortifications. He carried his army back to *Geneva*, where *Eſgaillon*, by the ſentence of the council of two hundred, was, notwithſtanding the great intereſt made for him, beheaded for cowardice. Upon *Lubigny*'s retreat, *Amadeo* repaired the fort of *La Cluſe*, and ravaged the bailiwick of *Gex*; but the *Genevois*, by the friendſhip of the bailiff and people of *Nyons*, got ſafe home three barks laden with merchandiſes, and ten thouſand crowns in ready money, which the *Savoyards* endeavoured to intercept. After this many inconſiderable actions happened on both ſides, in which the *Genevois* generally had the better; but they were repelled in an attempt they made upon the caſtle of *Brant*, in the bailiwick of *Tonon*. Some days after, the *Savoyards* endeavoured to carry off three hundred head of cattle from the bailiwick of *Gex*; but *Lubigny* obliged them to abandon their prey, with the loſs of one hundred and twenty of their beſt men, their cavalry taking refuge in *La Cluſe*; while the *Genevois* loſt only a ſingle man. Two days after, Don *Amadeo* ſent a meſſage to *Geneva*, to know what number of *Savoyard* priſoners were in that city, and complaining, that the *Genevois* carried away even his drummers. The *Genevois*, who had about

A coward beheaded.

about four hundred *Savoyard* prisoners, in their turn reproached *Amadeo*, for the barbarous manner in which he made war upon them, not sparing even their women and children. At this time the *Genevois* were at a great loss in being deprived of *Lubigny*, who had been bruised in an encounter, and was obliged to keep his bed. Being the only officer amongst them who understood discipline and military affairs, the *Genevois* soldiers grew licentious, and were defeated in several encounters; in one of which they lost two hundred of their best men by ambuscades, which *Amadeo* had laid for them, within a league of their city. The *Genevois* historian[a] says, that such of their troops as were wounded and carried to the hospital, instead of being cured, had their wounds poisoned by a villainous surgeon, who was afterwards executed. The *Savoyards*, however, lost more men in proportion than the *Genevois*. This defeat threw the city into such a consternation, that it was expected every moment the *Savoyards* would enter it sword in hand; but *Lubigny*, notwithstanding his illness, went round the fortifications in his night gown, and made such dispositions as prevented farther ill consequences. *The Genevois worsted.*

On the 23d of *August*, the sieur *Clugny*, baron of *Confor-gien*, arrived at *Geneva*, and took upon him the command of the troops of the republic. To keep up in the minds of the *Genevois*, the high opinion they had conceived of his activity and courage, the very night of his arrival he put on board some barks three companies of foot, with which he intended to surprize the city of *Evian*; but the citizens being provided to receive them, the barks were obliged to return, after making some booty. The *Genevois*, by this time, had conceived a contempt for their enemy, which had almost proved fatal to them. *Hermance* observing the little caution with which they proceeded, concealed his force, and lay upon the defensive in *Focigny*, where the *Genevois* were informed by the peasants of the country, that he had not with him above four hundred troops. The *Genevois* were so much convinced of this, that one hundred and fifty foot, and one hundred and thirty horse, issued out of *Geneva* to carry in their enemies vintage harvest; and notwithstanding all the admonitions of *Confergien*, proceeded so inadvertently, that they were completely surrounded by the *Savoyards*, and must have been intirely cut to pieces, had they not been disengaged by *Confergien*, who foreseeing what had happened, had his troops in readiness, and not only brought off the foragers, but obtained the most complete victory the *Genevois* had ever *The war renewed.*

[a] Spon. p. 138.

The Genevois victorious. gained over the *Savoyards*, after a dispute of three hours, in which the *Savoyards* lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, five hundred men; while the loss of the *Genevois* amounted to about ten foot soldiers, one trooper, and fifteen wounded, but not dangerously. This victory was of the greater importance to the *Genevois*, as their enemies were resolved to have given them no quarter, and were so sure of conquest, that their officers had dressed themselves in their richest cloaths and armour; so that the spoils which the *Genevois* carried from the field, were very considerable. It was observed, that *Confor-gien* began and finished all his actions with public supplications and thanksgivings to heaven, performed on the field.

TOWARDS the end of *October*, the war between the *Genevois* and their enemies became so desperate, that both sides came to a resolution to give no quarter. The *Savoyards* had been reinforced by *Neapolitan*, *Spanish*, and *Italian* auxiliaries, who, if possible, hated the *Genevois* worse than the *Savoyards* did, and three companies of them lying at *Crusille*, a town about three leagues from *Geneva*, they filled all the neighbouring country with devastations and cruelties. On the 29th of *October*, *Confor-gien* marched out of *Geneva*, at the head of his troops to surprize this nest of barbarity; but his march being discovered by the *Savoyard* peasants, part of the garrison stood upon its guard, whilst others had such a contempt for the *Genevois*, that they loitered in the town, which was sacked by the *Genevois*, who put them all to the sword, and made a vast booty. The castle, however, still held out, and all the neighbouring country being alarmed, *Confor-gien*, after killing about one hundred of the enemy, retreated with the loss of three soldiers and a lieutenant. The rest of the year was spent in actions of small importance, in which the *Genevois* burnt some *Savoyard* villages.

Farther operations of the war. ON the 1st of *January*, 1591, the *Genevois* being reinforced with some *French* troops under *Sancy*, their army amounted to two thousand men, with which they laid siege to the castle of *Buringe*; but were attacked in their camp by three hundred *Savoyard* horse, of whom they killed sixty, and repulsed the rest. The siege was then carried on with such vigour, that the garrison desired to capitulate, but could obtain no other terms but their surrendering at discretion; upon which they made their escape out of the place, which was immediately taken possession of, and demolished by the *Genevois*. They next besieged *Touon*, which they took on composition, and found in it the value of six or seven thousand crowns of gold; and they afterwards took *Evian*, and plundered the neighbouring country. Those successes inspired the *French*

French with intolerable licentiousness; and while they were lying dispersed about the country, news came that their enemies, consisting of *Savoyards*, *Spaniards*, and *Italians*, to the number of six thousand foot, and about one thousand horse, were advanced as far as *Roche* to attack them. The *French* and *Genevois* generals, *Sancy*, *Quitry*, and *Conforgien*, were then encamped at *Buringe*; and hearing of the enemies approach, they called in their parties, and strengthened their army by drawing the garrisons out of the neighbouring places. The duke's army was commanded by Don *Amadeo*, *Olivarez*, an experienced *Spanish* captain, *Sonas*, the marquis of *Treffort*, and the count of *Chateau Neuf*. The opinion of *Olivarez* was against attacking the *French* immediately, for he said their own disorders, and want of provision, would oblige them to retire, and he was joined by Don *Amadeo*; the other two generals, however, were for cutting the *French* off without suffering them to retreat, and alledged, that their own army would mutiny for want of pay, if they were not led to action; upon which the attack was resolved on, on the 12th of *March*. By this time the *French* and the *Genevois* had gained a position which secured their communication with *Geneva*, and were very advantageously encamped. The *Spaniards*, however, made so furious an attack, that they entirely defeated five hundred *French*; and their whole army must have been defeated, had not this first advantage encouraged *Sonas*, and the count of *Chateau Neuf*, to advance so far into the plain with thirteen hundred musqueteers, that *Conforgien* charged and routed them before they could fall back upon their main body, which at last they did with great difficulty, with the loss of their leader *Sonas*, and three hundred men, of whom one hundred were gentlemen. When night drew on, the army of *Savoy* passed the river at *Buringe*, but broke down the bridge, for fear of being pursued; while the *French*, who had suffered a good deal in the encounter, retired to *Franche Comte*. The rest of the campaign was spent in mutual inroads, in one of which the baron of *Hermance* was made prisoner by the *Genevois*, and carried to *Geneva*, where he was confined till the *February* following, when he paid eight thousand crowns for his ransom.

A peace proposed.

In *October*, 1592, the baron of *Conforgien* returned to *Geneva*, and resumed his command. After several military operations, in which he was generally successful, he had some conferences about a peace with the baron of *Hermance*, and being disgusted with the severe sour manners of the *Genevois* towards his men, he returned to *France*. Upon his departure, the marquis of *Treffort* encamped with eight hun-

dred men at *Lancy*, near the new fort upon the *Arve*; and being forced from thence, the *Genevois* demoliſhed that village. In the mean while *Conſorgien*, upon the invitation of the *Genevois*, returned to that city; but a truce for three months had taken place between the *French* king and the duke of *Savoy*, to which the *Genevois* were invited to accede, which they accordingly did, on the 16th of *September*, 1593. In a few days after, ſix of the *Swiſs* cantons ſent their deputies to *Geneva*, to perſuade the magiſtracy there to a peace with the duke of *Savoy*. This propoſition was rejected; but the truce was continued for two years, during which time, the *French* king being in no condition to aſſiſt them, the *Genevois* demoliſhed the fort upon the *Arve*. This compliance had the effect to open a kind of a communication between the *Savoyards* and the *Genevois*; and they appeared leſs intractable towards one another than they had been for many years. In the year 1597, a report ſpread that *Theodore Beza*, the great paſtor of *Geneva*, had turned *Roman* Catholic, and that the *Genevois* had ſent deputies to *Rome* to be reconciled to that ſee. This idle report aroſe from the effect of the truce, which had been concluded two years before. That being expired, hoſtilities recommenced between the *Savoyards* and the *Genevois*, who were now deprived of the aſſiſtance of *France*; but the duke being as unable as the *Genevois* were to continue a war, thoſe hoſtilities ſoon ceaſed, and new conferences for a peace were ſet on foot.

and concluded. AT laſt a treaty was concluded between the *French* king, the king of *Spain*, and the duke of *Savoy*, in which the *Swiſſes* and their allies were comprehended on the part of *France*. The duke of *Savoy* denied that thoſe general terms comprehended the *Genevois*, who were not name in the treaty; and the *French* king inſiſted as ſtrenuouſly that they were. This difference was likely to be attended with ſerious conſequences; for *Villeroy*, the *French* miniſter, by his maſter's order, ſignified, under his own hand, that his maſter never would depart from the commprehenſion of the *Genevois*, under the title of allies to the *Swiſſes*; and he diſpatched *Chapeaurouge*, the *Genevois* deputy, with letters to the republic, intimating that he never would forſake them; and that if they were attacked by the duke of *Savoy*, he would defray all the expences of the war. Thoſe diſpatches were ſo agreeable to the council, that upon reading them their great guns were diſcharged, and a public thankſgiving was celebrated in the city.

A plague. THIS year the plague broke out again in *Geneva*, but not ſo fiercely as before; and the *Genevois* had the mortification to perceive, that the greateſt part of their brethern of *Tonon* had

had reverted to popery, partly through the perſuaſions of one *Cherubin*, a prieſt; and partly through the power of their ſovereign the duke of *Savoy*. That prince perceiving the crown of *France* to be in earneſt to maintain *Geneva* in its independency, at laſt perſuaded the *Genevois* magiſtrates to agree to a meeting, for diſcuſſing that affair at *Hermance*. His deputies were the ſieur *Jacob*, one of his lieutenants; the preſident *Rochette*; the preſident *Berliet*, baron of *Bourget*; *Lambert* baron of *Terny*; and *Marin* earl of *Viry*. The deputies of *Geneva* were, the counſellors, *Maillet*, *Dauſin*, *Lect*, and *Roſet*, together with the ſecretary *John Sarraſin*. The conference was long, ſolemn, intricate, and learned; the matter was debated verbally, and in writing; and the papers interchanged on this occaſion, exhauſt all that can be ſaid on this ſubject. Nothing ſatisfactory, however, reſulted from this conference, only the *French* king, by a letter to the duke of *Savoy*, dated *November* 11, 1599, again inſiſted upon the *Genevois* being comprehended as his allies in the late treaty; and acquainted the duke, that he had taken them into his peculiar protection.

The French king favours the Genevois.

THE duke perceiving the *French* king to be ſteady in his reſolution with regard to the *Genevois*, endeavoured to ſhake him in point of intereſt. The *French* king urged him to reſtore the marquiſate of *Saluces*; and the duke took a journey to *Paris*, to treat on that affair. He applied to the pope's nuncio, to whom he gave a commiſſion to offer to give up the marquiſate, provided the king would abandon the defence of the *Genevois*. The nuncio attacked *Henry* on this head, with all the ſubtlety of his profeſſion; but in all his arguments he ſtill went upon the preſumption, that the dukes of *Savoy* had an original and uncontrovertible right to the ſovereignty of *Geneva*; and from that he inferred, that the duke had as lawful a claim upon that as *Henry* had upon the marquiſate. His arguments made no impreſſion upon the king; for he diſputed the duke's right, and told the nuncio, that in protecting the *Genevois* he only followed the example of his anceſtors, and the dictates of gratitude; concluding, that he could not, without ſtaining his honour and that of his crown, abandon them or ſuffer them to be oppreſſed by the duke. This reſolute anſwer put an end to all farther conferences on that head; and the king and duke diſagreeing in other reſpects, both parties took the field. The king had the advantage of the campaign; and having ſtripped the duke of almoſt all *Savoy*, he laid ſiege to *St. Catherine*'s fort, that had been but lately erected within two leagues of *Geneva*, near *Sonzy*, and was of infinite detriment to the *Genevois*. This caſtle

castle was a regular fortification, and of so much importance to the *Genevois*, that they appointed a solemn deputation to the king, with *Beza* at its head, to beg that he would give them leave to demolish it. The duke *de Sully*, a Protestant, and one of the best servants ever any king had, was then both the first minister and the friend of *Henry*, whom he convinced that all the maxims of policy, as well as honour, led him to protect the *Genevois*. The duke in person introduced the deputies to his master; and *Beza*, that aged venerable reformer, in a speech he made on the occasion, shewed how well he had studied the most fulsome adulation of heathen and popish orators to their sovereigns, but without directly mentioning the main point of the deputation. *Henry* in his answer spoke like a friend and a gentleman: he assured them, that they might depend on the good offices of the duke *de Sully*, whom he took by the hand; and added, it must be a very unreasonable request which they could make, and he not grant it. To cut off any farther unnecessary formalities, he whispered in the ears of the deputies, that he was no stranger to the purport of their commission; and he assured them, that fort *St. Catherine* should be demolished as soon as taken.

As does the duke de Sully.

THIS noble open behaviour of the king, had it not been for the considerate generosity of the duke *de Sully*, must have been inconveniently expensive to the *Genevois*. It transported them so, that they threw open their gates to the *French* army, and kept open table for their officers, so that no fewer than four thousand *French* were reckoned in one night to be in the city. The duke of *Sully*, both by his example and authority, discountenanced this resort, by returning to the camp himself, and ordering all the officers and others to follow him. In the mean while, the trenches being opened before fort *St. Catherine*, the garrison capitulated; and having marched out with the honours of war, *Sully* blew up the bastions; and the *Genevois* serving as pioneers, so effectually demolished the fort, that, in two day's time, not a vestige of it remained. *Henry* gave six pieces of cannon, which were found in the fort, in a present to the *Genevois*.

Peace of Lyons.

NEXT year, by the interposition of the pope's legate *Aldobrandini*, an accommodation was made between *Henry* and the duke of *Savoy* at *Lyons*, by which *Henry* agreed to hold the county of *Bresse*, which he had conquered, with *Gex* and other acquisitions he had made, and to leave to the duke the marquisate of *Saluces*. *Gex* was then held by the *Genevois*, who earnestly begged of *Henry* to remain in possession of it; but all was to no purpose, for they were obliged to resign it; but *Henry*, by way of compensation, again declared them to be

be his allies, and that they were under his protection. This accommodation between *Henry* and the duke, was far from reconciling the *Savoyards* and the *Genevois*. The former found means to get possession of some villages belonging to the *Genevois*; but were disappointed in their attempts upon others; and the *Genevois* thought them of so little importance, not to mention that their right to them was doubtful, that rather than break the peace, they suffered them to remain with the *Savoyards*; but an event was now at hand, the most important of any in the *Genevois* history.

History of the famous scalade of Geneva.

In the year 1602, a kind of jubilee was celebrated at *Tonon*, belonging to the duke of *Savoy*, and finely situated on a river by the lake, about eighteen miles distant from *Geneva*. The resort to this festivity was very numerous; and amongst others were some *Frenchmen*, who, mingling with the *Savoyards*, understood that a scheme was in agitation for surprising *Geneva*. They communicated their discovery to the *Genevois* magistrates; but they disregarded it at first, as being improbable. At last they complained to the sieur *Albigny*, who was governor on that side of the mountains for the duke of *Savoy*, who gave them the strongest assurances that his master was determined, at all events, to observe the late treaties of *Vervins* and *Lyons*, made with the king of *France*, in which the *Genevois* were included, but not mentioned. The *Genevois* seemed to be satisfied with those assurances; and their credulity had almost cost them their liberties.

The plot for surprising *Geneva* had been formed originally by the Jesuits and violent *Romanists*, who considered that city as the seat and shelter of heresy; and during the *Tonon* jubilee, they had bound the undertakers of it to execute it, by solemn oaths and sacraments. The duke himself omitted no means to render it successful. He caused troops to defile towards *Focigny*, without being discerned, and particularly the regiment of the baron of *Laval d'Isere*, which was made up of *French* fugitives, banished their country for their crimes, and ripe for any desperate enterprize. *Brunaulieu*, who was lieutenant-colonel, undertook to reconnoitre the place; and after taking the height of the walls, and the dimensions of the ditches, he assured *Albigny*, that the undertaking was not only practicable, but easy to be accomplished. To render the *Genevois* perfectly secure, and likewise to form a party amongst them, the duke sent the president *Rochette*, his counsellor of state, with a commission to *Geneva*, where he proposed to the magistrates, the heads of a new and a lasting treaty between them and his master, which had such an effect, that the *Genevois* even neglected to place the usual guards at their gates,

and upon their walls. Notwithstanding the duke's secrecy, the affair was intrusted into so many hands, that the *Genevois* had repeated informations of a blow that was to be speedily struck against them; but they disregarded all advice of that kind, and treated a man as a visionary for assuring them that their enemies were actually upon their march to attack them. The night between the 11th and 12th of *December*, was pitched upon for the execution; and *Albigny*, about six in the evening, put his troops in motion at *La Roche*, *Bonne*, and *Bonneville*. In their march they endeavoured to secure all the peasants, lest any of them should carry intelligence to *Geneva*; but some of them escaping, endeavoured to alarm the guards, who continued to despise the information. Every thing was provided with the utmost precision, for the success of the undertaking, which was proposed to be performed by escalade. *Brunaulieu*, and some of the chief officers, had bound themselves in the most solemn manner, not to return alive if they were not successful. Petards were provided, the ladders on which the escalade was to be performed were blackened, to prevent their being perceived, jointed, and fortified with iron, and accommodated with pullies, for their more easy management, and three hundred resolute troops, who were to mount first, were armed at all points with breast-plates, helmets, pistols, and cutlaces; some of them were furnished with great steel hammers, which served as hatchets at the same time, and pincers for pulling nails and bolts. They were to be supported by another party, armed with half-pikes and muskets. The duke himself came incognito post over the mountains to *Tremblieres*, within a mile of *Geneva*, that he might animate his men, who approached to the city without meeting with any considerable obstruction, though they were sometimes alarmed by their own fears and superstition. The main body was left at *Plein Palais*, a delightful walk in the suburbs of *Geneva*, while *Brunaulieu*, with the three hundred we have mentioned, advanced to the escalade. At first they were startled by springing a flock of wild ducks; but being provided with hurdles, they passed the ditch of the quarter called *Corraterie*, and raised, three ladders against the wall, near the watch tower of the *Monoye-gate*. The reader is to observe, that within the wall was a large void space, which was left unguarded, and which terminated in a gate towards the city, called *Tartas*, which generally stood open. *Sonas*, the son of him who was killed at *Montheux*, was amongst the first to mount the wall; but a stone happening to fall from it, knocked him down and stunned him. *Albigny* and one *Alexander*, a *Scotch* Jesuit, stood at each side of the ladder, the

Dispositions for surprising the city.

firſt encouraging the aſſailants by the promiſe of booty, and the latter by the hope of heaven, and giving them, by way of taliſmans, ſlips of paper, inſcribed with texts of ſcripture, for their preſervation. Their exhortations were ſo effectual, that about one in the morning *Sonas*, *Attignac*, and ſix others, had mounted the wall, and in an inſtant were followed by two hundred more. The firſt eight who mounted entered the gate of *Tartas*, walked through the ſtreets unperceived, and found that every thing was quiet; while the reſt concealed themſelves in the void of the *Corraterie*, it having been agreed upon not to proceed to farther action till day-break, that they might the better know what they were about, and give the *Spaniſh* and *Neapolitan* auxiliaries, who were at ſome diſtance, time to come to their aſſiſtance. This precaution ſeems to have ruined their enterprize; while the duke was ſo confident of ſucceſs, that he diſpatched meſſengers through *Savoy*, *Piedmont*, and *Dauphiny*, with an account that he was maſter of *Geneva*, which was for ſome days believed.

Confidence of the duke of Savoy.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the precaution of the aſſailants, a centinel in the tower near the *Monoye-gate*, informed his corporal that he heard a noiſe; upon which the latter ſent out a ſoldier with a lanthorn to reconnoitre, and he ſeeing ſome men approach, fired his piece, but was immediately knocked down; upon which the centinel on the tower fired his piece likewiſe, to alarm the main-guard, which conſiſted of no more than ſix men. This diſcovery did not diſconcert *Brunaulieu*, who, by this time, had paſſed the walls likewiſe. He divided thoſe who had got in into four parties; one was to ſeize the New Gate, one that of *Tartas*, another that of *Monoye*, and the fourth, the entrance to the town-houſe, till petards could be brought for blowing up the New Gate, ſo that the main army might enter in a body from *Plein Palais*. Thirteen men had been placed to guard the New Gate, which was then the chief one of the city; but they were no ſooner attacked by the *Savoyards*, than ten of them diſcharged their pieces, and ran to alarm the guards at the town-houſe, *La Four*, and the gate of *Rive*. They were ſo cloſely purſued, that it was with difficulty they could ſhut the gate of *La Trielle* behind them. The *Savoyards* upon this returned to the New Gate, where one of the three guards, who had hid himſelf upon the top of the tower, let down the port cullice, which prevented the petard from taking effect. In the mean while, all the quarter about the gate of *Tartas*, which was the only one now in poſſeſſion of the *Savoyards*, was alarmed by a vigilant citizen. Part of the citizens were employed in barricadoing the ſtreets, and part in endeavouring

whoſe troops are beat by the Genevois.

to

to retake the gate, where a ſharp conflict began, and ſeveral were killed on both ſides; but the aſſailants, at laſt, were obliged to return to the New Gate. It was ſtill pitch dark; and both parties in general uſing the ſame language, the confuſion was prodigious, the *Savoyards* purpoſely calling out, as if they had been citizens, to march to the *Rive*, for the enemy was there. By this time they had forced open the gate of *Monoye*; but they found a barricade behind it, defended by citizens, who killed ſome of them, and obliged others to retire to the *Corraterie*, where they began to plunder the houſes. The ſcaling-ladders all this time remained at the wall that joins the tower of *Monoye*, with a baſtion called *Oye*, which laſt the *Savoyards* had not attempted; and one of its embraſures flanking the ladders, a *Genevois* gunner diſcharged a ſhot ſo happily, as to deſtroy or carry moſt part of them off. The troops that were waiting at *Plein Palais* miſtook the noiſe of this ſhot for that of the petard, which was to have been their ſignal for advancing; and thinking that all was their own, ordered their drums to beat, and rather ran than marched towards the New Gate. Finding it ſhut, they haſtened to the ditch of the *Corraterie*, where they thought their ſcaling-ladders were ſtill ſtanding. While they were in the ditch, the *Genevois* gunner made a ſecond diſcharge upon their flank, from a cannon loaded with ſmall ſhot, while a reſolute party of the citizens, attacking the *Savoyards*, who were ſtill endeavouring to force open the New Gate, drove them into the open part of the *Corraterie*. Here every *Genevois* became a hero. A taylor performed wonders with a two-handed ſword; and a woman ſplit the ſkull of one of the enemy's officers. In ſhort, while they were thus ſhut up in *La Trielle*, fifty-two of them were killed. *Brunaulieu* obſtinately refuſed at firſt to retreat, and was killed. At laſt his party, imagining themſelves ſtill poſſeſſed of the ſure means of eſcaping, retired to the wall where they had left their ladders; but finding none there, they were forced to throw themſelves down, by which many were wounded, and ſome killed. By this time the citizens had found means to mount a battery of cannon upon the platform of *La Treille*, which bore directly upon *Plein Palais*, and routed all the *Savoyard* army there. *Albigny* having no hopes of ſucceſs, ordered a retreat, which his troops performed in great diſorder to *Bonne*. When the duke of *Savoy* was informed by *Albigny* of the ill ſucceſs of this enterprize, all he ſaid was, "That he had made a fair flouriſh."

Their loſs.

The Savoyards executed.

In this attempt the *Genevois* made thirteen priſoners, amongſt whom were three of quality, *Sonas*, *Chaffardon*, and *Attignac*; and being conſidered as no better than common robbers, all of

of them were hanged, and their heads, as well as those who had been killed in the enterprize, were placed on the walls of the city, by order of the council of sixty, the whole amounting to sixty-seven. This attempt cost the duke of *Savoy* two hundred of his best troops; but the *Genevois* had no more than thirteen killed and thirty wounded. *Beza* was now grown so old, that he had heard nothing of the tumult; but next day, after viewing the slain along the *Corraterie*, he mounted the pulpit, and preached a thanksgiving sermon, ordering the 124th psalm to be sung; a practice that has been kept up ever since in *Geneva* on that anniversary, which they still observe. The tranquility of the city being somewhat restored, there was the strongest reason for believing that the *Savoyards* had a correspondence with some men of note within the walls; and two syndics, who had disregarded the advices of the enemy's approaches, narrowly escaped being torn into pieces by the people, who were greatly divided about the choice of the succeeding syndics; but they at last fixed upon four who were unexceptionable.

Apology of the duke for his attempt.

The *Genevois* having returned public thanksgivings for their deliverance, which they commemorated by inscriptions and other institutions, applied themselves to guard against the like surprizals for the future. They wrote letters to *Bern* and the other Protestant cantons of *Switzerland*, informing them of all that had happened; and they immediately sent twelve hundred men to their assistance. They wrote likewise, in the same strain, to the sieur *de Guiché*, governor of *Lyons*, imploring the *French* king's assistance, in case *Albigny* should renew his attempt upon their city, as they were apprehensive he would. This letter was laid before the *French* king, who, till he read it, had believed that *Geneva* was actually in the power of the *Savoyards*. Being undeceived, he wrote them a letter full of friendship and affection, promising them that if the duke of *Savoy* should again molest them, that he would not only send them assistance, but if it was necessary, that he would march in person to their relief. As to the duke of *Savoy*, all *Europe* reproached him for his insincerity and treachery towards the *Genevois*; but he made use of two kinds of apologies to justify his conduct. He excused it, at the *Roman* Catholic courts, from his zeal to introduce the true religion into *Geneva*; and he ordered the count *de Tournon*, his resident with the *Swiss* cantons, to apologize for it to the government of *Bern*, by pretending that the *Genevois* had refused to pay him his lawful tolls and customs, and had maltreated his officers. The *Bernois* magistrates disregarded this apology so much, that they returned no answer to it; and had

not

not the count and his secretary lest *Bern*, they would have been insulted by the populace. It is said, that the pope himself disapproved of the duke's attempt; and the *Genevois*, in the manifestos they published upon the occasion, shrewdly observed, that a prince, who, like the duke of *Savoy*, had been guilty of perjury, gave but an indifferent specimen of his regard for religion. The duke, however, omitted no means to preserve the friendship of the *Bernois*, and the other Protestant cantons.

He found this the more necessary, as he was so far from laying aside his designs against *Geneva*, that he straitened it by his garrisons on all quarters. But the *Genevois* being reinforced, not only by their *Bernois* auxiliaries, but by some troops from *France*, manned their walls so as to prevent all future surprizes, cut down their trees about their city to take away all shelter from their enemies, and in their turn invaded the dominions of *Savoy*, where they took *St. Genis d'Aosta*, and made incursions to the gates of *Chambery* itself, which they were very near taking.

SECT. IV.

Friendship of the French *King to the* Genevois; *their Accommodation with the Duke of* Savoy; Terrail's *Conspiracy discovered, and he himself executed; other Conspiracies and Executions; Execution of* Nicholas Antoine; *Death of the Duke* de Rohan *at* Geneva; Cromwell's *Letter to the* Genevois; *they fortify their City, which is again in Danger of being surprised; but is protected by the* French.

The French *king proposes a peace.* A. D. 1603.

THE *French* king *Henry* IV. was the real friend of *the Genevois*. Being sensible that they were unable to support themselves, he ordered *de Vic*, one of his ministers, to endeavour to bring them over to the thoughts of a peace; but in so gentle a manner, that they could not perceive that he assumed the smallest superiority over their government. *De Vic* was received in *Geneva* with great marks of distinction; but he found many of the leading men strongly disposed to continue the war with the duke of *Savoy*. *De Vic*, however, by a little management at first, brought them to conclude a truce, which was a kind of prelude of a negociation for a peace. This met with great difficulties; for though the duke of *Savoy* wanted peace as much as the *Genevois* did, yet

yet the pride of the court of *Spain*, which declared itself to be the duke's protector, would not suffer him to stoop to the terms of the *Genevois*. The negociation therefore was several times broken off and resumed; but at last the count *de Fuentes*, the *Spanish* governor of *Milan*, sent one *Sebastian Culebro* to *Geneva*, where, obtaining admittance, he produced his credentials, by which it appeared, that his Catholic majesty was determined to declare war against the *Genevois*, unless they made peace with the duke of *Savoy*. The *Genevois*, elated by their late successes, were ready to have bid defiance to this menace; but the *French* king interposed, and treated so effectually with the *Genevois* allies amongst the cantons, that a peace at last was concluded at *St. Julien*; but more to the joy and satisfaction of the *Savoyards*, than of the *Genevois*. Both parties thus laying down their arms, they resumed their pens. The *Savoyards* were the aggressors, by publishing treatises tending to revive that duke's claim to the sovereignty of *Geneva*; but they were answered by *Sarrazin*, by order of the *Genevois* magistrates.

History of Blondel.

In the year 1604, a prosecution was commenced against *Philibert Blondel*, who had been one of the syndics when the *Savoyards* attempted to scale the walls of *Geneva*. Having amassed a fortune of forty thousand crowns, by means, for which no body could account, the people suspected him to be a traitor, and in the pay of the duke of *Savoy*. At first he was tried upon a charge of misdemeanors; and it was proved, that in the night of the scalade he had been remiss in his duty, for which he was fined two thousand crowns. He refused to submit to the sentence, and his effects were seized to make good the fine. He still stood on his justification, and fresh evidence coming out against him, he was fined three thousand crowns more. This additional censure was worse than death to *Blondel*, who was equally haughty, vindictive, and avaritious; and he was resolved to die in prison rather than pay the money.

A FRESH prosecution was commenced against him, and it was proved, that he held a correspondence with the duke of *Savoy*; that he possessed an estate under him, for which he paid neither rent nor taxes; that a lanthorn, with his mark on it, was found in the city ditch the day of the scalade, besides several other strong circumstances of treason. This drew upon him another fine of two thousand crowns, and he was sentenced to lie seven years in prison. All this severity was far from daunting *Blondel*; and the principal evidence against him being a peasant, who used to manage his correspondence, he attempted to win him over by money; but that failing, he found means to have him imprisoned; and the

fellow continuing to stand by his former evidence, *Blondel* suborned one of his jailors, who strangled him in prison; but being apprehended and put to the rack, he laid all the blame upon *Blondel*. The latter, according to the detestable custom in *Geneva*, was put to the rack likewise. Though torments upon torments were multiplied upon him, nothing could be extorted from him, but that he was guilty of the murder, and of having offered his service to the duke of *Savoy*; upon which he was hanged and quartered, and died as impenitent as he was unpitied. After his execution the magistrates fortified their city, so as to render it less liable to sudden attacks for the future.

who is executed.

Death of Beza.

In the year 1605, died *Theodore Beza*, the successor of *Calvin*, in his functions as a minister of the reformation. His credit with the reformed was so great, that he was commonly called the pope of the *Hugonots*; and his disposition was more amiable than that of *Calvin*. Soon after his death, an incident happened which threw the *Genevois* into vast perplexities. *Henry* IV. the *French* king, who had been their father and protector, sent the sieur *de Nerestan*, to desire the *Genevois* to grant him a place for building a fort, or an arsenal, to secure their city against future surprizes. Such of the *Genevois* as had been accustomed to look upon the *French* as their friends and protectors, espoused this request; but the more considerate looked on it, if complied with, as a prelude to the loss of their liberties; and they very truly observed, that the future kings of *France* might not all of them possess the disinterested, virtuous, and noble sentiments of *Henry* IV. Not being willing, however, to shock their august benefactor with a flat refusal of his request, it was referred to the council of two hundred, and by them to the general council. *Henry* was generous enough to interpret those delays at once as a mark of respect for his person, and of their backwardness to comply with his request; and he ordered his ministers to press it no farther. He even, that very year, in *June* 1606, granted to the *Genevois* letters of naturalization, to free them from the *Aubeine*, and other taxes.

Requests of the French *king.*

The independency of *Geneva* became now so much the object of attention amongst the Protestant powers, that this year the landgrave of *Hesse* made the citizens a present of twelve thousand crowns, as the prince palatine did of three thousand, for building a bulwark near the lake; to defend and fortify the gate of *Rive*, which was accordingly completed; and the munificence of the two princes was commemorated by an inscription upon the work. The rest of this year, and the two next, were spent at *Geneva* in domestic and religious regulations. In the year 1609, one *Carral*, the

he common ſerjeant of the city, was broken alive upon the wheel, for carrying on a correſpondence with the court of *Savoy*, which he informed of all that paſſed at *Geneva*, and or other deteſtable crimes.

A MORE dangerous conſpiracy now broke out. A gentleman, called *Terrail*, a man of courage and quality, having been guilty of murder, was obliged to fly *France*; and having ſpent ſome years in different armies, particularly in *Flanders*, he, together with one *Baſtide*, another *Frenchman*, and an excellent engineer, in travelling through *Italy* came to the court of *Savoy*, where they were well received by that duke, who was no ſtranger to their characters and qualifications. After ſome converſation he acquainted them, that he was far from having dropt his deſigns againſt *Geneva*, and that he was willing to engage their aſſiſtance in making them ſucceſsful; which they willingly agreeing to, his highneſs made both of them very generous preſents; and *Baſtide* was ſent to *Geneva*, where he viewed all the new fortifications, and then returned to the duke. Both he and *Terrail* agreed, that it was practicable to ſurpriſe the city; and at laſt, *Terrail*'s propoſal was to make themſelves maſters of the gate leading to the lake, and that of *La Rive*, which could not be done without great difficulty, and their being thoroughly informed of the nature and ſituation of the place. For this purpoſe both of them paſſed over to *Evian*, where they had an opportunity of informing themſelves by the boatmen, and other perſons trading to *Geneva*, of the nature of the watch that was kept at the gates, and other particulars which they wanted to know. In a few days they returned to the duke; and it was agreed to prepare five large flat-bottomed boats, which ſhould be laden with wood, piled up in ſuch a manner as to conceal two hundred men in each boat; and it was propoſed to defer the execution till the following *May*, during which time *Terrail* and *Baſtide* were to repair to *Flanders*, to provide men on whom they could depend; for they propoſed to have in readineſs ſeveral bodies, both of horſe and foot, in the neighbourhood of *Geneva*, to ſecond their main enterprize. *A French Conſpiracy of* Terrail *and* Baſtide

THE indiſcretion of the conſpirators, before they left the duke of *Savoy*'s court at *Chambery*, occaſioned the diſcovery of their deſign. *Terrail*'s valet overheard ſome ſuſpicious expreſſions that paſſed between him and *Baſtide*; and at the ſame time he diſcovered they were often conſulting a draught of *Geneva*. He imparted his obſervations to his brother in that city; and by his means the magiſtrates, who had ſome dark intimations of it before, were put upon their guard. They informed themſelves all they could concerning *Terrail*'s perſon *diſcovered*,

and intentions, and even privately procured his picture, which they sent copies of to such bailiffs and magistrates as they could trust, of those places through which they were informed he and *Bastide* were to pass. With some difficulty they were known, and arrested at *Yverdun*, a little town belonging to the *Bernois*; and though *Terrail* offered the soldier who knew him one thousand crowns to favour his escape, yet they were first imprisoned, and then put into the hands of one of the syndics, who carried them to *Geneva*. *Bastide* being put to the rack, confessed the whole, as did *Terrail* likewise; upon which the former was hanged, and the latter beheaded. Some doubts were held concerning the legality of those executions; but they were justified by the magistrates, who affirmed, that the sufferers had no right to any protection from the laws of nations, which they had forfeited, by entering into such a conspiracy in time of peace. Notwithstanding this apology, it would perhaps be hard to ascertain what degree of credit is due to a discovery that is extorted from the rack.

And the conspirators executed.

Giovanni wrongfully executed.

It is certain, that the jealousy which the *Genevois* entertained of their public liberty, hurried them sometimes into precipitate measures. An *Italian*, one *Giovanni*, accused one of the chief counsellors of corresponding with the duke of *Savoy*, who had his picture in his closet. The counsellor being brought to *Giovanni*, the latter candidly owned that he was not the person he expected to have seen. This acknowledgment, however, did not save him from being hanged for calumny and imposture. After his execution his information was discovered to be right, there being another person of the same name with the counsellor he had cleared, and who kept up a close correspondence with the duke. Upon this discovery the attorney-general wanted that a new process should commence against the real person; but the evidence being executed, the affair was dropt.

Death of Henry IV.

The *Genevois* sustained a great loss by the death of *Henry* IV. of *France*, who was no sooner assassinated than the duke of *Savoy* renewed his preparations against *Geneva*. But the preservation of that city became now the common cause of Protestantism itself. The reformed churches of *France* made large collections, which they remitted to the *Genevois*, to assist them in fortifying and defending their city. The queen-mother of *France*, who bore them no good-will, complained of those remittances made by *French* subjects; but *Anjorrand*, the *Genevois* deputy at the court of *France*, proved to her majesty, that the late king, by the treaty of *Saleurre*, had permitted his Protestant subjects to assist the *Genevois* with their persons and estates. His reasons being accepted of, Mons.

de Soubize, of the house of *Rohan*, and Mons. *de Bethune*, nephew to the duke of *Sully*, with other leaders of the *French Hugonots*, repaired to *Geneva*, which they fortified as completely as the nature of its situation could admit of, particularly the gate of *Rive*, the weakness of which had often endangered the city. It was about this time that a new conspiracy was formed by one of the *Genevois* officers, for putting *St. Anthony*'s bulwark into the hands of the *Savoyards*; but the treason being overheard by a *French* Protestant, the traitor was seized and executed. Those precautions, however, had so much effect, that they discouraged all the attempts of the *Savoyards*; and the *French* auxiliaries of the *Genevois* were permitted to return home, *Geneva* being then thought to be out of the reach of danger. For some years after this, nothing remarkable occurs in the history of *Geneva*, but natural or accidental events; such as fires, famine, plagues, and pestilence. The most severe plague happened in the year 1615, when about four thousand *Genevois* died of it, most of them of the meaner kind of people.

The Genevois favour the duke of Savoy.

DURING this public calamity, the duke of *Savoy* was remarkably attentive in assisting and relieving the *Genevois*; and his conduct was such as gave them no kind of room for believing that he had any design upon their state. In the difference that happened between him and the duke *de Nemours*, who was supported by the *Spaniards*, the *Genevois* took part with the duke of *Savoy*, and sent him considerable supplies of troops, as well as arms and ammunition. Not contented with this, the magistrates (though by the treaty of *St. Julien* they might have refused it) gave him leave to quarter his troops along the banks of the *Rhone*, in the neighbourhood of their city; and the *Genevois* were so fond of serving under him, that many of them offered to act as volunteers in his army, till the government began to grow apprehensive that their city would be too much weakened. The truth is, the duke of *Savoy*, at this time, had more reason to dread the *Spaniards* than the Protestants, and therefore he made an alliance with the *Bernois*, who sent three thousand men to his assistance, while he in return renounced all his claim upon the county of *Vaud*.

Treason of Chenalat.

THE *Genevois*, by the perpetual resort of *French* Protestants to their city, had now acquired several useful manufactures; but their historian hints, as if they had not been greatly discouraged by their magistrates, which obliged some of the chief manufacturers to remove to *Yverdun*, where they carried on their trades, to the great prejudice of *Geneva*. The marquis of *Lans* was then governor of *Savoy*, and he endeavoured to debauch

bauch one *Chenalat*, a *Genevois* of great figure, who undertook to undermine a house near *St. Leger*'s gate, so as to give admittance to the marquis's troops. This plot was discovered by the relations of *Chenalat*, who received five hundred pistoles in hand, with a promise of twelve thousand crowns more; upon which he was arrested, tried, and executed, though he denied to the last his having any other design than that of extorting money from the marquis. Next year the *Genevois* sent two of their professors of divinity, *John Diodati* and *Theodore Trochin*, to assist as their deputies at the synod of *Dort*; and upon their return to *Geneva*, each was presented by the states with a medal. In the year 1621, the *Genevois* were alarmed by the vast warlike preparations made by the duke of *Savoy*. *D'Alincourt*, the *French* governor of *Lyons*, sent an account of them to his court, who ordered him to give the most early intelligence, if any attempt should be made against *Geneva*; and in the mean while that city received additional fortifications from *Motet*, an engineer sent them by the prince of *Orange*, and a *French* gentleman of the name of *Ferrault*. Next year a national synod of the Protestant churches being held at *Paris*, and the *Genevois* being extremely willing to conform in all respects to the *French* reformed, their pastors wrote a letter to the assembly, to acquaint them that they were willing to abolish all the unimportant points of practice that still subsisted between them and their *French* brethren; and *Trochin* their minister, by order of the council and consistory, informed the people from the pulpit of the reasons for this compliance, with which they appeared to be satisfied.

Synod of Dort.

Difference with Savoy.

In the year 1624, the duke of *Savoy* pretending there was a scarcity of corn in his own dominions, prohibited his subjects to transport any grain to *Geneva*. The *Genevois* considered this prohibition as an infringement of the treaty of *St. Julien*, and on their part prohibited the carrying out of iron, salt, and other commodities into *Savoy*. *Wake*, the *English* ambassador to the duke of *Savoy*, happening at that time to pass through *Geneva*, made up this difference, when it was likely to proceed to an open breach, by persuading the duke to take off his prohibition.

Jealousy of the Calvinists.

Notwithstanding the late conformity between the *Genevois* and the *French* Protestants in matters of religion, it is certain that the former still retained a strong aversion to the *Lutherans*. The marquis of *Bade*, a *German Lutheran* prince, being obliged, on account of his religion, to leave his own country, retired to *Geneva*, where he lived with a *Lutheran* minister in his family, who was, by the council, indulged

in

n the exercise of his religion within his house. The other *Lutheran Germans* in *Geneva* hearing of this, resorted in such numbers to the marquis's house, that the *Genevois* taking the larm, complained to their magistrates, and said they made no doubt of soon seeing the mass read in their city, after such ndulgence being extended to the *Lutherans*. This ridiculous affair became at last so serious, that it was laid before the council of twenty-five, who ordered a syndic and the lieutenant to repair to the marquis, and entreat him not to suffer his house to be open to the citizens in time of worship. The marquis, more mindful of his past, than his present, situation, and proud of his high quality, far from taking this message in good part, lifted his hand to strike the syndic, and insisted that, being a prince, and *Geneva* a city of the empire, he had as much authority as their magistrates had in that city. This boisterous behaviour being reported to the council, the permission that had been granted him was withdrawn, and the marquis in a rage left *Geneva*, and retired to *Tonon*, belonging to the duke of *Savoy*, where he met with that indulgence under a bigotted *Roman* Catholic prince, which had been denied him in a Protestant city.

NEXT year another illustrious exile took refuge in *Geneva*; his name was *George Erasmus* of *Tzernembel*, an hereditary baron of the marches of *Sclavonia* and *Carmiola*, who had been formerly counsellor to the emperors *Rodolph* II. and *Matthias* I. and one of the directors of *Bohemia*. This nobleman having embraced the party of the unfortunate elector palatine, in his attempt upon the crown of *Bohemia*, was, upon that prince's defeat, obliged to fly with his wife and daughter to *Geneva*, oppressed with age, infirmities, and indigence. He had left his son to collect together the shattered remains of his fortune; but soon after his arrival, he heard of his being drowned, and that all he had in the world had perished in the wreck. Upon this, the magistrates and church of *Geneva* gave him a monthly support, which, upon his death, they continued to his family, and buried him suitable to his quality in *St. Peter's* cloister. *Refugees in Geneva.*

ABOUT the same time, the *Spaniards* having made themselves masters of *Portugal*, *Emilia* of *Nassau*, princess of *Orange*, sister to prince *Maurice*, and widow to Don *Emanuel*, son of *Anthony* king of *Portugal*, came to *Geneva* with her six daughters, who were married to private gentlemen in the county of *Vaud*. While she dwelt there, she made a figure no way corresponding with her birth and quality; and at last she retired to an estate which she purchased near *Nyons*. When she died she was buried in *St. Peter's* church at *Geneva*.

About the same time the sieur *d'Aubigné*, who is famous for the history he published, his courage, his military talents, and above all for his zeal in the cause of the reformation, fell into the displeasure of the *French* king. His son had been perverted by the Jesuits, and was no friend to his father, who, hearing that a warrant was out to apprehend him, concealed all his ready money, amounting to about thirty thousand ducats, in the saddles of his horses, and fled to *Geneva*, where he was, on many accounts, a welcome guest. Being eminently skilled in military architecture, he superintended all the fortifications which were raised for the defence of the city while he lived in it; and being eighty years of age at the time of his death, he was buried in *St. Peter's* cloister, where his tomb is to be seen, with an excellent *Latin* inscription on it composed by himself.

NOTHING material happened at *Geneva* till the invasion of *Germany* by *Gustavus-Adolphus* king of *Sweden*, who dispatched *Rache*, one of his ministers, to engage the Protestant cantons of *Switzerland* in his interest, and to assure the *Genevois* of the great regard he had for their state and city. The progress and fate of that great prince have been mentioned in other parts of this work. His ambassador resided for some time at *Geneva*, where he was received with all the honours that were due to the greatness of his master, and his own merit. But though *Geneva*, at this time, was crouded with sufferers for the cause of religion; and though the principles of the reformation ought to have led its magistrates to detest all persecutions for the sake of religion, especially capital ones, yet a case of that kind happened in the year 1632 that made a great noise.

History and condemnation of Antoine.

NICHOLAS ANTOINE, or *Anthony*, a native of *Berry* in *Lorraine*, had, for about seven or eight years, inclined to Judaism; and had not only endeavoured to persuade his family, who seem to have been originally Jews, to return to that religion; but had applied himself to the Jews of the city of *Metz*, to be received into their number; and they referred him to those of *Venice*. In his journey thither, he had found means to make a convert of a young student of *Sedan*, whom he carried with him to *Italy*. Being arrived at *Venice*, the Jews of that city, either from prudential reasons, or, which is still more probable, because they saw *Antoine's* brain a little touched, gave him very little encouragement, and referred him to the Jews of *Padua*; and both of them were of opinion that he ought not to insist, as he did, upon being circumcised, as it might bring them under the lash of the civil government, and that the best thing he could do

was

as to dissemble, because he might live amongst the Christians, and yet be a Jew in his heart. *Antoine* appeared satisfied with his advice, and returned to *Geneva*, where he applied to the study of divinity and philosophy, in which he distinguished himself to great advantage in the public disputations. In short time he came to be chief regent of the college, and afterwards to be the minister of a church near the city. Thus far goes the narrative part of his process.

The criminal part of it charged him with having taken an oath to live and teach according to the profession of the reformed churches, and yet to have lived and prayed after the Jewish manner, not daring to make an open profession of his belief. "That instead of preaching *Jesus Christ*, according to the oath he had taken, he had only insisted in his pulpit in the explication of the Old Testament, and falsly wrested and applied passages thereof pointing to our Saviour, and appropriated them to other persons, and above all in his last sermon; from whence it followed, by the just judgment of God, that he the said *Anthony* became deprived of his senses, and ran about the field like a distracted person, and came bare-legged into the city, uttering horrid blasphemies against our blessed Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*: that, after he had been under the hands of physicians, and carefully looked after in the hospital of this city, coming again to his senses, and being out of his mad fits, he had persisted in his blasphemies against the Holy Trinity, and the person of our blessed God and Saviour, maintaining, as well by word of mouth as writing, that *Jesus Christ* was an idol, and that the New Testament was but a meer fable. He hath confessed, that in administring the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in the exhortation to the people, he said only, Remember your Saviour: and that, in reciting the words of the Apostle's Creed, where our Saviour is mentioned, he pronounced not those words, but muttered them betwixt his teeth[a]." He lastly was charged with obstinately persevering in his opinions and blasphemies, with having renounced his baptism, writing a treatise against the Holy Trinity, and the like crimes.

We shall not presume to form any conjectures on the nature of the evidence which proved those allegations; but admitting it to be ever so strong, the record of the process itself seems to leave no room to doubt that the criminal was insane. The sentence, of the syndics and council of the city, against him, says, "That he, forgetting the fear of God, hath been guilty of the crime of apostacy and high-treason

[a] Spon. p. 176.

against

againſt God his creator and ſaviour, having fought againſt the Holy Trinity, denied our Lord and Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, blaſphemed his holy name, renounced his baptiſm, to embrace the Jewiſh religion; and hath been perjured in dogmatiſing and teaching his damnable doctrine; a caſe and a crime deſerving the greateſt puniſhment. For theſe and other cauſes moving the ſaid lords, ſitting in the tribunal of their anceſtors, according to ancient cuſtom, having the fear of God and the Holy Scriptures before their eyes, and having invoked his holy name, that they might thereby be able to make a right judgment, beginning, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, do, by this final ſentence which they have committed now to writing, condemn the ſaid *Anthony* to be bound and led to the place of *Plein-Palais* to be there faſtened to a ſtake on a pile of wood, and ſtrangled, according to the uſual manner, and afterwards to have his body burnt and conſumed to aſhes, and thus to end his days for an example to others; declaring, moreover, his goods coſiſcated to the city, and charging the lord-lieutenant to put the ſaid ſentence into due and intire execution[b]. This ſentence was accordingly executed.

Danger of Geneva. CARDINAL *Richelieu* was then firſt miniſter of *France*, and he ſo far abandoned the politics of *Henry* IV. that he entered into a treaty with the duke of *Savoy*, to whom he offered to relinquiſh the protection of *Geneva*, and to put him in poſſeſſion of it at the expence of *France*, if the other would give up *Nice* by way of exchange; but many reaſons diſſuaded the duke from an exchange, which muſt have given to the *French* the only ſea-port he had, and a ready admittance, at any time, into his dominions. Thus the *Genevois* once more eſcaped being ſlaves under the houſe of *Savoy*.

ONE of the greateſt honours that *Geneva* has to boaſt of is, that the great duke of *Rohan*, before his death, choſe it for the place of his retreat. This gave ſo much umbrage to the cardinal, that he perſuaded his maſter to deſire the duke to reſide at *Venice*[c]. The duke excuſed himſelf from obeying this order, becauſe the paſſes were all ſhut up; but to prove that he had no ſuch intention as the cardinal ſuſpected, he took the command of the duke *de Weimar*'s army, and fought the battle of *Rhinfeld* againſt the imperialiſts; and there, though he got the victory, he loſt his life, for he died ſoon after of the wounds he received, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. This great man, before his death, ordered his body to be interred at *Geneva*, where a magnificent marble tomb,

Duke of Rohan's death.

[b] SPON. ibid. [c] Vie du Pere JOSEF. p. 405.

with

with an elegant *Latin* inscription, was erected for him by his duchess, daughter to the duke of *Savoy*. The duke, during his residence at *Geneva*, had been a great benefactor to the city, and adorned *Plein-Palais* with a magnificent walk. His son *Tancred* was, a few years after, buried in the same tomb; but the duke's daughter having obtained a decree of the parliament of *Paris*, declaring him illegitimate, the inscription relating to him was erazed.

ALL this while the *Genevois*, and the cantons of *Zurich* and *Bern* lived in the utmost harmony together; and in the year 1638 they agreed, that they should, from time to time, formally renew their alliance. In the year 1642, it was the turn of the *Genevois* to entertain the *Swiss* deputies, who arrived in their city on that occasion, where they were received by all the citizens, under arms, and a profusion of public honours. The next remarkable incident in the history of *Geneva*, happened on the 19th of *January*, 1645, when a prodigious wind drove back the waters of the *Rhone* and the lake in such a manner, that people could pass on foot from the gate *Monoye* to the isle. This wind was so violent, that it did prodigious damage to the inhabitants, by carrying away house tops, blowing down chimnies, and plucking trees up by the roots. This year the suburbs of *St. Gervais* were fortified by a bulwark, and adorned with an inscription, composed by *Jacobus Gotofredus*, which some have admired, notwithstanding its puerile antitheses. This *Gotefred* was, however, a man of learning; and having been syndic five times, he made great collections of materials relating to *Geneva*, from which *Spon* composed great part of his history. He died in the year 1652. *Diodate*, who had been sent to the synod of *Dort*, died before him. He was famous for translating father *Paul*'s history of the council of *Trent*, and for having been chosen professor of *Hebrew* in *Geneva*, when he was but nineteen years of age: he was likewise professor of divinity there; and was so much esteemed in the synod of *Dort*, that he was one of the six who drew up its canons: he was seventy-three years of age at the time of his death. In the year 1651, the overflowing of the *Arve* was so great, that it swept away most of the bridges; and in *December* there was an earthquake, but without any fatal consequences. In the year 1653, some of the subjects of *Bern*, in its *German* territory, rebelled against the magistrates of that city, under one *Leuberg*, and made such a progress, that they actually blocked it up, and reduced it to great danger. In this extremity the *Bernois* applied for assistance to the *Genevois*, who sent them three companies of one hundred men each, under the captains *Debons*, *Corne*,

Genevois renew their alliance.

Cornè, and *Dumont*. This assistance came so seasonably, that the insurgents were defeated, *Leuberg* was quartered, and many of the ringleaders were hanged. The same year one *Gautier* was, at the suit of the republic of *Venice*, arrested and executed at *Geneva*, for having murdered a *Spanish* family, and pillaged the vessel that was carrying them to their own country.

ALL this while the *Genevois* seem to have enjoyed a happy tranquility, notwithstanding the inhuman prosecutions of the duke of *Savoy*'s Protestant subjects in the vallies of *Piedmont*. While those persecutions were raging, *Cromwell*, who was then protector of *England*, to raise his character with his own party, wrote a *Latin* letter to the magistrates of *Geneva*, dated *June* 7, 1655, from his palace at *Westminster*, in which he told them, "That the extreme miseries to which the duke of *Savoy* had reduced the Protestants, in the vallies of *Piedmont*, had so far moved him with compassion, that he had ordered collections to be made throughout all *England*, that he might give proofs of the great charity of that nation towards the afflicted brethren. And forasmuch as these collections required some time, and the necessities of these poor people admitted no delay, he hath therefore judged it meet to send in the mean while, the sum of two thousand pounds sterling out of his own treasury, which sum he ordered to be paid into the hands of the officers of *Geneva*, to distribute it to them who had most need, according to their prudence, supposing they would readily accept this trouble in their neighbours behalf, as in whose miseries he believed they had a fellow-feeling, beseeching God to strengthen all those who profess the orthodox religion, that they may maintain their common cause, and assist one another against their enemies, in which service he shall be glad to be employed." *Cromwell* afterwards sent *Morland*, one of his ministers, to do all the service he could to those poor Protestants; and on that occasion he passed several months at *Geneva*, where the inhabitants conceived a high opinion of *Cromwell*'s power and zeal for the Protestant religion.

Cromwell writes to the Genevois.

Geneva fortified.

NEXT year the cantons, who professed the *Roman* Catholic religion, had a war with those of *Zurich* and *Bern*, who insisted upon the inhabitants of certain independent, or as they are called, individual bailiwicks, enjoying the exercise of the Protestant religion. *Geneva* sent their allies another body of three hundred men, under the command of the captains *Debons*, *Girard*, and *Fabry*, who assisted at the siege of *Rapperswil*; and a peace being concluded, the *Genevois* auxiliaries returned home. Next year the *Genevois* began to fortify the mount

mount of *St. Victor*, before the baſtions of *Pin* and *St. Anthony*; but though at firſt the inhabitants of all ranks, females as well as males, worked inceſſantly upon the fortifications, yet it was found that they were either too extenſive to be completed, or, if completed to be manned, upon which account the work was diſcontinued. It was about this time that the *French* king came to *Lyons*, and the *Genevois* laid hold of that opportunity to congratulate him upon his recovery from a late ſickneſs, and to entreat him for the continuance of his favour and protection to their city. The ſieurs *Voyſine* and *Pictet*, were choſen to execute this commiſſion. They had a moſt obliging anſwer, and aſſurance of farther protection from his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, who had preſented each of them, at the ſame time, with a gold chain and a medal, and they in return made him the uſual preſents of their city, which conſiſted of trouts taken in their lake, weighing forty or fifty pounds each. Next year the *Genevois*, who daily ſaw cogent reaſons for being on their guard, again applied themſelves to the fortifications of their city. They firſt carried on a work in the form of a half moon, in the ſame place where they had left off before; and, in digging, many urns and medals were found, which proved the antiquity of the city of *Geneva*. Perceiving there was a neceſſity for farther fortifications, that their city might gradually receive all the ſtrength its ſituation could admit of, and being ſenſible, at the ſame time, that their own finances were very unequal to the expence of ſuch works, they ſent the famous ſieur *Turretin*, their profeſſor of divinity, into *Holland*, that he might procure money from their friends there; and the ſtates were ſo generous, that public collections were made all over their dominions, by which one hundred thouſand franks were raiſed, and *Turretin* carried them to *Geneva*. This ſum enabled the *Genevois* to reſume their works, and the *Dutch* money ſerved to build the firſt baſtion near the *Rhone*, which is called the *Dutch baſtion*; and an inſcription, engraved on a marble pillar, is erected, to commemorate the gratitude of the city, for the aſſiſtance it received from the ſtates general. *Ivoy*, an engineer, who afterwards was in the ſervice of the prince of *Orange*, had attended *Turretin* from *Holland*, and had drawn the plan of four great baſtions royal, with courtines, on the ſide of *Plein Palais*, incloſing them from the *Rhone* to the bulwark of *St. Leger*; this plan takes up no leſs than ſeventeen hundred paces in compaſs, and was incloſed and finiſhed in ten years.

THE biſhop of *Geneva*, though deprived of all juriſdiction, ſpiritual as well as temporal, within that city, ſtill reſided at *Anecy*, and exerciſed his authority over all thoſe places which formerly A. D. 1651.

Bishop of Geneva *disappointed.*

formerly belonged to his bishopric, and were not immediately possessed by the *Genevois*, who considered all the lands that had belonged to the canons of *St. Peter* and the abbey of *St. Victor*, as their own property. By the treaty of *Lyons*, in the year 1601, when *Henry* IV. exchanged the marquisate of *Saluces* for the country of *Gex*, he reserved to himself all the ports of the *Rhone*, from *Geneva* as far as *Lyons*. By this reservation, the sovereignty of *Chansy* and *Avoully*, situated on the *Rhone*, and belonging formerly to the abbey of *St. Victor*, became his, as did the village of *Moin*, which had belonged to the chapter of *St. Peter*; while the property of all the three remained with the *Genevois*.

THE *Genevois* had foreseen that this reservation might some day or other bring them into a good deal of trouble, and laying their apprehensions before *Henry* IV. he shewed himself as he did on all occasions, so much their friend, that he ordered matters to be expedited; by which he remitted this sovereignty, which was indeed but an empty title, to the *Genevois*, as he had no title to the property. It happened, either by design or accident, that those letters never had been registered in parliament; and, in the year 1661, the bishop of *Geneva*, taking advantage of the omission, applied to the *French* court for leave to settle curates in those villages, which he said lay within his diocese, though subject to the crown of *France*. His plea was so plausible, that before *John Lullin*, who had been appointed agent for *Geneva* to oppose him, could reach the *French* court, the bishop had obtained a decree in his favour; and *Bouchu*, the intendant of *Burgundy*, came to *Gex* in *February* 1662, to see the same carried into execution. When *Bouchu* arrived at *Gex*, he understood that the *Genevois* were then actually soliciting the court of *France* to have the decree suspended; upon which he deferred the execution of his commission. In the mean, while *Lullin* was so active with the *French* ministry, that, after an attendance of two years, he carried his point. The bishop was disappointed, and the villages remained on their former footing.

Danger of Geneva *from the duke of* Savoy.

THIS favour done the *Genevois* in so important a matter, made them take all opportunities of doing honour to the *French*; and when the duke of *Crequi*, in the year 1664, passed through *Geneva*, on his return from his embassy at *Rome*, they omitted no mark of respect or magnificence, that could testify their regard for his most Christian majesty; and indeed it must be admitted, that *Geneva*, more than once, owed her freedom and independency to the protection of *France*. Every day produced new disputes and quarrels, between the *Genevois* and the officers of the duke of *Savoy*, who

who were instructed for that purpose; and those differences gave him a pretence for saying, that as the treaty of *St. Julien* had been so often violated, it was not binding to either party. He stood, however, too much in fear of *France*, directly to violate that treaty, till such time as he could be in a condition to make himself master of *Geneva*. With this view, in the spring of 1667, the militia of *Savoy*, and a body of horse, called the *Savoy* regiment, consisting of five hundred gentlemen, had orders to be in readiness to take the field at an hour's warning; and a body of regulars, under the command of the marquis of *Pianezze*, were quartered at *Anecy*, *Remilly*, *Samoche*, *Cluse*, *Tonon*, *Evian*, and other places about *Geneva*. As all those towns were above four leagues (the distance prescribed by the treaty of *St. Julien*) distant from *Geneva*, the inhabitants had no right to complain, though they saw plainly by the dispositions that were making, that the duke was meditating a blow against their city. They were confirmed in this, when they understood that the duke had furnished all the militia, who were before a naked defenceless people, with arms, ammunition, and military stores of all kinds, and had ordered them to be exercised every week. To preserve a communication between those forces and *Geneva*, a stone bridge was erected over the *Arve* at *Tremblieres*, not above an hour's sail distant from that city. But the most formidable part of his preparations consisted in those he was making on the lake, where, by the assistance of seamen and workmen sent from *Nice*, he built three flat-bottomed boats, in a kind of a dock which he had made at *Bellerive*, a delightful village, lying upon the lake, in the neighbourhood of *Geneva*, and which he gave orders for securing with a chain and palisades, besides a fort that was flanked with two bastions. The *Genevois* complained, that the erecting this fort was an infraction of the treaty of *St. Julien*, because it was within four leagues of their city. The *Savoyards*, who had on this occasion brought over some of the *Swiss* cantons to their side, pleaded that the building at *Bellerive* was not a fort, because it had no ditches round it, and that it was intended only as a storehouse for their salt; as to the bridge at *Tremblieres*, they pretended, that it was built to avoid the water carriage of that commodity through *Geneva*, which they found dangerous and inconvenient, and that they intended to transport their salt in waggons by land to *Bellerive*, from whence the flat-bottomed boats they had built there, were to convey it to the *Chablais*, *Valais*, *Fribourg*, and other cantons, which used to be furnished by the *Savoyards* with salt.

THOES

A. D. 1667.

Precautions of the Genevois *in guarding their city.*

THOSE plausible pretexts did not amuse the *Genevois*; they had undoubted intelligence that the duke had an intention to make another atempt upon their city, both by land and water, and that he must succeed, if they did not prepare against the worst; they likewise more than suspected, that his royal highness (for so the dukes of *Savoy* were now called) had correspondents in the city, and that he would attempt to surprise, rather than besiege, them. The measures they took to disappoint him, shewed wonderful precaution and sagacity. Their garrison was strengthened by an addition of ten men to each company, and thirty draughted from the usual guard of citizens, who were relieved once in twenty-four hours by a like number. The grand rounds set forth every quarter of an hour, besides the usual watch, four beadles and two four majors; so that the centinels could not sleep upon their posts; the out-watches at the same time were reinforced, and four were placed in boats upon the lake. The gates were furnished with new portcullises, bars, and pallisades, and other engines, both of offence and defence. All the hedges and trees within musquet shot of the city were cut down, especially those towards the gates of *Rive*, that none might approach it unperceived. A private watch was instituted at the same time, by the council of two hundred, who had it in charge to search all strangers. The centinels were everywhere doubled, and they who stood at the draw-bridge were furnished with coats of mail to prevent their being stabbed. Chains were drawn across the lake, which were guarded by citizens, and no boat was suffered to pass without a signal from those appointed to search it, that there was no danger. Other guards were appointed, to pierce and examine all the hay carts and heavy carriages that came into the city.

THE *Genevois*, on this alarming occasion, excused no citizen residing there, who was able to bear arms, from acting as a soldier. The arms of every house-keeper were diligently examined, and they were obliged to furnish themselves according to their abilities with musquets, swords, powder, bullets, and all kinds of provisions. No inhabitant was to appear without a sword by his side; and all merchants and tradesmen were to have their arms lying on their counters in their shops, that they might be ready at a moment's warning. All the ordinary horses of the city were mustered, and two hundred of the richest citizens were obliged to keep each of them an able horse extraordinary. Those horse were commanded by *Node Balthazar*; and a great number of *French*, whom the inhabitants could depend on, offered their service

in defence of the city. To procure intelligence of the enemies deſigns, a ſecret committee of ſeven perſons was inſtituted; their buſineſs was to ſend ſpies into the enemies country, that they might learn their motions, and to take cognizance of all affairs, but thoſe that were of ſo great importance as to require being laid before the general council.

THE precautions of the *Genevois* did not even end there; they ſent for aid to their allies of *Bern* and *Zurich*, who raiſed a conſiderable body of troops for their aſſiſtance; and to render them as little burdenſome as poſſible to the *Genevois*, they were quartered in the cities and boroughs upon the lake, ſo as to be ready at an appointed ſignal. For the greater diſpatch, the *Genevois* built a large galley, and the *Bernois* built two others, one of them carrying fourteen, and the other ten guns, and each capable of carrying two hundred men. All this while, the fortifications of the city were receiving new works. The heads of the corporations of merchants, artiſts, and other profeſſions, ſpared no expence for that purpoſe; and the profeſſors of divinity, with their ſcholars, went round with four drums before them, and not only worked in their own perſons, but hired workmen according to their abilities, ſome ten, and ſome twenty; nay, a rich *Dutch* merchant, who happened to be then at *Geneva*, brought along with him two hundred workmen, whom he paid.

Their danger vaniſhes.

THE ardour of the *Genevois* at this time to come to action with the *Savoyards*, was wonderful, and many ſeemed to be ſenſibly mortified that they had no opportunity of ſhewing their courage by the duke declaring war. This was the more to be expected, as he had kept on foot upon the confines of *Savoy* a large body of troops ready for action, at an expence that was but ill ſuited with the ſtate of his finances, for above nine months. But his royal highneſs was no ſtranger to the preparations that were making to receive him, and therefore choſe to loſe all his preparations rather than make an attempt, which he thought could end only in increaſing and exaſperating his enemies.

Farther differences with Savoy.

WHILE thoſe warlike preparations were carrying on, the communication between *Geneva* and the duke of *Savoy*'s dominions was ſtill kept open; and a difference fell out, which was proſecuted in another manner than by arms. In *March*, this year, the curates of *Megny* and *Choulex*, two places belonging to the duke of *Savoy*, adminiſtered the ſacrament to a ſick perſon at *Courſinge*, a village belonging to that duke, all but the houſe where the ſick man lay, which was under the juriſdiction of the *Genevois* lordſhip of *Juſſy*. The matter in itſelf was inconſiderable; but it happened at ſo critical a

time, that both parties had their reasons for rendering it important. The *Genevois* government ordered *Colladon*, their first syndic, to inquire into the matter; and taking some examinations on the spot, he ordered the two curates to appear before him by a certain day. This was at best but a captious kind of proceeding; and the senate, as it is called, of *Chambery*, not only cited *Colladon* to appear before them, but published a declaration against him by beat of drum, and even ordered him to be apprehended and brought to trial. This extraordinary proceeding induced the *Genevois* council to send *Liffort*, another syndic, to make their complaints to the president *La Perouse*, who then commanded in *Savoy*, and to lay before him their evidences of that particular house being within their dominions; but the president would neither give them admittance, nor hear their reasons. The *Genevois* then carried the matter before the *Swiss* cantons, not so much because the latter had any jurisdiction in it, but that they might clear their own conduct; which the *Savoyard* ambassador to the same cantons, endeavoured to impeach and blacken. As the *Genevois* perhaps did not find that their conduct had been very defensible they deputed, towards the end of the year, *Andrew Pictet* and *John Dupan*, to attend his royal highness in person at *Turin*, and to make an end of the difference. The duke received the deputies very obligingly, but remitted the matter to the president and other commissioners, who used so many trifling delays, that the deputies spent three months at *Turin* to no purpose. At last the *French* king sent a letter by *Lionne*, one of his ministers, to the magistrates of *Geneva*, desiring the *Genevois*, for the sake of peace, to drop their pretensions upon the house; and this request being seconded by *Servient*, the *French* ambassador at *Turin*, they complied.

Dissensions in Geneva.

WHILE this affair was in dependence, and even before the *Savoyard* forces had retired from the neighbourhood of *Geneva*, an affair happened, which was so little to the credit of the moderation of the parties concerned, that they expunged the transaction out of their records, as an atonement for their imprudence. All we know of it from *Spon* is, that during the absence of the syndics, the auditor, *John Sarrazin*, presided, *December* 7th, in their place, over both the council of two hundred, and that of twenty-five. The latter council resented this; and thus the government was split into two factions: that of the council of two hundred, which was backed by the citizens, as that of the council of twenty-five was by the garrison and soldiers, by whose assistance *Sarrazin* was arrested and thrown into prison. The council of two hundred

hundred complained, that he suffered for no other crime, but because he had presided in their assembly; and they convened the people in *St. Mary*'s church, that they might rescue him by force; the lesser, on the other hand, drew out the garison, and both parties were ready to come to blows, when the matter was compromised, though we know not how; the prisoner was discharged, and the city restored to quiet.

THE next remarkable incident that occurs in the history of *Geneva*, was a most dreadful fire, that happened in the night time of the 27th of *January*, 1670, amongst the houses on and near the bridge over the *Rhone*, and which threatened the destruction of the whole city. The houses being built of timber were consumed in two hours time, and one hundred and twenty persons perished in the flames. Many threw themselves into the *Rhone*; but at last the conflagration was stopped from spreading by the towers of *Monoye* and the isle, but not till it had done so much damage, that the channel of the *Rhone* between the isle and the city, though two hundred and sixty feet broad, was filled, and dried up by the ruins of the houses. Liberal collections were made by the people of *Geneva*, who raised six thousand crowns; and likewise by their allies of *Bern*.

NEXT year the prince elector palatine paid a visit to *Geneva*, where he resided four months; during which time nothing was wanting that could contribute to his entertainment. Amongst other diversions, one ought not to be forgot. Their largest galley was fitted out and manned by the young *Genevois*; and the prince, with part of the council, received on board of it. After the company had diverted themselves with fishing upon that delightful lake, they landed at the castle of *Kosette*, where a splendid feast was served up; during which the prince was waited on by the young *Genevois* of the greatest distinction, as the lords of the council were by the prince's attendants. After dinner the prince and his company landed, and walked on the side of the lake under a general discharge of artillery, answered by drums and trumpets from thirty boats that attended the galley. During this excess of joy, the *Genevois* magistrates had, for the diversion of the prince, contrived the matter so, that when the smoke of the cannon blew away, all of a sudden a frigate appeared with an *Algerine* flag on her main top, and manned with fifty pretended *Moors*, and attacked the great galley. Upon this a sea-fight ensued, in which the *Algerines* were defeated, and were led prisoners in triumph to *Geneva* by the prince, who at night entered that city under another general discharge of all the cannons on its ramparts. Soon after he fell sick,

and public prayers were put up for his recovery, through all the churches of *Geneva*. His health being re-eſtabliſhed, he ſet out for *Grenoble*, the citizens and garriſon being in arms, and lining the way for him as he proceeded, the council attending him in a body till he left their territory.

A new plot againſt Geneva.

In *September* 1673, the chief ſyndic found at his houſe (on his return from church) a letter, which a perſon unknown had left in his abſence; the contents whereof were, "That upon a proviſo of a proportionable reward, he would make "ſuch a conſiderable diſcovery, that the public ſafety de"pended on it; and if they deſired to ſpeak with this perſon "next morning about it, the ſuperior of the convent of the "capuchins of *Gex* would inform them where he was; but "if they neglected this advertiſement, they might be certain "of finding the city, in a ſhort time, reduced to the greateſt "extremity [a]." This letter being laid before the council, the preſident *Dunant* was ſent by them next morning to *Gex*, where he had an interview with the writer, who, after ſome converſation had paſſed between them, appeared to be the contriver, as well as the diſcoverer of the deſign; which *Dunant* underſtood was for a new attempt on the city, and had been communicated to the duke of *Savoy*, who had affronted the diſcoverer, which was the reaſon why he was willing to reveal it to the *Genevois* government; but he inſiſted upon being rewarded for his diſcovery with a ſum equal to one thouſand pounds ſterling, and to have a place aſſigned him where he could live in ſafety. *Dunant* acquainted him, that he had no power to treat with him upon ſuch conditions, and that his beſt courſe would be to repair to *Geneva*, where he could treat with the magiſtrates themſelves. The other then deſired a letter of ſafe-conduct; but *Dunant* told him, that no ſuch was ever granted by the magiſtrates of *Geneva*; but that he was authorized to engage the public faith, that he might come into the city on the ſame ſecurity that others had done before him. The man was contented with this very ambiguous ſecurity, and next day preſented himſelf before the magiſtrates of *Geneva*, informing them, that his name was *John Baptiſte Noroy*, of *Nozeray*, in *Burgundy*; that he had found out an eaſy way by which he could ſurpriſe *Geneva*; that he had gone to *Piedmont*, where he had communicated the ſame to the duke of *Savoy* ſome months before; and that, after having a private conference with him at *Rivoles*, the duke told him, that he thought the undertaking was too hazardous; that he had a ſcore of penſioners in

[a] Spon. p. 187.

Geneva;

Geneva; that ſome of them even ſate in the council, and that the juncture was very improper for entering into a war. He thanked him, him, however, for his diſcovery, and gave him ten pieces of gold by way of reward. To confirm all he ſaid, he produced letters under the hand of the duke of *Savoy*'s ſecretary, and other noblemen of that court.

UPON farther examination it appeared, that *Noroy*'s ſcheme was to have introduced, without ſuſpicion, four or five hundred men, all of them unarmed, into *Geneva*, where they were to be lodged in private houſes, and have arms delivered them, and lie hid till the day of the execution of their enterprize, which was to be in ſermon-time, about eight of the clock. All thoſe people, who were hid, coming out with their arms, were to divide themſelves into ſeveral parties, three of which, conſiſting of about eighty men a-piece, ſhould ſpeedily ſeize on all the doors of the three churches, and not only hinder the people from coming out, but in the fright would conſtrain them to get up upon the top of the churches, and by this means there would be no place needing a guard, but only the ſteeple ſtairs; another company ſhould ſcour the ſtreets, and kill the citizens, who being not at church would come out of their houſes to rally themſelves; the reſt were to ſet upon a certain gate of the city, which being not ſuccoured by any citizens, might be eaſily won; which being done, there ſhould be let in forces who were to march all night, that they might be at the gates at the hour of this execution. Upon farther examination, he gave two reaſons for making the diſcovery; the firſt was the ſlight put upon him by the ſmall reward he had from the duke; and the ſecond was, his having been refuſed the government of *Geneva* when it ſhould be taken, and his being ſcoffed at for making the demand. *The plotter diſcovered.*

ALL thoſe diſcoveries were made only to the council of twenty-five. *Noroy* was preſſed by them to name the duke of *Savoy*'s penſioners in *Geneva*. He declared, that he was totally ignorant both of their names and perſons, and very ſenſibly added, that conſidering the manner in which the duke treated him, it could not be ſuppoſed that he would be let into a ſecret of ſuch importance. His anſwers and diſcoveries perplexed the council ſo greatly, that they ſent him to priſon, and laid the whole affair before the council of two hundred. Their opinions were greatly divided; ſome imagined, that *Noroy* was no better than a firebrand, to ſow diviſions amongſt the citizens; ſome voted, that he ſhould be put to the rack to force him to diſcover the traitors, and ſome that he ſhould be put to death; while a few where of opinion, that the

public faith being engaged for his safety, he ought to be set at liberty. This opinion, though the most agreeable to justice, was opposed by others, who observed, that *Noroy* had made his discoveries through pique and disappointment, and that he deserved no favour; adding, that an incendiary like him ought to be confined, for fear of farther mischief; and that the promise which had been made to him, being general and ambiguous, he might be put to death, without any imputation lying upon the public faith. After long debates, it was carried to avoid both extremes; and *Noroy* was, by the mercy of the council, shut up in perpetual imprisonment.

Fresh differences with Savoy.

In the year 1674, the princes *Philip* and *George*, brothers to *Charles*, landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*, came to *Geneva*, where *George*, who was but eighteen years of age, died of the small pox. As the inhabitants of *Geneva* had always expressed the greatest regard for the house of *Hesse*, they testified their concern by the magistrates ordering an intermission of all public business for eight days. The body of the deceased was deposited with great funeral pomp in *St. Peter*'s chapel, the magistrates and ministers attending in mourning, where it lay for eight months, and it was then carried to *Hesse Cassel*. Next year, the lease granted to the farmers of the salt, who paid twenty thousand francs a year to the public, being expired, they were required to pay more money. The farmers refused to comply, and joined with the *Savoyards*, who pretended a right to impose a capitation duty upon every subject of *Geneva*, for the quantity of salt he was supposed to make use of. The *Genevois* resented this imposition, and sent a quantity of salt under a guard to *Jussy*, which the *Savoyards* complained of both to the court of *France*, and the cantons of *Switzerland*, as an invasion of their privileges; and at the same time they mustered their militia, and laid up magazines of arms, ammunition, and provisions, for invading *Geneva*. The *Genevois*, on the other hand, stood upon their guard, and were justified in what they had done both by the court of *France* and the *Swiss* cantons; the *French* king particularly sent them a most obliging letter, promising their republic the continuance of his friendship and protection. The *Savoyards*, however, had so great interest at the court of *France*, that the *Genevois* were obliged to send *John Dupan* and *Amy de Chapeaurouge*, to sollicit for them both in *Switzerland* and the *French* court, where they were opposed by *Leonardi*, the duchess regent of *Savoy*'s resident. His allegations were answered by the *Genevois* deputies, and the cantons seemed to be satisfied. Notwithstanding this, the late farmers,

farmers, whose compact still subsisted with *Savoy* and *France*, pretended they had a right to oblige the subjects of *Geneva* to take salt from them. The intendant of *Burgundy* came to *Colonges*, with a design to make the villages of *Chancy*, *Avoully*, and *Moric*, take the king's salt, and likewise all the houses dependent on *Geneva*, including the country of *Gex*; to wit, in the villages of *Malagny*, *Ressin*, and others. Not contented with this, he ordered guards into those villages, who took away the *Genevois* salt, and obliged the inhabitants to take that commodity at *Gex*. *Rosette* was then resident from *Geneva* at the court of *France*, and was ordered to make remonstrances on this proceeding to his most Christian majesty, who referred him to be examined by *Pompone*, one of his ministers. He had several conferences with the *Genevois* resident and deputies, but without any effect; till *Stoupe*, a native of *Switzerland*, and ambassador from the states general, prevailed with the king to give leave to the villagers of *Chancy* and *Avoully*, to take their salt from *Geneva*. After this *Rosette* died, and was succeeded by the sieur *Fabri*, who sollicited his most Christian majesty for an extension of the salt privileges; but he obtained nothing but good words and a gold medal; the inhabitants, all but those we have already named, being obliged to take their salt from *Gex*, which belongs to *France*. In this manner the *Genevois* lived for some time under the protection of *France*; and the mother of protestantism in *Europe* has been defended by the first *Roman* catholic power. We are not, however, to imagine, that this kindness is shewn to *Geneva* on its own account, far less on that of her religion. The *French* are awed by two considerations from subverting the liberties of *Geneva*. The first is, lest such a subversion should draw upon them the resentment of the *Swiss* cantons; and the next, lest the king of *Sardinia* should become master of that republic, which, small as it is, would render him very powerful. For some years, no considerable incident, excepting a few bickerings between the citizens and magistrates, has happened in *Geneva*; but those are of too little consequence to deserve a particular relation. It is certain, however, that even within these few years, the *Genevois* narrowly escaped being sacrificed to the ambition of *France*, particularly during the late war, while his most Christian majesty was engaged in supporting the interests of his son-in-law the prince of *Parma*. The friendship of *Geneva* became of so much consequence, that provided his *Sardinian* majesty would join with *France* and her allies, his most Christian majesty offered to put the king of *Sardinia* in possession of *Geneva*. This design, by the vigilance of the *Bri-*

State of Europe in 1690.

tiſh miniſtry, came to the knowledge of the *Genevois*, and they immediately demanded the ſtipulated ſuccours from their allies the *Swiſs* cantons, who accordingly held them in readineſs. The proper ſignals were likewiſe concerted for giving the alarm in caſe of an attack. Thoſe precautions at that time probably ſaved the liberty and independency of *Geneva* as a republic. The *Dutch* intereſted themſelves in the affair, and reproached cardinal *Fleury*, then firſt miniſter of *France*, with the ſame. The cardinal indeed denied it; but there is little doubt that had it not been for the precautions of the citizens, the deſign muſt have ſucceeded. The *French*, without being diſconcerted at the diſcovery, ſtill piqued themſelves with being the ſupports and the bulwarks of the *Genevois* liberty. At preſent, his *Sardinian* majeſty is ſo far from affecting any ſuperiority over the *Genevois*, that no longer ago than the year 1755, a treaty paſſed between them for a mutual exchange of ſeveral vaſſal lands, which were moſt convenient for both parties.

A. D. 1744.

END of the HISTORY *of* GENEVA.

The HISTORY of MILAN.

SECT. I.

Containing an Account and Deſcription of Milan. *Riſe of the* Viſconti *Family. Hiſtory of Archbiſhop* Otho; Matteo *the Great*; Galeazzo I. Azzo; Luchin; *Archbiſhop* John; Matteo II. Galeazzo II. Barnabo; John Galeazzo I. *Duke of* Milan; John Maria; *and* Philip *the laſt of the* Viſconti *Family.*

HAVING been very full in our hiſtory of *Florence*, which comprehends, by its various and extenſive connections with the other *Italian* ſtates, a great part of their hiſtory, we ſhall, in order to avoid needleſs repetitions, confine our hiſtory of them to thoſe tranſactions that have been already mentioned, as cloſely as the thread and order of the narrative will admit of.

THE duchy of *Milan* is bounded on the weſt by *Savoy*, *Piedmont*, and *Montferrat*; by *Swiſſerland* on the north; by the territories of *Venice*, the duchies of *Mantua*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, on the eaſt; and by the territories of *Genoa* on the ſouth. For all the purpoſes and conveniencies of life it is the moſt deſirable country in *Italy*. Its ſoil is exceeding fertile; its paſtures the richeſt in *Italy*; its climate moderate and healthful, equally void of the extremes of heat and cold. The face of the country abounds in lakes and rivers, ſtocked with variety of all freſh-water fiſh. The chief lakes are three, viz. that called the *Lago Maggiore*, (anciently the *Lacus Verbanus*) *Lago di Lugano*, and the *Lago di Como*. Nothing can be more beautiful than the borders of the *Maggiore*, which are planted with vineyards upon riſing grounds, and every where interſperſed with fine ſummer-houſes and villas, and the vineyards are ornamented by plantations of cheſnut-trees. In this lake are two iſlands, called the *Borromean Iſlands*; *Iſola Bella*, and *Iſola Madre*. The former, the ſoil of which was all imported into it by water, at a vaſt charge, is ſo beautiful, that the whole looks like the work of enchantment, and contains a magnificent palace: The

Deſcription of the Milaneſe.

The latter contains a palace likewiſe, which is remarkable for its fine paintings. The *Iſola Bella* was, in the middle of the laſt century, a mere barren rock; and the buildings and improvements made upon both are owing to the counts of the *Borromeo* family. The *Lago di Lugano* is twenty *Engliſh* miles in length; and that of *Como*, from north to ſouth, is thirty-ſix *Italian* miles. The chief rivers of the *Milaneſe* are the *Po*, the *Teſin*, the *Adda*, and the *Seſſia*; and beſides these four rivers, the country is interſected with canals, made and carried on, at a vaſt expence, for the benefit of communications and water-carriage. The duchy itſelf is divided into thirteen parts. 1. The *Milaneſe Proper*. 2. The *Pa-veſe*. 3. The *Lodeſan*. 4. The *Cremoneſe*. 5. The *Comaſco*. 6. The county of *Anghiera*. 7. The vallies of *Seſſia*. 8. The *Novareſe*. 9. The *Vigevanaſco*. 10. The *Lomellina*. 11. The *Alexandrin*. 12. The *Tortoneſe*. And, 13. The territory of *Bobbio*. No country in the world has undergone a greater variety of revolutions, or has been oftener the ſeat of war, than the *Milaneſe*, which is a melancholy proof of its vaſt importance. It is fitted by nature for carrying on all kinds of manufactures; ſo that the natives can live in great power and plenty, without any foreign commerce; while the commodities they produce, particularly cloth, ſilk and linnen, ſtockings, gloves, handkerchiefs, ſteel, chryſtal, agates, and jewels, make the balance of trade in their favour, with their neighbours. The *Milaneſe*, upon the whole, were it under a mild and prudent government, would be one of the richeſt ſpots in the world, though in breadth it does not extend to above one hundred *Engliſh* miles, and in length to one hundred and twenty. Its ancient extent, however, was much greater; and the wealth, ſplendor, and riches of its ancient princes and inhabitants, are viſible, by the aſtoniſhing works they have left behind them, notwithſtanding the perpetual ravages of the wars they were engaged in.

Milan. The city of *Milan* from its largeneſs, populouſneſs, and magnificence of its public ſtructures, has acquired the epithet of *The Great*; and at preſent it is juſtly reckoned one of the fineſt cities in the world. It is ten miles in circumference, though great part of the ground within the walls is laid out in gardens; and in the beginning of the preſent century it was ſaid to have contained three hundred thouſand inhabitants; at preſent it is ſaid to contain two hundred and fifty thouſand. It ſtands upon the little river *Olana*, and has the advantage of two navigable canals, with the rivers *Adda* and *Teſin*, the firſt of which was the work of the celebrated

rated *Florentine* painter and architect, *Leonardo de Vinci*.
e citadel of *Milan* is a regular fortification, and one of
ſtrongeſt in *Italy*. The narrowneſs of the ſtreets, in
ne places, ſpoils the beauty of the city, and their paper
ndows gives their noble houſes a mean appearance.
re are twenty-two gates, two hundred and thirty churches,
which ninety-ſix are parochial, ninety convents, one
ndred religious fraternities, and one hundred and twenty
ools. The nobility here appear with great ſplendor, and
e manners of the inhabitants are more eaſy and free than
any other part of *Italy*. The cathedral of *Milan* is an
oniſhing *Gothic* pile of marble, five hundred feet in length,
d two hundred in breadth: its roof is ſupported by one
ndred and ſixty white marble pillars, each three fathom
und, and valued at ten thouſand crowns a piece; it is fil-
d with a prodigious number of ſtatues, ſome of which are
odigiouſly fine; and though its foundation was laid in 1386,
nce which it has been conſtantly building and ornamenting,
et it is now far from being finiſhed. The treaſury of this
hurch is of an immenſe value; and the chryſtal caſe, encloſing
he body of St. *Charles Borromeo*, is looked upon to be in-
aluable. Next to the churches, all of which are very no-
le, the college founded by St. *Charles Borromeo*, and that
ounded by *Frederic Borromeo*, where ſixteen profeſſors teach
gratis, deſerve attention, as do many other ſeminaries of
earning erected here. The palaces of the archbiſhop and the
iceroy, and ſome others of the *Milaneſe* nobility, are very
magnificent; and the revenue of the great hoſpital, which is
ſaid to contain four thouſand patients and poor, and is a very
noble ſtructure, amounts to above twenty thouſand pounds
ſterling a year. In ſhort, even the mention of all the build-
ings and curioſities in *Milan* that deſerve public attention,
would require more room than we can ſpare. We cannot,
however, omit mentioning, that at a ſmall town called
Mouſa, on the river *Lambro*, is preſerved the famous iron
crown with which the ancient kings of *Italy*, and afterwards
the emperors of *Germany*, who had pretenſions upon *Lombardy*,
were crowned. It is ſo called from an iron ring on the in-
ſide, though the crown itſelf is of gold, and enriched with
jewels. It is by much too ſmall for the head of a grown
perſon. Its height is about three fingers, and it has neither
points, nor rays, nor ornaments of any kind [d].

THE *Milaneſe*, tho' ſubject to an arbitrary government,
ſtill preſerve their ſenate; but they are under the controul of

[d] BUSCHING's Geography, Vol. iii. pag. 48.

a governor,

a governor, or vicar-general, which office is now in the houſe of *Modena*, which thereby is now become very conſiderable in *Italy*. This governor fills up all the great offices of power and profit. The military governments of the city and citadel of *Milan* are independent of each other, and every town or city of conſequence in the duchy has a common council, out of which twelve acting magiſtrates are choſen; but theſe are ſubordinate to the imperial governor.

Pavia. THE *Paveſe*, which is the ſecond diviſion of the *Milaneſe*, though great part of it now belongs to his *Sardinian* majeſty, is called the *Milaneſe* garden, for its beauty and fertility. Its chief city is *Pavia*, anciently called *Ticinum*, from its ſituation on that river, and lies twenty miles to the ſouthward of *Milan*. It was formerly the capital of the *Longobardic* kingdom, and is ſtill remarkable for the broadneſs of its ſtreets, the houſes of which are far from being magnificent, for the beauty and richneſs of ſome of its churches, and for its univerſity, which had *Charlemagne* for its founder, and for ſeveral other literary inſtitutions. Here is a biſhop's ſee, which was once the richeſt in *Italy*, but is now dependent on the pope; and upon the whole the city is gone to decay, its trade being ruined through the exactions of the government. The few objects within it worth the public attention, belong to the clergy, or monks; and the church and convent of the *Carthuſians* are inexpreſſibly noble, the court of the convent being one of the fineſt in the world, and ſurrounded by a portico ſupported by pillars, the whole a mile in circumference.

THE chief town of the *Lodeſan* is *Lodi*, famous for the richneſs of its paſtures, which produce the celebrated cheeſes, erroneouſly called *Parmeſan*. It lies on the *Adda*, and contains a caſtle, fifty-three convents, colleges, and chapels, with about twelve thouſand inhabitants, who carry on a trade in a kind of porcelain. It is a biſhopric, and the city is ſpacious and well built. The ancient *Lodi*, though once a flouriſhing city, is now a place of no note, having been deſtroyed, out of ſpite, by the *Milaneſe*, though it was afterwards repaired by the emperor *Frederic Barbaroſſa*.

Cremona. *CREMONA* is the chief city of the *Cremoneſe*, and lies forty-five miles ſouth-eaſt of *Milan*. It ſtands on the north ſide of the *Po*, which joins, by a canal, with the *Oglio*. Though it is five miles in circumference, and in general well built, with ſpacious ſquares and broad ſtreets, it is neither rich nor populous. It has a bridge of boats over the *Po*; and beſides the cathedral, which is magnificent, it contains

ins sixty-two convents, churches, and chapels, and five ins-houses. The rest of the divisions of the *Milanese* re- uire no particular description, though, upon the whole, ie country is beautiful and rich by nature, with a peculiar lubrity of air, so that almost every foot of it is improve- ble. Notwithstanding its present ruinous condition, it can ise an army of thirty thousand fighting men, and its reve- ues are computed to be annually three hundred thousand ounds sterling.

ANCIENTLY the duchy of *Milan*, containing the north art of the *Old Liguria*, was called *Insubria*, from its inha- itants the *Insubres*, who were conquered by the *Romans*, as hey were by the *Goths*, who in their turn were driven out y the *Lombards* of *Gaul* and *Germany*, about the year 572. *Didier*, the last king of the *Lombards*, was taken prisoner by *Charles the Great*, who put an end to the *Longobardic* king- dom, and appointed the governors of *Milan*. Those go- vernors being distant from the court of their masters, the successors of *Charlemagne*, soon affected to be independent, which brought upon that country a severe chastisement from the emperor *Frederic Barbarossa*; for he levelled the walls of *Milan* to the ground, about the year 1152. The history of that emperor is foreign to our present purpose; but under him lived a nobleman, one *Galvian* [a], who was descended from *Otho*, a *Milanese*, who, together with *William* prince of *Montferrat*, served in the crusade, when *Godfrey* of *Bou- loign* took *Jerusalem*, and who killed, in single combat, a *Saracen* general, whom he stripped of his helmet, which was adorned with a serpent swallowing a youth, and this, ever after, was the badge of that family. His grandson *Galvian* having the courage to oppose the emperor, he was taken prisoner, and carried in chains to *Germany*, from whence he made his escape, and returning to *Milan*, he died in the ser- vice of his country. From him descended another *Otho*, who was born at *Invori*, a small village near the *Lago Maggiore*. His family, at the time of his birth, was but low, and all their possessions were confined to four inconsiderable villages in the neighbourhood, of which *Invori* was one: but ac- cording to *Paulus Jovius*, they formerly had large possessions near *Milan* itself; but their house had gone to decay, through the misfortunes of the times. *Otho* IV. was then emperor of *Germany*, and our *Otho* soon distinguished himself to great advantage, both by the strength and beauties of his mind and body. When he grew up, he went to *Rome*, where he

Ancient history of Milan.

1152.

Arch- bishop Otho.

1212.

[a] PAULUS JOVIUS apud Stephanum, pag. 5.

was

was received into the family of cardinal *Octavian Ubal* an eminent prelate, who was employed in the gre posts. The cardinal being sent ambassador to *France*, yo *Otho* was so much in his favour, that he carried him him as his private secretary, an employment which he charged with vast address; so that the cardinal, who hi was aspiring to the popedom, considered *Otho* as destined something that was very great. In the mean while a *M nese* nobleman, one *Torres*, or *Torriano*, a person of ambition, putting himself at the head of the popular tion in the *Milanese*, had driven into exile *Leo Peregi*, bishop of *Milan*, who died at *Lignano*; and *Torriano*, ha put to death, or banished, all the *Milanese* nobility, blished the government of the people there. *Octavian*, was himself of a noble *Tuscan* family, some years before been prevented by *Torriano* from endeavouring to carry of the treasury of St. *Ambrose*'s church at *Milan*, a buncle, or jewel of vast beauty and value, which he tended to reserve to adorn the papal tiara. This bred inveterate enmity between them. *Octavian*, by virtue his legatine powers, nominated *Otho* to the archbishopri *Milan*, and his nomination was confirmed by pope *ban* IV. *Octavian*'s intention, by this nomination, wa humble the power of the people, which *Otho* effectually *Milan* was at that time divided between two factio that of *Torriano*, and that of *Francisco Septi*, who had put hi self at the head of a great party, who detested *Torria* cruelty and haughtiness. *Otho* was designed by the pope crush both. One *Stefanardo de Vicomercato* [b], who wrote life of this *Otho* in verse, and who seems to have been his co temporary, gives us a very indifferent idea of *Otho*'s virtu

Rise of Torriano. Other writers give us the highest opinion of *Torriano* and modesty. Being at the head of the popular faction, he sooner heard of *Otho*'s nomination to the archbishopric, th he immediately seized upon the archiepiscopal palace and all hi effects, and employed them in forming the canal from *Pa* to *Milan*; but the party of the nobility having now obtain a head from the pope, in the person of *Otho*, began to for cabals, and write letters to their friends in *Milan* for reun ting their strength; and *Otho* who had the temporal, but n the spiritual revenue, which the pope received for himsel having got together the face of an army, advanced toward the *Lago Maggiore*, and took possession of *Arona*, a stron post near that lake. Upon this *Torriano* marched all hi

[b] Apud Murat. Tom. 9.

ps out of their garriſons, and with his general *Palavici-* he ſhut up *Otho* and his party both by land and water, in *ia*, ſo cloſely, that *Otho* was obliged to abandon the e, and to leave his party to make the beſt terms they d for themſelves. After this *Torriano* demoliſhed the les of *Arona*, *Anghiari*, and *Brebia*, but ſoon after died. was ſucceeded by his brother *Philip*, who procured himſelf ie named podeſta, or prætor of *Milan*, for ten years; and ng advantage of the civil diſſenſions at *Como*, he took poſ- on of that principality. Notwithſtanding his ſucceſſes, party of the nobles, or patricians, under *Otho*, daily gained and, and drove *Philip* to have recourſe to all kinds of arts alliances to confirm his authority, by matching his rela- is into the noble *Milaneſe* families, and to pleaſe them, diſmiſſing *Palavicini* from his command in the army. *avicini*, incenſed at this affront, became the declared ene- of the *Torriano* party. About this time *Charles* of *Anjou* [c], ther to *St. Lewis*, king of *France*, was called into *Italy* *Urban* IV. to make head againſt *Manfred*. In his march was received by *Philip Torriano* with great diſtinction and ſpitality, and furniſhed with cloathing, arms, and other ceſſaries for his army, to induce him to declare againſt the bles; and to ingratiate himſelf the more, he made *Em-* *ra*, a *Frenchman*, governor of *Milan*. Soon after *Philip* d in great reputation for his courage, though he appears have loſt ground in the affections of his people.

PHILIP was ſucceeded by *Napi*, or *Napoleone*, one of *Hiſtory of* Napi Torriano. own family, but a ſworn foe to the nobility, whom he proſcribed and put to death on all occaſions. *Succi*, the head the *Viſtari* family, was then prince of *Lodi*, and befriended e diſtreſt *Milaneſe* nobles; for which he was beſieged in his pital by *Napi*, who took it, and put him to death, with as any of his friends and family as fell into his hands, beſtow- g the ſovereignty of *Lodi* upon the family of *Viſiraga*, the emies of the *Viſtari*. By this time *Palavicini*, the head of ie *Milaneſe* exiles, was dead, and they repaired for protec- on to *William* marquis of *Montferrat*; upon which *Napi* aſſed the *Teſin*, and ſtormed *Vigevano*, to ſtrike a terror into he marquis. Thoſe vigorous proceedings rouſed *Clement* IV. who had ſucceeded *Urban* IV. and he both interdicted and 1265. xcommunicated *Milan*, and all the *Milaneſe* of *Napi*'s party, o that all the churches in that city were ſhut up; his holi- neſs, at the ſame time, enjoined the inhabitants to return to their allegiance under archbiſhop *Otho*.

[c] Vol. xxxvi. p. 24.

NAPI

He loses his popularity.

NAPI had now lost a great deal of his popularity by his unamiable cruel manners, and the inhabitants were not proof against the papal fulminations. *Otho*, on the other hand, was now the main prop of the nobility; the marquis of *Montferrat* not daring longer to patronize them; and being supported by the pope, he discovered a great and an enterprising genius; so that the very mention of his name was observed to strike terror into *Napi*. The exiles, at this time, had rendezvoused near *Vercelli*, to the government of which (it then belonging to the *Milanese*) he nominated his nephew *Paganini*, a young man, resembling himself in all his bad qualities, and his hatred of the nobility. It was easy for the nobility to perceive, that *Napi*'s intention, by this nomination, was to drive them out of *Vercelli*; and while *Paganini* was on his march to his new government, they opposed him in a body, and put him to death. *Paganini*'s body was carried to be buried at *Milan*, and the news of his death

His cruelty.

greatly exasperated *Napi* and *Embarra*, that they are said to have put to death all the friends and relations of both sexes of the noblemen who fell into their hands, as victims, upon the tomb of *Paganini*, and to have sent them in waggon loads to be buried with their ancestors. It was even with difficulty that *Musca*, *Napi*'s son, prevailed on his father, by swearing that he would put himself to death, if his suit was not granted, to pardon a physician of the noble party. *Napi*, however, perceiving that his cruelty was every where detested, threw the whole blame of it upon *Embarra*, whom he expelled from his government, in which he had grown extremely unpopular by his vices. To keep well with *Charles* of *Anjou*, who was now on the throne of *Naples*, he sent his brother *Francesco*, with a most magnificent attendance, to congratulate him upon his successes. *Francesco* was most graciously received by *Charles*, who bestowed upon him the honour of knighthood, with a considerable commission in his army; and upon his return to *Milan*, he eclipsed *Napi* himself, in the splendor of his appearance and the manner of his living.

Archbishop Otho distrest,

At this time, the party of the nobles under *Otho* was reduced to the utmost distress. He himself, and his friends, having spent all their substance, wandered about from place to place, his holiness being unable, through the situation of his affairs, to give them assistance. *Otho*, however, who betrayed no marks of despondency, still found resources in his own courage and constancy, which so greatly re-animated the spirits of his party, that they chose for their general *Squarcini Burri*, a man of great eminence and courage, whose daughter was married to *Mathew Visconti*, afterwards called *Mathew the Great*.

Great. At the same time they renewed their confederacy with the marquis of *Montferrat*, who was son-in-law to the king of *Spain*. The marquis agreed to this confederacy, chiefly with a view of making himself master of the *Milanese*.

Napi had in his pay several bodies of *French* and *Germans*, which had followed the earl of *Flanders* into *Italy*, and, after the death of their leader, chose to serve in the fruitful plains of the *Milanese*, rather than under *Charles* in *Naples*. To counterbalance their experience in military discipline, *Burri* was sent on a solemn embassy from the marquis, to persuade *Ferdinand* to assist the exiles with a body of troops. As *Ferdinand* had then great differences with *Charles*, *Burri* obtained the assistance he desired, which consisted in six hundred horse and a body of foot, who landed at *Genoa*, and from thence they marched to join the marquis of *Montferrat*. This reinforcement from so powerful a prince, re-established the hopes of *Otho* and the *Milanese* exiles; and they marched in a body against *Vigevano*, then possessed by *Napi*, and besieged it. The siege at first was carried on merely by the archers and cross-bow men, who drove the defendants from their walls; but being afterwards provided with wooden defences, *Burri* thought fit to abandon the siege, and to pass the *Tesin*, that he might carry the war nearer to the gates of *Milan*. Upon his retreat, he was attacked by a sally from the garrison, but with so little caution, that the *Spaniards* facing about, must have got possession of the town, had not the port-cullice been suddenly let down. Many of the garrison, however, were put to the sword, and, after that, the exiles and *Spaniards* desisted from their attempts; but in their retreat they surprised a strong post that was held by the *Milanese* and the *Comese*. *Otho* and *Burri* becoming masters of this post by the *Spanish* horse fording or swimming over the *Tesin*, treated their enemies with the utmost humanity, and gave them their liberty; but, with all, exhorted them to reinstate the nobles and their archbishop in their rights. This lenity rendered *Otho* and *Burri* wonderfully popular at *Milan* and *Como*, to the great mortification of the *Torriani*. Pursuing their advantage, they entered the territory of *Lomellino*, and from thence proceeded to that of *Sepri*, and at last they made themselves masters of all the open places in the neighbourhood of *Milan*.

but makes head,

NAPI all this time was not idle; he drew together his forces, and summoned his allies, the *Parmesans*, to his assistance, and at the same time a great body of *French* mercenaries were advancing to his assistance. The latter, however,

whose rendezvous was at *Carrati*, were so little upon their guard, that they were surprised by *Otho* and *Burri*. Most of them being taken prisoners, were stript of their baggage and arms: but the victors, in their turn, falling into the like disorder, gave their captives an opportunity of recovering their arms; while *Napi*, all of sudden, attacked them so vigorously, that they lost all the advantage they had obtained, and it was with difficulty that the *Spanish* horse escaped across the *Tesin*. *Napi* might have pursued his victory with great effect, but was contented, being afraid of ambuscades, with obliging his enemies to repass the *Tesin*, but with very little loss. *Napi*, however, we are told, exercised great severities against the party of the nobles who had joined *Otho*, and whose possessions lay within his jurisdiction, by demolishing their castles.

and is defeated.

Is befriended by the pope,

CLEMENT IV. was still pope, and to him *Otho* again applies for assistance; his suit was seconded by the cardinals, who thought that his holiness could not begin his reign more auspiciously than by restoring *Otho*, and the *Milanese* nobles to their rights. Upon this, *Clement* wrote in very strong terms, threatening the *Torriani* with his indignation if they did not instantly admit the archbishop, and his friends, into *Milan*; and, upon their continuing obstinate, he shut up their churches, and laid them under excommunication. By this time *Napi* began to be hated by the *Milanese*, who exclaimed against his rebellion to the pope. This induced *Napi* to appoint an embassy for mitigating the pope's anger; but his holiness not only refused the ambassadors access to his person, but commanded them instantly to depart out of the papal territories; upon which they repaired to the court of *Naples*, to prevail with that king to become their intercessor with his holiness. *Charles* readily accepted of this office, and appointed ambassadors of his own to repair to the pontiff, who was prevailed on to admit those of the *Torriani* into his presence, on pretence that they had been always zealous votaries to the holy see, and enemies to emperors. In the audience which succeeded, both the *Neapolitan* and the *Milanese* ambassadors represented *Otho* as being a mere free-booter, at the head of a party of robbers, and launched out into such invectives against him, as greatly disgusted the cardinals, who were most of them friends to *Otho*. The latter was, at that time, at the court of *Rome*; and being present at this audience, he was permitted to reply to the charge against him, which he did by recriminating upon the cruelty, craft, and ambition of the *Torriani*. Both parties being heard, his holiness declared, that he would send a legate into *Lombardy* to adjust all differences between them; in which case

false he promised to relieve *Milan* from its excommunication. *Otho* attended the legate to *Milan*, where *Napi* behaved with so much address and dissimulation, that the city was relieved from its ecclesiastical censures; but without his suffering the archbishop to intermeddle in any affairs, either of church or state, every day producing some new evasion of the pontifical decree. In the mean while, pope *Clement* died, and a vacancy of the pontifical dignity succeeding for some months, *Napi* applied to the emperor *Rodolph*, whom he invited into *Italy*, and to be crowned at *Milan*. This invitation was accepted of with great readiness; and *Rodolph* constituted *Napi* his governor and vicar-general in *Lombardy*, sending to him at the same time a fine body of *German* horse, the command of which was given to *Cassoni*, *Napi*'s nephew. This happened about the time when *Gregory* X. was raised to the pontificate[f]. The reader in another part of this work will find the circumstances of this elevation. *Otho*, perceiving the juggling of *Napi*, threw himself at the feet of the new pope; and *Gregory* not only promised to confirm all that his predecessors had done in his favour, but intending to visit his native country of *Piacenza*, he took *Otho* with him, and paid a visit to *Milan*, in his journey. He was received there by *Napi* with so much respect and pomp, that, in order to compromise matters between him and *Otho*, he raised *Raimond*, nephew to the former, to be patriarch of *Aquileia*. There seems on this occasion to have been great management on the part of the pope (A), he knew the consequence of having *Napi* in his interest, and of breaking the connexions between him and the emperor; and, it has been said (B), that he gave his consent that *Otho* should be assassinated privately at *Piacenza*, in the pope's own house. This design being discovered to *Otho* by a waiter at a tavern, he fled out of *Piacenza* by night, and retired to *Lions*, where the council being finished, he returned to *Italy*. It is, however, pretty improbable, that his holiness was accessary to the design of assassinating *Otho*; because the latter, upon his return from *Lions*, again put himself under his protection. But it is generally agreed, that *Gregory* shewed no resentment at the decree for putting *Otho* to death, in case he should return to *Milan*; and that he ever afterwards

but in vain.

Dissimulation of pope Gregory X.

[f] Vol. xxv. p. 501.

(A) *Muratori* observes, in his notes upon *Vicomercato*, *apud Murat.* tom. ix. p. 81. that the *Torriani* were at that time under no necessity of privately assassinating *Otho*, because they had publickly rendered it lawful to kill him, if he should attempt to return to *Milan*.

(B) Ibid, ibid.

conſidered him as a troubleſome creditor, teazing him for the performance of his own and his predeceſſor's engagements. Outwardly, however, his holineſs paid ſo much reſpect to *Otho*, that the nobles of his party, which was every day gaining ground in *Milan*, flocked to the papal court upon its return to *Italy*; but, to the inexpreſſible aſtoniſhment of *Otho* and his friends, when the pope was preparing to enter *Milan*, he received an order to ſtop at *Biello*, a town near *Vercelli*, leſt his return to *Milan* ſhould diſturb the public tranquillity in that city. *Otho* was obliged to comply with this bitter command, and concealed his reſentment, but without loſing his courage. *Gregory* was received in *Milan* with a vaſt profuſion of honours; and his horſe was led by the reins by *Napi* and *Franceſco*, under a magnificent canopy, ſupported by twelve young *Milaneſe* noblemen. Before he departed from that city, he made a long apology to *Otho*'s friends, that the ſtate of affairs in chriſtendom did not admit of his doing *Otho* juſtice, becauſe of the power of the *Torriani*, which was equal to that of the greateſt kings. In ſhort, he adviſed them to be patient under their misfortunes, but without giving them any other hopes of redreſs, than that he would find a more proper opportunity to ſettle their affairs. The truth is, *Otho* and his party were conſidered at this time to be *Gibelins*; and the *Guelphs* looking upon the *Torriani* as their leaders, had actually ſubmitted to be their ſlaves. The ſame humour prevailed in other parts of *Italy*; which was now filled with noble exiles. At the head of the *Guelph* party were the pope, *Charles* king of *Naples*, and the *Torriani*. All the comfort *Otho* could obtain during his long and painful exile, was an order from his holineſs, to be reinſtated in part of his revenues, as archbiſhop. But, as *Jovius* obſerves, he had ſuch an invincible fortitude of mind, that his hopes increaſed at the time when other exiles deſpaired. While he remained at *Biello*, pope *Gregory*, who had ſided with *Guelphs* or *Gibelins*, as it ſuited his intereſt, died at *Arezzo* in 1276.

1276.

Otho recovers his credit,

His death united the party of the *Milaneſe* exiled nobles, who flocked to *Otho*, and choſe for their leader *Godfrey* count of *Languſco*, a noble *Pavian*, and an inveterate enemy of the *Torriani* family. The latter was, at this time, in the ſummit of their power, being equally courted by the pope, the king of *Naples*, and the new emperor of *Germany*; and by their ſituation they actually held the balance of all *Italy*. *Languſco* was rich and powerful, and took into his pay many *German* and other mercenaries, at the head of whom he advanced towards the *Lago Maggiore*; all the towns through which he marched, opened their gates to receive him, thro'

the

the intereſt of the *Viſconti* family, which was ſeated in that country. Amongſt other places, the important towns of *Arona* and *Anghiari* ſubmitted to the exiles; and *Otho* himſelf, at the head of a conſiderable detachment, made an irruption into the county of *Sepri*, now belonging to the city of *Milan*, lying between the *Teſin* and the *Olon*, all which country he entirely reduced. By the thread of the hiſtory, the unpopularity of *Napi*, at this time, ſufficiently appears, and that his real power was confined within the walls of *Milan*, as he had loſt ſo conſiderable a territory without almoſt ſtriking a ſtroke. He ſummoned all his allies to his aſſiſtance, and drew to the field the military chariot of *Milan*, in token that he was determined to conquer or to die. He added to the fortifications of the city, and he gave the command of it to his brother *Franceſco*, who baniſhed ſome ſuſpected citizens, confined others, and obliged the reſt to give hoſtages. He himſelf took the command of the main body; and ſent his ſon *Caſſoni* (C), with a body of *German* horſe, to check the advance of the enemies. He then marched towards *Anghiari*, and encamped on the banks of the *Guaſara*, which empties itſelf into the *Lago Maggiore*; while *Godfrey*, *Otho*'s general, encamped on the oppoſite ſhore. *Napi*'s army marched in two diviſions; the firſt was commanded by *Caſſoni*, who expecting his father was at hand to ſupport him, attempted to paſs the river; but was oppoſed by *Godfrey*, who, in making a noble defence, was carried down the ſtream, and made priſoner. By this time *Napi* came up with his diviſion, and then the rout of the exiles became general. *Theobald Viſconti*, the father of *Matthew*, who was afterwards called *the great*, with thirty-four nobles, were taken priſoners: and it is ſaid that *Napi* ſhed tears of joy, on ſeeing the noble actions of his ſon in the engagement. *Napi*'s victory being complete, he ſent to conſult his brother *Franceſco* how he ſhould diſpoſe of his priſoners; and he adviſed him to cut off the heads of every one of them. This barbarous reſolution was oppoſed by *Caſſoni*, who was for milder meaſures; but the *Germans* having loſt their general *Lauſer* in a ſingle combat with *Godfrey*, demanded his blood in revenge; upon which *Godfrey*, *Theobald*, and the thirty-four nobles (D), had their heads

but is again defeated.

(C) *Muratori, ubi ſupra*, thinks that his real name was *Caſton*; perhaps it was *Gaſton*.

(D) *Paulus Jovius*, in his lives of the twelve *Viſconti* princes of *Milan*, *ed. Steph.* 1548, p. 37, makes them but twenty-two; but *Vicomercato*, whoſe authority is preferable, makes them thirty-four, nor was *Languſco* one of them, as *Jovius* ſays he was, he dying in the battle.

ſtruck off, and they were ſent from the field of battle pile up in a common waggon.

and in great diſtreſs;

THIS defeat greatly affected *Otho*, who was *Theobald'* uncle, and ſerved only to increaſe the barbarities perpetrate by both parties on each other. When *Otho*, who was at ſom diſtance, received the news of it, he ſeemed to preſerve his uſu firmneſs of mind; and though he ſhed ſome tears to the me mory of his nephew, he told his friends, that he did n doubt the *Torriani*, in revenge of their barbarity, would ſoo experience a fatal reverſe of fortune. In a few weeks aft the people of *Como*, provoked by the repeated cruelties their poteſta *Accurſio Cutica*, one of *Napi*'s creatures, too arms, and impriſoned *Accurſio*, whom they threatened to p to death, unleſs *Napi* would ſet at liberty one of their coun trymen, *Simon* of *Locarna*, whom he had made priſoner ſom years before, and had confined him, like a wild beaſt, wit a den. *Napi*, having a regard for *Accurſio*, gave orders t ſet *Locarna* at liberty; as not thinking he could long ſurviv the ſeverities of his impriſonment. He obliged him, how ever, to ſwear, never, from thenceforth, to carry arms a gainſt the houſe of *Torriano*; but, as *Franceſco* had foreſeen he no ſooner found himſelf at liberty, than he declared, tha he did not think himſelf obliged by an oath that had been ex torted from him by cruelty; and from that hour he devote his life to revenge againſt the *Torriani*. *Locarna*, being man of great intereſt, brought vaſt numbers to join *Otho* a gainſt the *Torriani*, and he was followed by all the people o *Como*. *Otho* was ſtill at *Vercelli*, where he held his head-quarters, and provided horſes and arms for thoſe who joine him. Underſtanding that the *Torriani* had been ſo elevate by their late victories, as to be very remiſs in guarding the important fortreſs of *Sepri*, and taking advantage of a dark night, he paſſed the *Teſin*, and made himſelf maſter of the place. This ſucceſs gave great luſtre to his arms, and in a few days he again extended his quarters to the neighbourhood of *Milan*. *Napi* immediately ordered a choſen body of vete rans, commanded by himſelf, and the *German* mercenaries, under his ſon, to take the field, and the reſt of his troops and auxiliaries to follow him. He was inexpreſſibly mortified to underſtand, that an enemy, whom he had ſo often ſubdued, and whoſe cauſe he lately thought to be irrecoverable, ſhould again give him diſturbance; and he bent the whole of his reſentment againſt *Otho*, who upon his approach called in all his parties, and entrenched his army under the walls of *Sepri*, which he kept behind his back, with a ſtrong garriſon, to retire to in caſe of neceſſity. *Otho* was too ſtrong to be attacked

from which he recovers,

tacked in his trenches; but *Napi*, in order to draw him t of them, ſent for his battering machines, which he ap- ed to the walls of *Sepri* itſelf. The garriſon making a gal- t reſiſtance, *Otho* called a council of war, where it was animouſly reſolved to take advantage of the conſternation *Napi*'s troops, and to charge them before they could re- ver themſelves. This was executed with ſo much vigour, at his army was entirely defeated; nor could either *Napi* or is ſon, who was at the head of the *German* cavalry, rally em, ſo greatly diſcouraged they were with the reſiſtance hey met with before the town. *Otho*, it is ſaid, did all he ould to ſtop the carnage, and it was owing to him that the loſs of the *Milaneſe* was ſo ſmall as it was. *Napi* and *Caſſoni*, upon reviewing their army, found it ſtill ſo ſtrong, that they determined immediately to renew the fight while *Otho*'s troops were in a ſtate of ſecurity from their late victory. Early in the morning, therefore, *Napi* renewed the battle with ſo much ſucceſs, that his *German* horſe took *Otho*'s cavalry unprovided, and having put them to flight, the infantry were eaſily defeated; and thus, ſays *Jovius*, it is difficult to ſay whether, within the ſpace of a few hours, they acquired moſt glory, or ſuffered moſt diſgrace. As to *Otho* himſelf, after expoſing himſelf to the greateſt dangers, he put himſelf at the head of his cavalry, and retired to *Como*.

but is a- gain worſted.

THE inhabitants of that place fearing the reſentment of *Napi*, whom they had deſerted, refuſed to receive him with- in their gates, but furniſhed him with all kinds of neceſſaries, and with ſkilful guides, who enabled him to make his retreat towards *Lago di Lugano*; ſo that he reached a ſtrong camp at *Zornigo*, a ſmall village, with a wood on his rear. Here he remained for ſome days in ſafety, and ſent expreſſes to all his friends, to inform them of his ſituation; but being obliged to decamp for want of proviſion, he moved to *Canobi*, a plentiful town, on the borders of the *Lago Maggiore*. At firſt the inhabitants refuſed to receive him; but *Otho* repreſented his caſe ſo pathetically, that they not only received him within their walls, but devoted themſelves to his ſervice. It was no ſooner known that *Otho* was ſafe at *Canobi*, than the *Milaneſe* exiles again flocked to his ſtandard; and *Napi*'s ſoldiers being contented with ſtripping their priſoners, great numbers of them, tho' naked and half ſtarved, repaired to *Canobi*: amongſt others he was joined by *Locarna*, who followed him by the track of his carriages. *Otho*'s ſpirit ſeemed to grow with his difficulties and diſtreſſes; and though he had been five times vanquiſhed in battle, he prepared to make another attempt. The reader is to obſerve, that he

He re- treats.

was at this time ſixty-five years of age, and he was almoſt deſtitute of money, and that the fate of war had deprived him of moſt of his friends and followers. His conſtitution, however, was healthful; he had enured it to be in all kinds of fatigues: he looked upon defeats and diſappointments to be ſo many incentives to freſh attempts; and the wonderful vigour of his mind raiſed him friends, even amidſt the *Alps* and *Appenines*, where many noble familes, who lived in a kind of an independency, furniſhed him with horſes, arms, cloaths, money, and all kinds of carriages: he was even joined by numbers of volunteers, who were fond of ſerving under ſo extraordinary an old man, particularly from *Vercelli* and *Novara*. The marquis of *Montferrat* himſelf, notwithſtanding his former defeats in the ſame cauſe, having reduced *Aleſſandria* and *Tortona*, entered with him into a freſh alliance. This prince ſomewhat reſembled *Otho* in his character of perſeverance, and retained in his pay the remains of the veteran *Spaniards*, who had been ſent him by his father-in-law. Experience had taught him, that there was a neceſſity for a naval force to drive the *Torriani* out of *Milan*. The care of providing and commanding that was committed to *Locarna*, who acquitted himſelf perfectly well in both capacities, while the marquis marched towards the *Lago Maggiore*, at the ſame time that *Anghieri* (E) was attacked by the fleet under *Locarna*, on board of which *Otho* was. This place was ſoon reduced; but the garriſon fled to the citadel, which after a ſhort reſiſtance ſurrendered likewiſe. The marquis of *Montferrat* had, by this time, reached the *Lago Maggiore*, and both ſea and land forces laid ſiege to *Arona*, which they plied ſo hard with their machines and engines, playing from batteries on the land, and the decks and maſts of the ſhips, that the garriſon capitulated to ſurrender, if the place was not relieved in three days. This capitulation was ſcarcely ſigned, when news was brought that *Caſſoni* was advancing at the head of the *German* horſe, and the *Milaneſe* veterans. Upon this, the marquis drew up his army to the beſt advantage, and was joined by all the hands that could be ſpared from the ſhips. *Caſſoni*, ſeeing the advantageous poſture of his enemies, and that their beſt troops were poſted in the front, drew up his men ſo as to flank *Otho*'s army with the worſt of his troops, but ſupported by one wing of his *German* horſe; ſo that by making a circuit, they broke into the rear of *Otho*'s army, with terrible ſhouts,

(E) *Stephanardus* makes no mention of the taking of *Anghieri* on this occaſion.

and

ınd even fell into *Otho*'s camp, putting all before them to the word. This obliged the marquis to alter the diſpoſition of ıis battle; but it was now too late, for *Caſſoni* charged him ſo vigorouſly with the front line of his cavalry, that his army was completely broken, tho' with no great loſs, becauſe the ſhips received his fugitives. The marquis's tent was taken on this occaſion, but he himſelf retired in pretty good order, with his cavalry, to *Pavia*; as *Otho* and *Locarna* did, with the remains of their infantry, to *Como* and *Novara*. Upon the whole it appears, both from *Sigonius* and *Stephanardus*, that the marquis behaved very poorly in this battle, and that, in fact, he fled without ſtriking a blow.

He is joined by the Comeſe and other ſtates.

THE *Comeſe*, who had revolted from the *Torriani*, had put themſelves under the protection of *Locarna*, but without declaring in favour of the *Milaneſe* exiles. On the arrival of *Locarna* at *Como*, great debates enſued, whether the *Comeſe* ſhould not immediately declare for *Otho*, and call in his army to protect them againſt the reſentment of the *Torriani*. This conſideration was enforced by motives of compaſſion and generoſity; and notwithſtanding the oppoſition given to it by the faction of the *Viti*, it prevailed through the addreſs and eloquence of *Locarna*. The *Comeſe*, all of a ſudden, declared in favour of *Otho*, and the exiled nobles; but their two head magiſtrates obſtinately oppoſed the reſolution. *Otho*, on the other hand, was favoured by the biſhop, who was of the *Advocati* family. Both parties, at laſt, came to blows; but that which was headed by *Locarna* drove their antagoniſts, after a briſk conflict in the ſtreets, into the caſtle, and from thence out of the city, both their magiſtrates being taken priſoners. After this, the people levelled to the ground the houſes and towers of the *Viti*; and *Otho*, who remained ſtill at *Novara*, was invited to *Como* by letters from the magiſtrates, who were now all of them in his intereſt.

FROM that day *Otho*'s cauſe proſpered, and that of the *Torriani* went backward. *Otho* was received at *Como* by the biſhop, who paid him the greateſt honours, and lent him money out of his pocket for repairing his equipages, and recruiting his forces. *Locarna* was ſeconded by *Lucteria Ruſca*, the head of the *Comeſe Gibelins*; and *Otho*'s troops now wore the imperial eagle in their ſtandard. He had learned, by repeated experience, that the court of *Rome* ſought to make him ſubſervient to its own ambitious deſigns; and that he was far ſafer in truſting to the emperor, who he knew was ſufficiently able to protect, but not to diſplace, him. The *Comeſe*, who were then very powerful, having declared for him, their example was followed by moſt of the populous towns

towns lying on the borders of the *Lago Maggiore*, and in the neighbourhood; so that he saw himself soon, once more, at the head of a considerable army. He was joined by *Ricardo Langusco*, brother to *Godfrey*, count of *Langusco*, who had, as we have observed, been killed in the same service. *Ricardo*, who was highly exasperated against the *Torriani* for his brother's death, and had brought with him some chosen troops, was declared general of the army. *Otho* did not fail to harangue the *Comese* in the most animating and grateful terms; and was answered by the bishop of *Como*, who undertook, in the name of the inhabitants, to stand by his rights to the utmost. *Otho* then took leave of the *Comese*, and marched to *Icini*, then a noble and populous town, but now not to be met with in maps. Here the inhabitants joined *Otho* with great spirit. The news of his progress gave so little alarm to *Napi*, that he told some of his guests at an entertainment, that his executioners would now have abundance of work in hanging up the rebel *Comese*, as so many thieves. He then gave orders for the march of his army, having, as usual, sent out his son *Cassoni* with the *German* horse, who seized upon *Canturi*, lying within five miles of *Como*. After various marches and counter marches, while *Otho* was at *Leuco*, a priest, mounted on a swift horse, came up to him from *Decimo*, or *Decio*, so called from being ten miles from *Milan*, to inform him, that his enemies under *Napi*, and the heads of his party, were at *Decio*, where they behaved in the most riotous disorderly manner, and observing no kind of discipline, but plundering the inhabitants, turning them out of their houses, and seizing all they had. The priest added, that *Cassoni* and the *German* horse were still at *Canturi*; and that it was his opinion, by marching in the night-time, the army under *Napi* might be surprised and destroyed. *Otho* looked upon this information as a good omen, *Decio* having been the place where he received his education and holy orders. Being informed by his scouts that *Cassoni* was still at *Canturi*, and thereby freed from all dread of those formidable enemies, to whom he had already given three defeats in the open field, he lost not a moment in given orders for the march of his troops. Affecting now to act only in an ecclesiastical capacity, he appeared in his sacerdotal habits, preceded by a silver cross, and committed the whole care of the expedition to *Ricardo*. The march succeeded perfectly well, and the scouts reported that a profound silence reigned all about, and within, *Decio*. They marched without lights, and arriving about the dawn of day, they broke into the town with such fury, that *Napi* had scarcely time to put on his armour; and all that *Pontio*, who

He defeats Napi *and the* Torriani *at* Decio.

who had the chief command under him, could do, was to rally a few half-armed troops; but he was attacked by *Ricardo*, who put him to the sword, with most of his party, while *Locarna* and *Rusca* attacked the other division under *Napi* himself. Here the engagement was pretty smart, but entirely to *Otho*'s advantage. Several of the heads of the *Torriani* were killed, and it was with great difficulty that *Otho* could save *Napi*, who was taken prisoner, from *Locarna*'s vengeance. Many young noblemen were, at the same time, made captives, most of them the descendants, allies, or relations of the *Torriani* family; and all the honour of this glorious day resulted to the *Comese* (F).

Moderation of Otho.

FEW victories obtained in the heat of a civil war, and after such provocation, on the part of the vanquished, have been more moderately prosecuted than this was. This, undoubtedly, was owing to the wisdom and policy of *Otho* himself, who sought all opportunities to prevent bloodshed. *Locarna* and *Rusca* had the charge of *Napi*, and the most illustrious prisoners, whom they carried to the castle of *Baradello*, near *Como*. *Locarna*, seeing his principal foe in his power, abated his resentment, but shut him up in a cage, where being deprived of every thing that could put an end to his life, his hair and nails grew to a most enormous length. It is said, that he submitted quietly to his fate, but that he interceded for a favourable treatment of his son and nephew, whom his authority had carried with him to the field; in which they were accordingly indulged.

Cassoni obliged to abandon Milan.

THE news of *Napi*'s defeat and imprisonment arriving at *Milan*, *Oldred*, who had been left governor of the city, summoned a council of the magistracy, and ordered the people to take arms. His authority was very little regarded. Nothing was now to be heard of amongst the citizens, but the praises of *Otho* and the exiles, for the moderate use they had made of their victory, and the greatness of the defeat, which had cut off, or imprisoned, all the heads of the *Torriani* party, and rendered it impossible for them ever to recover their power. In short, *Oldred* found such a disposition in the citizens, that he was obliged to shut himself up in the castle for safety. *Cassoni* was still at *Canturi*, where he

(F) Such is the account given us by *Paulus Jovius*, who was himself a *Comese*, of this battle, or rather surprizal, which makes so eminent a figure in the *Milanese* history: but *Muratori*, tom. ix. p. 92. in his notes upon *Vicomercato*, observes that the match was very unequal, and that the *Othonians* (as they are called) were far superior to their enemies in number. *Vicomercata* likewise hints that *Pontio* was not killed, but taken prisoner.

had

had an imperfect account of his father's defeat; and not knowing the particulars, he returned with his army to *Milan*, where he was in hopes of finding his father, or some of his friends. Being informed of the truth, and refused admittance into the city, he broke open the gates, forced his entrance, and marched, at the head of his troops, to the market-place; but not before his rear had been attacked by some of the townsmen. *Cassoni*, not discouraged, erected his family standard in the market-place; but none repaired to it, or joined him, when he invited the inhabitants to assert their ancient liberties: finding, therefore, all his efforts fruitless, he retreated to *Lodi*, and being denied admittance there, he went to *Cremona*, and from thence to *Parma*.

1277. *Into which* Otho *is received.*

THE same day on which *Cassoni* fled out of *Milan*, *Otho* was invited into it with all the demonstrations of zeal and loyalty on the part of the inhabitants. He still retained his moderation (G); and, after his entry into *Milan*, which was very pompous, he made a speech to the citizens so full of wisdom and clemency towards his enemies, that he entirely removed their apprehensions, and they committed the government of the city to his hands. He appointed count *Ricardo* to the government of *Milan*, and made *Locarno* his general, or (as he is called) the master of his horse, as being the two persons to whom he principally owed his success. He then founded some religious houses, and instituted certain festivities to commemorate the anniversary of his victory, some remains of which the *Milanese* are still said to retain. It is somewhat remarkable, that, on the morning of *Otho*'s victory at *Decio*, *Bonacosa Burri*, the wife of his nephew *Matthew*, afterwards called *Matthew the Great*, was brought to-bed of a son, who, from a cock crowing at the time of his birth, was called *Galeazzo*.

He reduces the remains.

OTHO being now settled in peace and prosperity, applied himself to reduce the remains of the *Torriani* faction, who had taken refuge in mount *Orfano*, so called from its standing alone in the middle of a vast plain. As the place was found by *Otho* to be impregnable, he was forced to block it up, by which he obliged it to surrender by famine in six months. *Otho* offered his protection to the garrison; but they chose to leave the *Milanese*, rather than trust to his clemency. Their

(G) We have in *Paulus Jovius* a portrait in profile, which he assures us to be from an original of *Otho*, painted, in the castle of *Anghieri*, with a description of the battle. In this portrait he is represented in his archiepiscopal robes, with a cross in his right-hand, and in his left a sword of an enormous size, but of curious workmanship.

departure

leparture left him at liberty to apply himſelf to his civil and ccleſiaſtical functions, in both which capacities he excelled ll princes of his age; he rewarded all his friends in the noſt generous manner, and left nothing unattempted that ould reclaim his enemies.

Of the Torriani.

WHILE he was intent upon thoſe duties, a freſh war roke out againſt him. The *Viſtari* having, by his means, een reſtored to the government of *Lodi*, their opponents alled in *Caſſoni*, *Godfrey*, and *Raimond* of *Aquileia*, to their ſſiſtance; and being joined by auxiliaries from *Cremona* nd *Parma*, they invaded the *Milaneſe*. *Caſſoni* having taken nd plundered ſeveral towns upon the banks of the *Adda*, paſſed the *Lambro*; and the danger ſeemed ſo threatening to he *Milaneſe* government, that they unadviſedly drew out heir chariot of war, and marched to *Santo Donato*. Some authors pretend, that, in the mean while, *Otho* put himſelf at the head of a flying party, and advanced to *Caſſano*, a town on the *Adda*, to reſtrain the incurſions of *Caſſoni*; but perceiving him to be ſtronger than he imagined, he was obliged to fly to a neighbouring village, where he was ſaved by hiding himſelf in the ſteeple. Whatever may be in this, it is certain, that the army of the *Milaneſe*, who attended the chariot of war, were defeated by *Caſſoni*, and about twenty of their nobility were made priſoners. *Caſſoni*, elated by this victory, carried his incurſions to the very gates of *Milan*. *Otho* ſhewed his uſual conſtancy on this dangerous occaſion, and, without betraying the leaſt ſymptom of fear, he made all proper diſpoſitions for the defence of the city. Thoſe precautions defeated *Caſſoni*'s ſanguine expectations, that the friends of his family would declare themſelves in his favour within the city; ſo that he was obliged to repaſs the *Adda*, and to lay ſiege to *Bergamo*. His retreat gave *Otho* a breathing time, and he invited the marquis of *Montferrat* again to join him with his troops, ſo as to put the ſucceſs of the war on a ſhort iſſue. The marquis acceded to his propoſal, but upon pretty high terms; for *Otho* was obliged to pay him down a large ſum in ready money, to give him a conſiderable ſubſidy for five years, and to declare him general of all his troops againſt the *Torriani*. This bargain being concluded, the two prefects, or podeſtas, of *Milan*, who happened that year, to be *Antonio Languſco* of *Pavia*, and *Lucteria Ruſca* of *Como*, raiſed an army, and drew out the chariot of war. On this occaſion, *Otho*, that he might oblige as many of his friends as he could, reduced the ſervice of the prefects from twelve to ſix months. Nothing happened for ſome time but a few ſkirmiſhes, and plunderings of open

Succeſs of Caſſoni.

Otho joined by the marquis of Montferrat.

villages. At last, the marquis of *Montferrat* resolved to pass the *Adda*, and to carry the war into the heart of the enemy's country.

Archbishop *Otho* was then in the field, and was opposed by *Raimond Torriano*, whom we have already mentioned, patriarch of *Aquileia*. Two churchmen being at the head of different parties, it was proposed by the *Bergamese*, as well as their opponents, who were studious of peace, that they should confer together on that head. This proposal produced a peace, which was by no means agreeable to the marquis of *Montferrat*; for the *Milanese*, of both factions, having then an opportunity of intercourse, ran into each others arms, so that the two camps seemed to be but as one, till the marquis, by his authority, broke off their intimacy. This, however, did not interrupt the negotiations for peace, which at last was concluded on the following terms, viz. That the castles of *Bepriano* and *Vapriano* should be delivered into the hands of *Conrade*, an eminent lawyer, who appeared there as mediator, and the college of merchants, as being indifferent parties; that the *Torriani* should recover their estates, castles, and houses, but that their places of strength should be put into the hands of citizens, who had never espoused either side, and that the prisoners of both should be dismissed without ransom.

Otho's *failure in good faith.*

As this peace was concluded chiefly by the intervention of the marquis of *Montferrat*, and *Conrade*, *Lucterio* of *Languscо*, and *Locarna*, refused to agree to the last article, pretending that their prisoners in the castle of *Baradello* were their own property by the right of war, and that none could dispose of them without their consent. Notwithstanding this, the marquis, set at liberty all the prisoners of the *Torriani* faction who were in his custody. *Otho*, on the other hand, lay under inexpressible difficulties; he knew not how to disoblige the friends and relations of his family, who by the peace were obliged to give up all the lucrative grants they had obtained of the estates of the *Torriani*; and at their instigation he absolutely refused to ratify the terms. Thus the *Torriani* were restored neither to their country nor their estates, nor were their friends in the castle of *Baradello* delivered. This failure of good faith seems to have been the greatest stain that *Otho* ever incurred in his person or government, and opened the mouth of calumny against him, insomuch that his enemies made a handle of it for gaining over great numbers of the neighbouring princes and states to their party.

About

ABOUT this time *Napi* died of filth and naſtineſs, being conſumed by vermin in the caſtle of *Baradello*, where he had lain for nineteen months and twenty-three days. Some ſay, that he was dragged out by the heels, and buried in a ditch, like a beaſt of burden; while others affirm that he had a decent burial. Other priſoners of his family and party ſoon after followed him in the ſame manner. Thoſe barbarities encreaſed the public deteſtation againſt *Otho*; ſo that *Raimond*, the patriarch of *Aquileia*, prevailed with the *Venetians*, and the neighbouring ſtates, to furniſh him with two thouſand horſe, and as many foot, who were joined by the *German* veterans, the *Cremoneſe*, the *Parmeſans*, and the *Lodeſe*, under *Caſſoni*, not to mention a great number of the *Milaneſe* themſelves, who were diſcontented with *Otho*'s government, on account of the injuſtice done to the *Torriani*, by which their country continued to ſuffer. Their defection, which was voluntary and plauſible, alarmed *Otho*, who immediately raiſed an army, ſummoned his allies to his aſſiſtance, and laid out vaſt ſums of money in warlike preparations. Having called upon the marquis of *Montferrat* to join him with his troops, he declined it by ſeveral frivolous excuſes, that he might augment *Otho*'s difficulties. It is probable that he had never loſt ſight of his views on the *Milaneſe*. According to *Jovius*, he had carried his wife to pay a viſit to *Otho* at *Milan*, where ſhe was entertained with ſo much ſplendor, and received ſo many noble preſents, that ſhe was inceſſantly urging him to aſpire to the ſovereignty of that magnificent city. The marquis eaſily inclined to her ſuggeſtions, and had even gone to *Spain*, where he brought that king into his views, and returned with three hundred men at arms, with a body of light horſe and infantry. This proceeding, together with his various ſhufflings and excuſes, gave *Otho* ſome ſuſpicion of his deſign; and he employed his nephew *Matthew*, who had now acquired a great character in the management of buſineſs, to ſound him, and to give him a large ſum of money to induce him to take the field. *Matthew*'s arguments had ſo much weight, that the marquis, prevailed on partly by the gold, and partly by a ſenſe of ſhame, drew out his troops, and joined *Otho* and the reſt of his allies at *Vapri*. The whole formed one of the moſt numerous and beſt appointed armies that had been ſeen in *Italy* for ſome years, conſiſting of thirty thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe, of whom above two thouſand were men at arms. This formidable army, and the expedition with which it had been brought to the field, daunted *Caſſoni*. He had depended on the backwardneſs of the

Death of Napi.

the *Milaneſe*, whom he imagined could not be brought to declare againſt his family. Seeing *Otho*'s army advance, he perceived that he muſt either repaſs the river, which he could not do without expoſing himſelf to great danger of defeat, fight *Otho* upon very unequal terms, or ſuffer himſelf to be ſhut up in *Vapri*. He diſdained the thought of either retreating or acting on the defenſive, and reſolved at once to fight his enemy. Before he executed this deſperate reſolution, he made a ſhort ſpeech to his *German* cavalry, and putting himſelf at their head, he attacked the *Spaniſh* auxiliaries with ſo much fury, that he killed their ſtandard-bearer; but being at laſt ſurrounded by numbers, he was himſelf killed, and his army completely defeated, moſt of them being either drowned in paſſing the *Adda*, or falling in the field. This battle confirmed *Otho* in his government, and was fought four years after that of *Decio*. *Caſſoni* was nobly buried at *Vapri*, where his tomb is ſtill to be ſeen.

Caſſoni *defeated, and ſlain.*

Practices of the marquis of Montferrat.

THE *Lodeſe* having been very active in favour of *Caſſoni*, their territory was invaded by the marquis of *Montferrat*, and ravaged with ſo much cruelty, that they were obliged to purchaſe their peace from *Otho*. He then attacked the *Cremoneſe*; but this produced a confederacy againſt him amongſt the *Piacentines*, the *Parmeſans*, the *Mantuans*, and the *Reggians*, who ſupported the *Cremoneſe*. The war was thereby protracted for ſome time; but at laſt peace was concluded for a hundred years, by which the priſoners on both ſides were to be releaſed, and the *Torriani* fugitives were to be ſuffered to have refuge in the cities and territories of their friends. The marquis, through thoſe ſucceſſes, and his *Spaniſh* alliance, made at this time ſo great a figure in the affairs of *Lombardy*, that he no longer doubted of becoming maſter of *Milan*, as *Otho* was now grown very old. To pave the way of his ambition, he practiſed with the *Comeſe*, who choſe him for their governor, or poteſta, for ten years; but with an expreſs reſervation as to the priſoners in *Baradello*, whom he was to leave in the power of the people of *Como*; and, by his oath, he was, at the requeſt of the people and the *Ruſcan* party, faithfully to make war with all their enemies as occaſion ſhould require. Having obtained this great acquiſition of power, he returned to *Milan*, with a large retinue, where he renewed his intrigues, and employed all kinds of practices to depreciate *Otho* in the eyes of his ſubjects. His manners, however, were ill-ſuited for ſuch an undertaking, for he was as arrogant in his behaviour as he was inſatiable in his avarice, which had involved the *Milaneſe* in prodigious expences. This rendered him unpopular amongſt

mongſt them, and the more as he claimed all the glory of the late battle of *Vapri*, and took ſuch ſteps as left it no longer doubtful that he was aſpiring to the ſovereignty of *Milan*.

THE firſt ſtep he took in direct oppoſition to *Otho*, was his eſpouſing the intereſt of the *Soracini*, a family which was extremely obnoxious to the *Viſconti*, and had always oppoſed *Otho* and his friends. He next procured *Poggio*, one of his favourites, to be made poteſta of *Milan*, where two factions ſtarted up; one in the intereſt of *Otho*, and the other in that of the marquis. The latter, to ſtrengthen his party, had by the force of gold procured the deliverance of *Guido Torriano* out of the caſtle of *Baradello*. The *Comeſe* reproached their friends at *Milan* with this eſcape, which gave infinite diſquiet to *Otho*. He now plainly ſaw that the marquis was ſtriking at the foundation of his authority; but he wiſely reſolved to diſſemble, and he entertained the marquis with as much affability and complaiſance as ever. By this prudent behaviour he made great diſcoveries of his rival's intentions, and was enabled to guard againſt all his ſecret machinations, and to weaken his party. It is probable that *Otho*, on this occaſion, employed other means to divert the marquis from his dangerous deſigns; for he was moſt critically called back to *Vercelli*, on account of a civil war breaking out in his own marquiſate. Upon his retreat, *Otho* immediately ſummoned a meeting of his friends, and giving his nephew *Matthew* his orders, he directly mounted on horſeback, and advanced in armour to the poteſta's palace, from whence he drove *Poggio* out of the city. A new poteſta was nominated in his room, the *Soracini* were driven into exile, and their palace, which they had built out of the ruins of the *Torriani*, was levelled with the ground; others of the *Montferrat* faction, who were leſs obnoxious, were baniſhed ten miles from *Milan*; and thus *Otho*'s government and credit were entirely re-eſtabliſhed in that city. *Are diſappointed.*

THAT he might prove himſelf to be in all reſpects a complete politician, he endeavoured to get permanency to his power, by applying, as the *Torriani* had done before, to *Rodolph*, emperor of *Germany*, for his protection, and inviting him to receive the crown of *Italy* at *Milan*. *Rodolph* was a wiſe and a wary prince; and though he had before inclined to favour the *Torriani*, accepted of *Otho*'s offer; and, without going to *Italy*, he took him into his alliance, and not only in the moſt ample form promiſed to aſſiſt and protect him, but ſent him ſome troops of *German* horſe to ſerve him as his life-guard; a preſent which was at that time of the utmoſt conſequence to the princes of *Italy*. Otho's alliance with the emperor.

The marquis of *Montferrat*, over-awed by this great alliance, laid aside, for that time, his ambitious projects against *Milan*, and continued a war against the people of *Tortona* and *Aleſſandria*.

Quarrel between the Milaneſe *and the* Comeſe.

In the mean while, a breach happened between the *Milaneſe* and the *Comeſe*, which unexpectedly revived all the hopes of the *Torriani*. The vaſt ſervices performed by the *Comeſe* to the *Milaneſe*, encouraged the former to preſume a little too much upon their own importance; and having made ſome demands concerning limits, which they pretended belonged to them of right, and which the *Milaneſe* diſallowed of, they immediately took arms, and invading *Lucca* they poſſeſſed themſelves of that, and ſeveral other towns belonging to the *Milaneſe*. Upon this, the latter declared war, and raiſed a conſiderable army to do themſelves juſtice, the command of which was given to *Matthew*, who attacked and defeated the *Comeſe*, killed great numbers of them, and carried a large booty in priſoners and plunder to *Milan*. The *Comeſe* complained moſt bitterly of this treatment, which they ſaid was more barbarous than the moſt enraged enemies could have inflicted. Their reſentment was aggravated by the conſideration that they had ſome time before choſen *Matthew* for their poteſta, and general of their army, and had loaded him with many extraordinary honours. The remembrance of all this, with that of the great things the *Comeſe* had done for *Milan*, worked them up to ſuch a pitch of indignation, that all of a ſudden they entered into a conſpiracy againſt the *Viſconti* family; and not only ſet at liberty *Muſca* and *Herecci*, the two heads of the *Torriani* family, whom they had detained in priſon ever ſince the battle of *Decio*, but raiſed them to be their poteſtas, and furniſhed them with arms and money.

Conduct of the marquis of Montferrat.

The marquis of *Montferrat* was not wanting to ſupport the *Comeſe* in this war, and all parties in the confederacy breathed nothing but fury and deſtruction to *Otho* and *Matthew*. The power and reputation of the marquis rendered him a moſt formidable enemy; and the keenneſs of the two young *Torriani*, in reſentment of an almoſt eight years impriſonment, was incredible. The rendezvous of the *Torriani* was at *Parma*. The event of this war proved unfortunate to *Matthew*, to whom the archbiſhop had reſigned all his power, both civil and military. The *Torriani* and the *Comeſe* expelled him out of *Milan*; and *Otho* dying ſoon after, the *Torriani* became again poſſeſſed of *Milan*, and *Matthew* was obliged to take refuge at the imperial court, where he was in high favour under the emperor *Rodolph*, who made him

his

is vicar-general over *Milan*, *Como*, *Novara*, *Vercelli*, *Aleſſandria*, and *Tortona*. As to *Otho* himſelf, he did not live to ſee *Matthew*'s calamities, but died at the age of eighty-ſeven, in *Auguſt* 1295. *Death*

OTHO was a ſingular inſtance how far perſeverance and intrepidity can conquer repeated misfortunes. Though he never had been bred either a ſoldier or a politician, yet he excelled both in the field and the cabinet; and died without feeling any other diſeaſe than the decay of nature, amidſt his friends and kinſmen. *and character of* Otho.

MATTHEW was born in a village near the *Lago Maggiore*, on the very day that the emperor *Frederick* is ſaid to have been put to death by his natural ſon *Manfred*. His father *Theobald* died when he was young, and he became the favourite and companion of his uncle *Otho*, amidſt all his difficulties and diſtreſſes. In ſtrength of body and firmneſs of mind, as well as in conſtancy under every kind of fortune, he exactly reſembled *Otho*; but in clemency and civil virtues he exceeded him. During the courſe of his life he at one time or other ſubdued all his enemies; but never was known to take a ſevere revenge upon any. He was expelled out of *Milan*, thro' the practices of the *Torriani*, by *Alberti Scotti* of *Placentia*, and other *Italian* princes, who had debauched his mercenaries. *Guido Torriano* became maſter of *Milan*. He was, as we have ſeen, received by the emperor *Rodolph*; but upon his death, which happened ſoon after his expulſion, he was, with a few friends who attended him, reduced to vaſt difficulties; nor did he receive any aſſiſtance from the emperor *Albert*, who ſucceeded him. Upon the arrival of the emperor *Henry* the VIIth in *Italy*, the biſhop of *Conſtance* repaired to *Milan*, and demanded of the inhabitants that the emperor ſhould be crowned in their city with the crown of *Lombardy*. This demand met with ſome difficulty; and while he was at *Aſti*, *Matthew* and the archbiſhop of *Milan* having joined together againſt the *Torriani*, repaired to him, and ſwore fealty. The caſtle of *Vigevano* was then held by *Guido Torriano*[c]; but it was ſurpriſed by the emperor, which forced *Guido* to make an humble application to him at *Novara*, to make an apology for what had paſſed; and after that, the emperor croſſed the *Teſin*, and ſent beforehand his harbinger to prepare for his reception in *Milan*. His approach was extremely diſagreeable to *Torriano*; and his majeſty having reaſon to ſuſpect he would be oppoſed, proceeded with great caution; but having entered the city, *Succeeded by* Matthew *the Great.*

[c] Iter Ital. ap Murat. Tome xix. p. 891.

he found ten thousand men drawn up under arms, which *Torriano* said was to oppose *Matthew* and the archbishop. The emperor, however, proceeded with such caution and moderation, that he procured a reconciliation between all the three parties, and obliged them to embrace each other. Next day he harangued the people from his tribunal, and published this reconciliation. After that, there was some dispute between the inhabitants of *Milan* and of those of *Mousa*, concerning the place of his coronation. But at last their own crown was carried from *Mousa*, where it commonly was kept, to *Milan*, and the ceremony was performed there in the church of *St. Ambrose*.

The emperor crowned king of Lombardy.

HENRY being now king of *Lombardy*, a consultation was held about granting him a subsidy, and *Matthew* voted for giving him forty thousand florins, and the empress ten thousand. *Torriano*, to make his court with the emperor, proposed to grant him a hundred thousand; which won the hearts of the *Germans*, but lost those of the *Milanese*. After his coronation he made no fewer than one hundred and sixty new knights. *Matthew Visconti* was, at this time, at the head of the *Gibelin* interest in *Milan*; but *Torriano* knew so well how to make his court to the emperor, that he was under a cloud at court. Before his imperial majesty left *Milan*, he made a demand of the remainder of the subsidy which had been voted to him, amounting to fifty thousand florins. This produced great commotions in *Milan*; and *Torriano* having, under frivolous pretences, refused to attend him to *Rome*, gave some suspicion of his loyalty. This was confirmed by the great number of soldiers entertained by *Torriano*, and the emperor demanded a hundred hostages for the good behaviour of the inhabitants during his absence. This proposal met with great difficulties on all hands. Of those hostages, *Galeazzo*, *Matthew*'s eldest son, was one; and *Francesino*, the son of *Guido Torriano*, was the other. Though their fathers were of opposite factions, yet both of them hated the *Germans*, and both of them had a private conference, in which they mutually agreed not to attend the emperor. This agreement was concealed by *Galeazzo*, but betrayed by *Francesino*. When the day of the emperor's departure came, the hostages refused to attend him, unless their expences were defrayed: upon which the emperor sent *Nicholas* his chief minister to demand of the senate, that they should be paid by the public. The senate refused to agree to this proposal; upon which they were locked up by *Nicholas*, who, upon making his report to the emperor, advised him to put them all to death. *Henry* rejected this cruel proposition,

and the ſenators were ſet at liberty. He took new precautions, however, againſt any ſurpriſe; but indeed the *Milaneſe*, at this time, were ripe for any deſperate attempt againſt the *Germans*; and, underſtanding that there had been a compromiſe between the *Viſconti* and the *Torriani*, they put themſelves under arms. *Matthew* and his ſon were by the emperor ordered to be arreſted. *Matthew* was too wiſe to expoſe himſelf and his friends to danger, and therefore preſented himſelf without armour to the emperor. *Torriano*, on the other hand, fled to his own palace, which he had fortified, and the ſtorm broke upon him and his friends. Their houſes were beſieged and rifled, and many of them were put to death. In the mean while *Galeazzo* was by his father ordered to ſurrender himſelf to the emperor; but he had declared for the *Germans* againſt the *Torriani*, and put himſelf at the head of a great body of his friends. His appearance, in all probability, ſaved the *Germans* and the emperor from being cut in pieces, the main body of the imperialiſts lying without the city. The *Germans* by his aſſiſtance prevailing, would have put to death all the *Guelphs*, and the followers of *Torriano*, had it not been for the moderation and wiſdom of young *Galeazzo*, who diverted their rage, by giving up the houſes of the *Guelphs* to plunder. This behaviour of the *Viſconti* ſaved *Milan* from deſtruction, and they did all they could to put a ſtop to the licentiouſneſs and avarice of the *Germans*. This rendered them obnoxious to the latter; and they prevailed upon the emperor to baniſh the father to *Aſti*, and the ſon to *Treviſo*. Thus, the *Germans* were for ſome time entirely maſters of the city; from which the *Torriani* were now expelled. *Matthew*, however, and his ſon, found friends about the emperor, and both of them were recalled, with great honour.

Matthew *arreſted,*

but recalled.

ACCORDING to *Paul Jovius*, while the emperor was at *Aſti*, *Matthew*, in the diſguiſe of a countryman, made his way to his perſon, and falling at his feet, implored his protection, which his venerable appearance, being then above ſixty years of age, ſoon procured, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of all his enemies preſent. It is, however, not very clear that he did not betray *Torriano* in the attack which was made upon the *Germans*; but it ſeems pretty certain that he had entered into no concert with the emperor, who was at firſt extremely jealous of him, and planted ſpies upon his conduct. As to *Guido*, being old and infirm, it was with difficulty he eſcaped out of *Milan*, and his family loſt all its poſſeſſions there. *Henry* then gave to *Matthew* the ſupreme command of *Milan* under himſelf; and after taking

The emperor is crowned at Rome.

all neceſſary precautions for its ſafety, he ſet out for *Rome* to be crowned. *Matthew*, from that time, devoted himſelf to the imperial intereſts; and being ſupported by three ſons, men of the moſt conſummate abilities in the arts both of war and peace, he entirely broke the *Torriani* faction, and acquired ſo many ſplendid victories, that the voice of all *Italy* beſtowed upon him the epithet of *the Great*. But the envy which attended his glorious actions raiſed him a vaſt number of enemies, he being now maſter of almoſt all *Lombardy*. *Robert*, king of *Naples*, having taken part with the pope, declared himſelf the protector of the *Guelphs* in *Italy*, and *Matthew*, as being their head, was excommunicated. In the mean while the emperor *Henry* died by poiſon, as was ſaid; but *Matthew* not diſcouraged by that, nor the other croſs events which happened to him, ſtill continued to make head againſt the *Guelphs*, whom he defeated in three battles. The firſt was fought at *Aldino*, the ſecond on the banks of the *Arbe*, and the third at *Monte Catino*, where the brother of the king of *Naples* was killed, and *Luchin*, *Matthew*'s ſon and general, gave ſignal proofs of his warlike genius. *Marc*, another of *Matthew*'s ſons, headed the *Spinolas* and the *Dorias*, and the other *Genoeſe* exiles, and ſhut up *Robert* himſelf in *Genoa*. Upon this *Bertrand Vaſco*, the pope's legate, renewed the ſentence of excommunication againſt *Matthew*, and, in order to exaſperate the people againſt him, laid the city of *Milan* itſelf under an interdict. This had its effect; for the inhabitants being ſhut out of their churches, and deprived of all ſacred rites, immediately nominated twelve ambaſſadors to *Bertrand*, to avert the pope's indignation. Moſt of thoſe ambaſſadors were enemies to *Matthew*, ſome of them of his own family, and others under the greateſt obligations to his friendſhip, particularly *Garbagnati*, and *Cribelli*, a man of great intereſt in *Milan*, but of a reſtleſs unquiet diſpoſition. *Matthew*, on the other hand, was powerful in his family, his dependencies, troops, and riches; but being now very old, he applied himſelf chiefly to aggrandize his numerous progeny, which ſtill encreaſed the number of thoſe who envied and hated him. The report of the deputies who had been ſent to *Bertrand*, who were now returned to *Milan*, was, that he was at the head of a great army; but that they could not prevail upon him to withdraw his cenſures, unleſs the inhabitants expelled *Matthew*, and returned to their old form of popular government. This report threw the populace into ſuch a ferment, that *Matthew* was obliged to apply for aſſiſtance to his ſon *Galeazzo*, who at that time commanded in *Placentia*, and who, aſſembling his army, marched directly to *Milan*. *Ga-*

Matthew excommunicated.

leazzo

leazzo was at that time in high reputation all over *Italy* for his valour, and very popular at *Milan* on account of his ſplendor and liberality. He was no ſooner arrived in the city, than his father's enemies were confounded; and the twelve deputies at firſt ſhut themſelves up in their houſes, and at length took advantage of a dark night to eſcape out of the city. They were no ſooner gone, than *Galeazzo*, who was endued with great natural eloquence, called an aſſembly of the citizens, where he ſo effectually laid open the deſigns of the *Guelph* faction, that he brought all the citizens over to his own party, and reſettled the tranquillity of the government.

MATTHEW was now ſeventy-two years of age, and being again reſtored to his country and government, he was too wiſe to think of continuing in power, which he formally reſigned to his ſon *Galeazzo*, by putting into his hands the imperial ſtandard: he then repaired to the altar, attended by all the clergy who durſt follow him, where he made a ſolemn profeſſion of his religion, and took an oath that he never had done any thing that could merit the cenſures he lay under, through the enmity of a proud and vindictive churchman. Next day he repaired to *Mouſa*, and there he repeated the ſame profeſſions. Soon after he was ſeized with a fever, and ordered himſelf to be tranſported in a litter to *Creſcentini*, where he was attended by his four ſons. His dying advice was full of piety and wiſdom; and he had the happineſs of expiring in their embraces. Such was the devotion, or ſuperſtition, of the age, that the place of his interment was kept long ſecret, leſt, dying excommunicated, his body ſhould be torn from the grave by the implacable churchmen. *His death.*

HE was ſucceeded in the government of *Milan* by his eldeſt ſon *Galeazzo*, who had ſpent all his life in arms, or in combating the intrigues of his own, or his father's enemies. He had for ſome time been poteſta of *Novara*, from whence he had been driven by the *Guelphs*; but aſſembling an army, with incredible expedition, he drove his enemies to *Mortara*, which he beſieged, took, and raſed to the ground, though eſteemed one of the ſtrongeſt fortifications then in *Italy*. This raiſed his reputation in arms beyond even that of his father, whom in his exile from *Milan* he moſt faithfully attended through all his fortunes, till all proſpect of relieving him being at an end, he entered into the *French* ſervice, in which he highly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in her wars with the *Engliſh*. Returning to *Italy*, he gave proofs of his courage, when *Azzo*, duke of *Ferrara*, was at war with *Succeeded by* Galeazzo.

the pope. In one battle he had three horſes killed under him; and though he was wounded, he mounted one of his enemies horſes, and, ſnatching his ſtandard, he broke through the ranks, and rejoined his own troops. This, and many other acts of valour, endeared him to *Azzo*, who was then one of the moſt conſiderable princes in *Italy*, and he gave him his ſiſter *Beatrix* in marriage. This lady was handſome, but nine years elder than *Galeazzo*, and had been left very rich by a former huſband. The nuptials were magnificent beyond all expreſſion, and ſuch as had not for ſome ages been ſeen in *Italy*, and celebrated by the poet *Dante*, who lived at the time. The great ſervices performed by *Galeazzo* to *Azzo* raiſed him to the government of *Treviſo*; and his deportment, in every reſpect, was ſo noble and majeſtic, that it recommended him to the particular notice of the emperor *Henry* VII. upon the arrival of that prince *in Italy*. His father's fortune, at that time, taking a favourable turn, he commanded the *Milaneſe* troops, and was highly inſtrumental in reducing the greateſt part of *Lombardy* to the *Viſconti* family; for he drove out of *Placentia*, *Alberti Scotti*, his father's ancient enemy, and made himſelf maſter of that city. He afterwards defeated *Cavaloabove* of *Cremona* at the battle of *Bardi*, and beſieging that city both by ſea and land, he took it partly by force, and partly by famine. His other brothers, at the ſame time, made a great figure in *Italy*. *Luchin* defeated and killed *Bauchio*, general to the king of *Naples*, near the *Tanaro*; and the renown of the *Viſconti* family was now ſo great as to unite againſt them the pope, the king of *Naples*, and the *Florentines*. It was on this occaſion that the *Swiſſers* were invited by the *Guelphs* into *Italy*; and *Henry* duke of *Auſtria*, with *Philip* of *Valois*, afterwards king of *France*, were tempted with a promiſe of ſharing the ſpoils of *Milan*, if they would enter into the ſame cauſe. This formidable conſpiracy was fruſtrated by the addreſs and courage of the *Viſconti* family. *Matthew* gave a large ſubſidy to the *Germans*, by which they were prevented from entering into *Italy*. *Philip* was a young prince, full of fire and courage, and paſſed the *Alps* at the head of a very noble army, in which moſt of the nobility of *France* ſerved. As his preſumption far exceeded his conduct, it expoſed him to the ſuperior abilities of *Galeazzo* and his brother *Marc*, who was joined with him in the command of the *Longobardic* army, and who, by the diſpoſitions they made, might, without danger to themſelves, have deſtroyed the whole *French* army. *Marc* was for making the beſt of their advantage;

His ſucceſſes.

advantage; but *Galeazzo*, more conſiderate, was averſe to making ſo powerful a nation as the *French* were, the irreconcileable enemies of *Milan*. He therefore prevailed with his brother to propoſe a conference with *Philip*; which being agreed to, *Galeazzo* addreſſing himſelf to *Philip* and the other *French* generals, repreſented to them the folly of expoſing themſelves in a foreign quarrel; and drawing out his army, he ſhewed them, by its poſition, that the deſtruction of the *French* was inevitable if they ſhould come to blows. He, at the ſame time, produced the badges of knighthood with which he had been honoured by the *French* king, and expatiated upon the violence that muſt be done to his own inclinations, if he ſhould be forced to come to extremities with his ancient friends and allies.

He baffles the French.

THIS artful ſpeech had all the effect that *Galeazzo* could deſire. The *Milaneſe* army was ſuperior to that of *France* in infantry, and contained five thouſand excellent cavalry. This appearance ſtruck the *French* princes and noblemen with aſtoniſhment, which was heightened by the graceful preſence of *Marc*, whom *Galeazzo* had left at the head of the army. In ſhort, the *French* choſe to make peace, and returned, with no great credit to their conduct, to *France*.

Revolt of Milan.

AT the time of *Matthew*'s death a body of *German* mercenaries, the ſucceſſors of thoſe who had been ſent to the archbiſhop *Otho* by the emperor, ſtill ſerved in the *Milaneſe*, but without much reputation, on account of their infidelity and rapaciouſneſs. With them, the agents of the pope and the king of *Naples* entered into a conſpiracy for expelling the *Viſconti* family out of *Milan*, and reſtoring the popular government. They were backed by *Leodriſio*, *Garbagnati*, and *Cribelli*, and large ſums were divided amongſt the *Germans*, who were commanded by one *Roger* and *Anchini*. Thoſe practices had ſuch an effect, that all *Milan* revolted againſt *Galeazzo*, who, with his brother *Marc*, fled to *Lodi*. Upon their departure a popular form of government took place; but it was ſcarcely eſtabliſhed when the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins* in the city fell at variance; and their diſſentions communicating themſelves to the neighbouring country, the *Guelphs* ſeized *Mouſa*. This diviſion plainly evinced that the new conſtituted form of government would be of ſhort duration. The heads of the republic, who were moſtly *Gibelins*, ſent *Leodriſio* with an army to beſiege *Mouſa*, which was defended by *Tignaca*. Inſtead of waiting to be beſieged, *Tignaca* threw down the walls of the place, and attacked *Leodriſio*, by whom he was defeated, and made priſoner.

IN

The Visconti restored.

In the mean while, the cardinal legate had appointed one of the *Torriano* family to succeed *Galeazzo* in his government, in the capacity of a poteſta. This was by no means agreeable to the *Milaneſe Gibelins*; and, upon further inquiry, it was diſcovered that they had been made tools to the papal ambition; nor did the legate any longer continue the pay of the *German* mercenaries, who hated the very mention of a *Guelph*. In a general aſſembly of the *Germans*, *Henry Gruniſtein*, one of their chief officers, propoſed to recall *Galeazzo* to the government; and deputies of the greateſt quality in the city were ſent to invite him back, without any other conditions than that he ſhould forget what was paſt; and ſo great was *Gruniſtein*'s opinion of *Galeazzo*'s honour, that he offered to become a hoſtage for the performance of all he ſhould promiſe. While the deputies were treating with *Galeazzo*, *Marc* returned by night, and *Leodriſio* applied to him in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms to be reconciled to *Galeazzo*. Next day *Galeazzo* entered *Milan*, with the ſame freedom and eaſe as he would have returned from a hunting match, or a party of pleaſure. Upon his arrival the poteſta *Torriano*, *Garbagnati*, and *Cribelli*, fled to the legate.

Their danger.

Soon after, the papal, the *Neapolitan*, and the *Florentine* forces being joined by the patriarch of *Aquileia*, who likewiſe was of the *Torriano* family, and all his friends, marched to the *Adda*, in order to attack *Milan*. Their army upon the whole conſiſted of forty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe, and was commanded by *Gaſto* the legate's nephew, and under him by *Raymond Cardona*, a *Spaniard*, *Henry* of *Flanders*, and *Simon Torriano*, all of them leaders of great reputation. The van attempted to paſs the *Adda*, near *Trezzo*, with *Garbagnati* and *Cribelli* at its head; but they were oppoſed by *Marc*, who killed *Garbagnati* and *Cribelli*; but their party being ſupported by all the ſtrength of the *Florentines*, made good their paſſage, and *Marc* being ſatisfied with having killed the two moſt inveterate enemies of his family, retired to *Milan*.

GALEAZZO was in no condition to withſtand this invaſion by himſelf. His two brothers *Marc* and *Luchin*, however, bravely attacked the confederates, who were double their number, and would have totally defeated them, had not *Luchin* been wounded, and obliged to retire from the field.

They recover,

After that the confederates extended their quarters to *Como*, and even laid ſiege to *Milan*. *Galeazzo*, who knew they were unable to take the city, applied for aſſiſtance to *Lewis* V. of *Bavaria*, who ſent him fifteen hundred horſe, under the command of *Bertaldi*, one of his beſt generals,

who threw himself into *Milan*, and did great execution upon the confederates, by the frequent sallies he made. Perceiving that the war was like to be spun out to a great length, the confederates bribed a *Swiss* regiment that served under *Bertoldi* to assassinate *Galeazzo*; and the plot was upon the point of taking effect, when it was discovered by *John Visconti*, the younger, brother of *Galeazzo*, who, though in orders, took arms and defeated the conspirators. This discovery, together with the death of *Gasto*, discouraged the other generals of the confederacy so much, that they retired to *Mousa*, which had been betrayed to them by *Landi*, and from which *Azzo*, *Galeazzo*'s eldest son, had been driven. Here they remained for some time in hopes of receiving supplies from the legate; and for that purpose they threw a bridge over the *Adda*. *Galeazzo* knew the consequence of cutting off this communication, and resolved either to effect that, or force his enemies to a battle. The latter chose to fight; and, drawing their garrison out of *Mousa*, they marched to *Vapri*, where the bridge was built, and put their army in order of battle. *Henry* of *Flanders* commanded the right wing, as *Simon* and *Passarini* did the left, which was chiefly composed of *Florentines*. The center, which consisted of *French* and *Neapolitans*, was commanded by *Raymond*, and the whole was so artfully disposed, that the heavy and light armed were of mutual assistance to each other. The *Milanese* were commanded by *Galeazzo* and *Marc*, and the enemy evacuated *Vapri*, where they left all their baggage. *Galeazzo* ordered it to be set on fire, and, under the cover of the smoke, he charged the confederates amidst their consternation at the loss of their baggage. *Marc* led on the attack, and totally defeated the division under *Henry* of *Flanders*. *Galeazzo*, in the mean while, was victorious over the left wing; and the center being chiefly busied in endeavouring to extinguish the flames, the defeat became general. *Raymond* was taken, as were the principal officers amongst the *Florentines*; *Simon Torriano* was killed, and very few of the confederates escaped being either drowned in the *Adda*, put to the sword, or made prisoners. The standards of king *Robert*, the pope, the *Florentines*, and the *Torriani*, fell into the hands of the *Milanese*; and it was with the greatest difficulty that *Henry* of *Flanders*, next morning, after wandering all night, reached *Mousa*, to which the remains of the confederate army escaped.

Raymond and defeat their enemies.

This place was defended by *Vergusio Landi*; and fearing he should receive no quarter, because he was the means of expelling *Azzo*, he prepared to defend it to the last extremity;

Siege of Mousa.

tremity; but *Galeazzo* besieged it with so much vigour, that *Landi* was at last obliged to agree to give it up, if he should not be relieved in a certain time by the legate. Mean while *Henry* of *Flanders* left *Mousa* in despair, and *Passarini Torriano* advancing to relieve the place, surprised and defeated a body of *Savoyards*, but was himself intercepted and defeated by *Marc Visconti*; upon which *Mousa* was surrendered according to articles.

Negotiation for a peace.

NOTWITHSTANDING the advantages *Galeazzo* had gained, he found that he must, in the end, submit to the confederacy that had been formed against him; and resolved, if possible, to make a peace, but in such a manner as that he should not seem to beg it. *Raymond Cardona* was still his prisoner, and being looked on by all parties to be a man of great honour, as well as address, *Galeazzo* privately set him at liberty, but suffered *Landriano* and *Conti*, the two noblemen who had the charge of him, to be prosecuted and banished, as if they had been accessary to his escape. *Raymond* performed his engagements with *Galeazzo* with the utmost punctuality. He first repaired to *Piacenza*, where he had an interview with the legate, and then to *Avignon*, where the pope resided; and in the presence of *Landriano* and *Conti*, the two innocent exiles, he prefled his holiness so warmly in favour of peace, that he could no longer resist his arguments, but would do nothing without consulting his ally the king of *Naples*. The latter strenuously opposed all pacific motions, unless *Galeazzo* could be brought not only to abandon the cause of the emperor, but to become a party in the war against him; both which terms *Galeazzo* rejected with great indignation. The peace, however, was concluded, and the war of *Italy* was contracted to the quarrel between *Castruccio* and the *Florentines*, who employed *Raymond* as their general. As *Galeazzo*, in the late treaty, had reserved a liberty to assist the emperor's allies, *Galeazzo* sent his son *Azzo* with eight hundred chosen horse to *Castruccio*'s assistance, and *Raymond* was again defeated and taken prisoner, chiefly by the valour of the *Milanese* auxiliaries[f]. It must not, however, be forgot, that *Galeazzo* had by this time restored *Landriano* and *Conti* to their estates and honours, but without explaining the particulars of his own management.

GALEAZZO, by the late victory obtained by *Castruccio* and *Azzo*, seemed now to be at the summit of his good fortune, when he was on the precipice of danger. His brother *Marc*, who had performed so many signal services to him,

[f] See Vol. xxxvi. p. 79.

thought

thought they were ill requited, and entered into a conſpiracy with *Leodriſio* to ruin him. The *Florentines* had now given up the government of their city to *Charles*, prince of *Tarentum*, which obliged *Galeazzo* to form a party of the *Gibelins* all over *Italy*, for inviting the emperor *Lewis* V. of *Bavaria* to come to their aſſiſtance, which invitation was accordingly accepted of; and *Lewis* paſſing the *Alps*, came to *Verona*, the prince of which joined in the conſpiracy with *Marc* and *Leodriſio*. While the emperor was at *Verona*, the conſpirators applied to him, and accuſed *Galeazzo* of having betrayed his cauſe. The emperor was ſo poor, that at that time he took little notice of the charge, becauſe of the magnificent preſents made him by *Galeazzo* when he came to *Como*. It was not long before *Galeazzo* diſcovered the conſpiracy, and that *Ruſco*, the lord of *Como*, had entered into it. The charge againſt him was his having negotiated a peace with the pope and the king of *Naples*, by means of *Raymond*, the moſt dangerous enemy to the *Gibelin* intereſt of any in *Italy*. When *Galeazzo* heard of this accuſation, all he ſaid was, "While my brother accuſes me, he does not "conſider that he is wounding himſelf." Theſe words being carried to *Marc*, his anſwer was, "I will ſtand to all "the conſequences; but, by heaven! *Galeazzo* has no bro- "ther, becauſe he engroſſes all power to himſelf." The emperor took little or no concern in this diſpute, farther than to endeavour to reconcile all parties, and proceed to *Milan*, where he was crowned king of *Lombardy* by the biſhop of *Arezzo*, and moſt nobly entertained by *Galeazzo*. He was, however, ſtaggered by the vaſt offers of men and money made him by *Scaliger*, whoſe ambition led him to aſpire to the principality of *Milan*, on pretence that *Galeazzo* had been guilty of treaſon. At laſt, *Lewis* agreed to the propoſal of *Scaliger*, who, under pretence of doing honour to the emperor, had brought with him to *Milan* one thouſand horſe, and a large body of foot, all of them choice troops. To make the reſolution more practicable, *Lewis* required the troops in *Galeazzo*'s pay to take an oath of fidelity to himſelf, which they did, and to attend him to *Rome*. A high court of juſtice being ſummoned, *Galeazzo*, his brothers, and his ſon *Azzo*, were required to appear before the emperor. Their chief accuſer was *Marc*, who complained in the moſt bitter terms againſt *Galeazzo*'s tyranny; and offered, in the name of the people of *Milan*, to ſupply him with money to the extent of his wiſhes, if he would pronounce ſentence againſt *Galeazzo*.

1327. Galeazzo *accuſed and impriſoned*,

[d] Ibid, p. 83.

IT

It happened unfortunately at this time for the latter, that his finances were quite exhausted in supplying the emperor's continual wants, which he had done for three months. This inability of his made all the *Germans* his enemies; so that the defence he made to his charge was little attended to. After he had finished, the captain of the imperial guards decoyed him, his son *Azzo*, with his brother *Luchin* and *John*, into a separate room, under pretence of having a private audience of the emperor, where they were put under a strict guard, and given to understand that they were to expect death, if, in three days time, the citadel of *Mousa* was not delivered up to his imperial majesty; which demand was accordingly complied with, though *Galeazzo*'s wife had retired thither, as believing it to be only place where she could be safe. A few days after, all the illustrious prisoners were carried to *Mousa*, where they were imprisoned in a dungeon, which *Galeazzo* had just finished for confining malefactors. Their keeper was one *Rizacci*, who acted as deputy for the bishop of *Arezzo*, appointed governor of the castle, who behaved towards them with the utmost brutality and cruelty.

with circumstances of cruelty.

It is amazing that this revolution was effected without the least commotion; and none but those concerned knew what had happened. The whole was owing to the poverty and insatiable avarice of the emperor, and to the vast promises made him by *Marc*, and *Galeazzo*'s other enemies. Next day, after the princes were imprisoned, *Lewis* appointed four and twenty governors, chosen out of the different wards of the city, to be a regency for *Milan*, but gave the command of the whole to *William Montfort*; he then marched towards the *Bresciano*, where at *Orzi* he summoned a meeting of all his vassals, and produced to them the proofs of *Galeazzo*'s pretended correspondence with the pope, which contained evident marks of forgery. The *Gibelin* princes were struck with the fate of so great a prince as *Galeazzo* was, and each made his fate his own. Neither he nor his son, nor his brothers, however, received any immediate relief, and the emperor proceeded to *Rome*, where he was crowned emperor. The fate of the *Milanese* princes determined the *Pisans* to refuse him admittance into their city; and had it not been for *Castruccio*, all the *Gibelin* interest in *Italy* would have declared against him. The services performed on this occasion by *Castruccio*, who was now the emperor's general, and first minister, gave him an opportunity of interposing in favour of his friend *Galeazzo*, and was backed by the other *Gibelin* states, and by *Marc*, who now began to feel remorse for what he had done. The emperor for some time continued inexorable;

Distresses of the Visconti.

inexorable; but the *Florentines* obtaining poſſeſſion of *Piſtoia*, *Caſtruccio* threatened to abandon the imperial intereſt, unleſs the *Viſcontis* were ſet at liberty; and he actually retired to *Lucca*. Upon this the emperor found it dangerous to continue their impriſonment longer; and gave orders for their being ſet at liberty, after remaining in captivity for nine months. No condition was annexed to their deliverance; but the captives were given to underſtand, that they ſhould pay their reſpects to the emperor upon his return from *Rome*. Thus ended an affair that reflects infinite diſhonour upon *Lewis*, who, according to all accounts, never had convicted *Galeazzo*, or his relations, of the leaſt crime to deſerve the puniſhment they met with. His artful conduct, and the reputation he had for cunning, were the foundations of the charge againſt him; and perhaps the greater difficulty there was in diſcovering proofs of his guilt, the emperor concluded him to be the more criminal. *Galeazzo* had no ſooner recovered his health, from his long impriſonment, and reſettled his family-affairs, than he reſolved to pay a debt of gratitude to *Caſtruccio*, who was then intent upon retaking *Piſtoia* from the *Florentines* [f]. We have already mentioned that famous ſiege. *Galeazzo* brought to the aſſiſtance of his friend a large body, both of horſe and foot; and while he himſelf was beſieged in his works, being obliged to go to *Lucca*, he left the conduct of the ſiege to *Galeazzo*. Upon his return, he found the works ſo far advanced, that he divided the command with him, by committing to his care the operations againſt the city, while he himſelf acted againſt the *Florentines*. The town at laſt was taken; but the exceſſive heat of the weather, and the fatigue of the ſiege, had thrown *Galeazzo* into a lingering diſtemper, ſo that he was obliged to be removed in a litter to *Peſcia*, where in three days he died, at the age of fifty-one. He was a prince of great reſolution and addreſs, and was ever fruitful in finding expedients for making the government of *Milan* independent in his family, by ballancing the papal and imperial powers, ſo as that neither of them ſhould too much preponderate in *Italy*. He was buried at *Lucca*, and was attended to his grave by his friend *Caſtruccio*, who ſurvived him but a few days.

who are debaſed.

Death of Galeazzo.

GALEAZZO was ſucceeded in the government of *Milan* by his ſon *Actio*, or, as he is commonly called, *Azzo*; who united in his own perſon the patience, perſeverance, and civil virtues of his father, and reſembled his grandfather, *Matthew the Great*, in prudence and foreſight. When he came

Succeeded by Azzo.

[f] Ibid, p. 88.

to

to the government, the *Visconti* family made but a second figure in the affairs of *Italy*, by being obliged to follow the fate of the imperialists, and losing the assistance of the famous *Castruccio*. *Azzo* entered into life under great disadvantages, being born and educated in exile. He had been left governor of *Piacenza*, under his father, when the latter marched to the assistance of *Matthew the Great*; but that city was surprised by the cardinal legate's troops; and we are told[g], that *Azzo* himself must have been taken prisoner, had he not escaped by his mother's scattering some bags of gold about the door of her house, which gained him time for getting away[g]. *Azzo* thus escaping, he put himself at the head of an army composed of *Milanese*, *Ferrarese*, and *Mantuans*, and reduced and fortified the town of *San Domino*. He then commanded the auxiliaries which his father sent to the assistance of *Castruccio*, and performed many celebrated services under that great captain, who owed to him some of his chief successes. When *Florence* was besieged, or rather insulted, by *Castruccio*, *Azzo* in return for the bravadoes of the *Florentines*, when they besieged *Milan*[h], celebrated horse-races under the walls of the city, and returned to *Milan* covered with glory. The death of his father and *Castruccio*, before his family had recovered its lustre, gave him great concern; but upon the retraction of his uncle *Marc*, he wisely made that a handle for recommending himself and his family-interests to the protection of the emperor. He went to *Pisa*, where his imperial majesty then was, attended by his uncle *John*; and being seconded by his other uncle *Marc*, he obtained of the emperor the investiture of *Milan*, upon the promise of a vast sum of money, which *Lewis* then stood greatly in need of, his affairs being in disorder all over *Italy*. Amongst the difficulties he laboured under, was the danger of his own troops revolting; eight hundred of whom had already left his service. The emperor employed *Azzo* to bring them to their duty; and the reader will find in the history of *Florence*[i] the sequel of this affair. It appears, however, that *Marc Visconti* was a man of much greater abilities and consequence than he is represented to be by the *Milanese* historian, and did both the emperor and his family very important services upon this occasion; not only by appeasing the mutineers, but by procuring several additional privileges and immunities to the *Milanese*. The emperor, at this time, had made *Peter de Cervaria*, who took the name of *Nicholas* V. pope; and had not only deposed, but condemned to death the true pope, *John* XXII.

His management with the emperor.

[g] Jovius, p. 110. [h] Ibid, p. 80. [i] Ibid, p. 92.

This

This mock pope, by the emperor's recommendation, created *John Visconti*, *Azzo*'s youngest uncle, a cardinal; but *Visconti*, tho' he did not absolutely refuse the honour, for fear of disobliging the emperor, declined to wear either the hat, or any of the outward badges of that office; which recommended him so much to the true pope, that he was first made bishop of *Novara*, and then archbishop of *Milan*.

AZZO having thus, with great prudence, put his family-affairs on a proper footing, returned towards *Milan*; where he and his uncle, the archbishop, were denied admittance by *William Montfort*, who still continued the imperial governor of that city, tho' they were welcomed, with great acclamations of joy, through all the *Milanese*. *Azzo*, however, by the help of a little money, soon got over this difficulty; and *Montfort* resigning his command, returned to *Germany*. When *Azzo* re-entered *Milan*, he was attended by *Conrade Porcari*, the imperial procurator, who had been sent by *Lewis* to receive the money that had been promised, and which *Azzo* immediately borrowed out of the chests of the city. This *Porcari*, having received the fourth part of the sum that had been promised, instead of returning to *Pisa*, went off with it to *Germany*. His infidelity was a great disappointment to the emperor, as well as to the troops who were to receive the money; and he was obliged to impose immense taxations upon the *Pisans*. He likewise sold to *Raymond*, and his other *Florentine* prisoners, their liberties; and not only seized upon the jewels of *Castruccio*'s widow, but stripped his sons of the government of *Lucca*, which he sold to *Francesco Interminelli* for money.

refuses the emperor admittance into Milan.

THOSE acts of rapaciousness, injustice, and ingratitude, but above all his miserable poverty, and the contempt in which he was held by his troops, rendered the person and dignity of the emperor very despicable all over *Italy*. *Azzo* was no stranger to this; and when his imperial majesty, in his return to *Italy*, took *Milan* in his way, he was refused admittance, both there and at *Mousa*. He attempted, however, to force his way into the last mentioned city; but by the swelling of the *Lambro* he was disappointed in his design, and thus he wandered about, a laughing stock, through all *Lombardy*, till he came to *Pavia*, where he was obliged to put up with all the indignities that had been offered him, upon *Azzo* paying the residue of the money he had promised him. During all the rest of his journey through *Italy*, he met with the most gross affronts, equally from *Gibelins* as *Guelphs*. In the mean while, *Marc Visconti*, who had been sent by *Lewis* to his *German* troops as a hostage for the payment of their

Miserable condition of the emperor.

arrears, became their general, and recovered *Lucca* for the ſons of *Caſtruccio*, and drove *Franceſco Interminelli*, the imperial governor, out of that city. After that he marched againſt *Piſa*, from whence he drove *Tarlati* of *Arezzo*. *Marc*, after this, repaired to *Florence*, and having glorioufly finiſhed his campaign, he left *Tuſcany*; but full of wrath againſt his nephew *Azzo*, for not having ſent him money for redeeming himſelf out of the hands of the *Germans*.

MARC's reputation, at this time, was very high in *Italy*, where he was conſidered as the head of the *German* army there. He had, before he left *Florence*, entered into connexions with that people, and the heads of the *Guelphs* in *Italy*, for extirpating the *Gibelin* party, and making himſelf lord of *Milan*; for which he was qualified by his courage, his liberality, his majeſtic appearance, and many other noble perfections. The vaſt ſums of money he had ſpent at *Florence* had, probably, given *Azzo*, and his uncles, ſome intimation of his deſigns; ſo that, when he returned to *Milan*, being narrowly watched, it was found that he was tampering with his friends, and the dependents of his family, to form a party. His nephew and his relations diſſembled for the preſent; and their forbearance encouraged *Marc* to bring his complaints before the public, of his having been ſuffered ſo long to remain a hoſtage and priſoner amongſt barbarians. His reſentment is ſaid to have been kindled into a kind of a madneſs by a love-affair. He had, it ſeems, carried off a noble lady from her huſband; and finding that ſhe wanted to impoſe upon him, he had, in the firſt tranſports of his rage, drowned her in a wet ditch; but, being ſtill diſtractedly in love, her death drove him almoſt to madneſs. All thoſe concurrent circumſtances are ſaid to have convinced *Azzo*, and his uncles, that they were upon the eve of a civil war, unleſs *Marc* was taken out of the way. He was accordingly ſurpriſed in his bed-chamber, after dinner, by ſome of his nephew's body-guards, and ſtrangled, without any noiſe or diſturbance, and his dead body caſt out of the window, as if he had thrown himſelf from thence in one of his fits of deſpair. His body had an honourable interment, in the burial-place of his anceſtors; and the *Florentines* and other *Italians*, who had attended him to *Milan*, were civilly diſmiſſed.

Death of Marc Viſconti.

1331. *The king of* Bohemia *enters Italy.*

SOON after this, viz. in 1331, *John*, king of *Bohemia*, entered *Italy*, as the imperial vicar; but without being attached ſtrongly either to the *Guelphs* or *Gibelins*. He reduced *Breſcia* and *Bergamo*, and afterwards became maſter of *Parma*, *Cremona*, *Pavia*, *Modena*, and ſeveral other places. While he was on

the

the other side of the *Adda*, *Azzo* waited upon him with some magnificent presents, and it was not long before he had reason to apprehend, that *Italy* was on the eve of a mighty revolution. The pope and *John*, from being inveterate enemies to each other, became now intimate friends; and it was publickly talked, that *Philip*, the *French* king, was a party in the league; and that their real plan was, to divide amongst themselves all *Italy*. This apprehension produced an universal league amongst the *Italian* states, *Guelphs* as well as *Gibelins*, at the head of which was *Azzo*; and each party was bound to furnish a certain proportion of strength for the defence of the whole. *Scaliger* of *Verona*, *Passarini* of *Mantua*, *Obizi* of *Ferrara*, and the *Florentines*, were the other parties. According to the partition of power they laid down, *Azzo* was to have possession of *Cremona* and *Pavia*, *Scaliger* of *Parma*, *Passarini* of *Reggio*, *Obizi* of *Modena*, and the *Florentines* of *Lucca*. At this time, the *Germans* were besieging *Ferrara*, but were defeated by the allies; *Aliprandi Pinalla* being at the head of *Azzo*'s troops. The consequence of this victory was, that *Pavia* fell into the hands of *Azzo*; he likewise recovered *Piacenza* from *Francesco Scotti*, and obliged *Rusca*, lord of *Como*, to resign his dominion over that city, in exchange for *Bellizone*.

AZZO, tho' yet a young man, was so severely subject to the gout, that being rendered for some time incapable of managing his own affairs, his old enemy *Leodrisio* renewed his intrigues against him, and found means to debauch the *German* mercenaries from his service, and to engage in his practices *Rusca* and *Scaliger*; the latter of whom furnished him with money for paying the mercenaries.

Activity of Azzo;

THE reader can be no stranger to the practices of *Leodrisio* against the *Visconti* family; and he pursued them, on this occasion, more vigorously than ever. Having added a great body of *Milanese* exiles to the mercenaries he had debauched from *Azzo*, he passed the *Adda*, notwithstanding all the opposition made to him by *Aliprandi Pinalla*, *Azzo*'s general. This irruption being made in winter, filled all the *Milanese* with consternation. The snow lay then deep on the ground, and the inhabitants found it impracticable to secure their effects or cattle in places of safety for subsistence, so that most of them fell into the enemies hands. *Azzo* was not wanting to himself on this occasion. Notwithstanding his lameness, he acted with astonishing vigour and activity; he reinforced his garrisons, and chose his posts with the utmost judgment and propriety. In this he was assisted by the spies, which he entertained about *Leodrisio*'s person while he was at *Verona*, and

who informed him of all the particulars of his marches, and the routs he was to hold; by which he was enabled to make head againſt his enemies, till his reinforcements came up from *Ferrara*, *Placentia*, and other places. As he was incapable to take the field in perſon, he gave the command of his army to his uncle *Luchin*, a prince who at this time had acquired great reputation in war. *Leodriſio* was, with his army, at *Nervi*, within twelve miles of *Milan*, when he was met by *Luchin*, at the head of the flower of his nephew's troops and auxiliaries. Both ſides being equally ardent to fight, the ſignal of battle was given, and *Leodriſio*'s diviſion was entirely defeated. The *Germans* and *Swiſs* threw themſelves into a hollow ſquare, and ſoon ſtopped the purſuit of *Luchin*'s troops, which being incautious and irregular, the moſt forward of his cavalry were checked, a great number of his men cut in pieces, and at laſt the fortune of the day ſeemed to go againſt him. *Luchin* did all that a brave general could do, to ſtop the rout; but his horſe being killed, he was beaten to the ground by the battle-axes, and heavy maces of the *Germans*, and made priſoner. The *Germans* and *Swiſs* then attacked the *Placentines* with ſo much fury, that they killed *Diodati Malvicino*, and *Lancilot Anguiſola*, their leaders, and put their troops to flight. But while *Leodriſio* thus thought himſelf ſecure of victory, *Hector Panici* unexpectedly arrived, with a freſh body of horſe, ſent to *Azzo*'s aſſiſtance by the duke of *Savoy*. The fortune of the day was now again changed, and the *Savoyards* charged *Leodriſio*'s men with ſo much vigour and judgment, while they were intent only upon the ſpoil, that they gave them an entire defeat, and *Leodriſio* himſelf was taken priſoner in his flight, and ſhut up in the caſtle of St. *Columbo*; where he remained priſoner during the remainder of *Azzo*'s life, and that of his uncle.

his victory.

Loſs of the enemy.

THIS unexpected, and indeed wonderful, victory, ſtruck the *Milaneſe* with a kind of an enthuſiaſtic tranſport; and *Paul Jovius* himſelf makes no kind of ſcruple to ſay, that when *Azzo*'s army was defeated, the good St. *Ambroſe*, the tutelar ſaint of *Milan*, was ſeen in the air, by many, encouraging the *Savoyards* and the *Milaneſe* to renew the battle. Notwithſtanding this ridiculous ſtory, *Luchin* obtained a moſt complete victory. His men, after defeating their enemies, found him bound to a tree, and under a guard of *Germans*, whom they defeated. His victory, however, was dearly bought: above nine thouſand men, on both ſides, were killed on the field of battle; and *Luchin* was inexpreſſibly affected by the loſs of his brother-in-law *Fliſco*, who

was amongst the slain. But the *Leodrisians* suffered far more from the consequences of the battle, than they did during the heat of it; being entirely strangers in the *Milanese*, they were knocked on the head by the country people, or perished of their wounds, or through hunger and cold; so that few or none of them repassed the *Adda*. Upon the place of battle, which was fought between the villages of *Parabici* and *Nervi*, *Luchin* and his brother *John* built a church, in commemoration of the victory, and dedicated the same to St. *Ambrose*. This church was, in the days of *Paul Jovius*, visited by the magistrates and people of *Milan*, with great devotion and solemnity, on the anniversary of the battle, which was the 21st of *February*. A representation of the action was painted on the walls of the church, where the *Savoyards* were easily discernible by their white crosses, the arms of *Savoy*. *Luchin* is likewise there represented in the armour he wore, which is of a very singular kind, on the day of the battle.

Azzo wars with Scaliger.

AFTER this decisive advantange, *Azzo* turned his arms entirely against *Scaliger*, whom he considered as the source of all his difficulties; and after giving him repeated defeats, he stripped him of *Brescia*. After this, he turned his thoughts towards the improving and fortifying his capital, which he did by raising the walls to a great height, and adorning them with marble dragons or vipers, the ensigns of his family. He likewise introduced into the city the streams of two small rivulets, which greatly contributed to its wholesomeness and cleanliness. He also built many sacred edifices, which are to this day the admiration of *Italy* and all *Europe*, and endowed them with great magnificence and riches, particularly with regard to church-plate and habits. He died in the month of *August*, *His death.* when he was no more than thirty-eight years of age[g], so worn out with the gout, that he could not, without extreme torture, bear the weight even of his bed-cloaths. He married *Catharine*, daughter to the duke of *Savoy*, a lady of the strictest virtue and chastity; but by her he left no issue. He was a prince of great perfections, handsome in his person, liberal, and affable. Many of his statues and pictures yet remain; some of them in a taste uncommon to that age.

Succeeded by Luchin.

AZZO was succeeded by his uncle *Luchin*, to the universal satisfaction of all the *Milanese*. *Luchin*, tho' a great captain, was both prudent and religious; and his first care was to procure from *Benedict* XII. an absolution from the ecclesiastical censures that the *Milanese* then lay under. He like-

[g] See p. 96. vol. xxxvi.

wife recovered the immenſe treaſures that, during the late diſtraction at *Milan*, had been carried from *Mouſa* to *Avignon*. His life having been a continued ſeries of warlike atchievements, he had received ſo many wounds in actions, that, when he came to the government of *Milan*, he was unable to head his armies in perſon. Notwithſtanding the many noble ſervices he had performed for his country, he no ſooner took upon him the government of it, than conſpiracies were formed againſt him by his moſt intimate friends and relations: amongſt thoſe, one *Franceſco Puſterla*, a nobleman of great family and fortune, and the two brothers *Martin* and *Pinalla Aliprandi*. The two laſt had been general officers under *Azzo*, and thinking themſelves neglected by *Luchin*, they had caſt their eyes upon *Galeazzo* and *Barnabo*, two young noblemen of the *Viſconti* family, of graceful perſons, and warlike diſpoſitions, but immeaſurably ambitious, and aſpiring to be maſters of *Milan*. *Martin* and *Pinalla* having entered into ſchemes for carrying into execution their conſpiracy, met with ſo many difficulties, that, before they could bring them to bear, they were betrayed by *Ramengo Caſſati*, whom they had endeavoured to bring into their ſchemes. Upon this diſcovery, *Martin* and *Pinalla* were impriſoned, and put to the torture, and at laſt died of pain and hunger. The other conſpirators were executed on gibbets. *Puſterla*, who was the moſt criminal of them all, endeavoured to eſcape to *Tuſcany*, but was retaken, and publickly executed in the great ſquare, with the cruel mortification of ſeeing two youths, his ſons, executed for the ſame crime, before his face. Soon after his wife *Margaret*, who not only was acceſſary to the conſpiracy, but had been very active in carrying it on, was condemned to perpetual impriſonment; a favour ſhe obtained by her being of the *Viſconti* family, and nearly related to *Luchin*. Upon farther enquiry it was found, that the two young noblemen, *Galeazzo* and *Barnabo*, had been privy to the conſpiracy, and had embarked deeply in meaſures for rendering it ſucceſsful. *Luchin* would have put them to death; but his brother, the archbiſhop, repreſented to him the conſequence of ſuch a proceeding, and how obnoxious the family muſt become if they embrued themſelves farther in the blood of their kinſmen; the public being by no means ſatisfied with the juſtice of *Marc*'s death. Thoſe conſiderations prevailed with *Luchin* to baniſh their kinſmen to *Holland*; or, in the terms of *Paul Jovius*, to the extremity of the ocean, amongſt the *Belgians* and *Batavians*, to puniſh them for their diſloyalty and perfidy.

A conſpiracy againſt him defeated.

After this, *Luchin* grew reſerved, diſtruſtful, and moroſe. He ſeldom or never was ſeen to laugh. His look carried

with

with it suspicion and jealousy, and the temper of his mind was farther rankled by the excruciating pains of the gout. The character and behaviour of his wife did not a little contribute to his disgust with the world. Her name was *Fusca*, and she was of the family of the *Fiesques* of *Genoa*, one of the noblest in *Italy*, and which had furnished two popes to the holy see. In her person she was graceful, witty, and gallant, beyond any of the *Lombard* ladies; but she was lascivious, gay, dissolute, and expensive beyond any woman in *Italy*. *Luchin* was in his person by no means amiable; but young *Galeazzo* was looked upon to be the handsomest man of his age, tho' so loose in his amours, that he had an intrigue with *Luchin*'s wife, who made him the nominal father of a spurious but promising issue, *viz.* *Luchin*, *Orsino*, and two twins, *Borso* and *Forestini*. The world must have concluded *Luchin* to be the happiest man alive, in his family, had not the abandoned behaviour of his wife given too much reason for the public to suspect that his children were illegitimate. *Luchin* was able to refuse her nothing, and being laid up with the gout, she prevailed upon him to fit out a squadron of yachts, or pleasure-boats most magnificently equipped, and furnished for all the purposes of luxury, with which she proposed to pay a visit to *Venice* in the carnival time, or some such festal occasion. Her companions, who attended her in this expedition, were ladies of the same character with herself, tho' not quite publickly so abandoned; for the reader is to observe, that the noblemen and gentlemen of *Milan* were at this time so much employed in the field, that they had little leisure to attend to the morals or conduct of their wives. *Luchin* was then confined to his bed by his gout, wounds, and other infirmities, so that his lady had her full swing of pleasure. This happened after her lover *Galeazzo* had been banished. The voyage was performed with the utmost magnificence and splendour; but the excesses of the company broke through all the bounds of modesty. *Fusca* prostituted herself to two *Venetian* noblemen, in the most shameless manner, as did the rest of her companions; and their secrets were so ill kept, that, upon their return, the whole came to *Luchin*'s ears. It was easy for *Fusca*, from the manner of his behaviour, to perceive that he was not only informed of all the particulars, but that he was meditating a severe revenge; in which she was resolved to anticipate him. She therefore administered to him a slow poison, which deprived him of the remainder of his strength, so that his death was imputed to his gout and other ailments. He lived sixty-two years, of which he governed nine, and had a most magnificent burial, in the church

Luchin's wife unfaithful to him.

His death and character.

of St. *Godard*, near his nephew *Azzo*. Notwithstanding the severity of his government, he was most sincerely mourned by the *Milanese* of all ranks and degrees. He was a most excellent justiciary. He was successful in banishing faction. He protected the weak against the powerful. He took great care to have his capital and his country well supplied with all kind of provisions; and it was a maxim with him, always to carry the wars he waged into his enemy's country; by which he preserved his own in peace and plenty. He added to *Milan* the principality of *Parma*, which he bought from *Obizi Atestini*, who had wrested it from the *Gonzagæ* and the *Scaligers*, for sixty thousand crowns. He obliged the *Pisans* to pay him an honorary tribute of two horses; one of them equipped for the field, and the other a palfrey, for the use of a lady: and likewise two foreign falcons or hawks. Before his death he was preparing for an expedition against *Genoa*, and had raised a numerous army for that purpose. In his private life he was modest, and left no monument of magnificence behind him, excepting a palace at *Pavia*; but he was contented, after his accession, to live in the house that had been inhabited by his nephew *Azzo*. He built, however, a strong citadel at *Bergamo*, on the place where a chapel stood before. He was fond of living in the country, and chose for the place of his retirement a spot remarkable for the salubrity of its air, but for little else, about seven miles from *Como*. His favourite son was *Brutio*, whom he had by a concubine, and whom he intended to have made the general of his expedition against the *Genoese*.

Punishment of his wife.

BEFORE we take leave of his memory, it is proper to inform the reader, that his infamous wife was so much struck with remorse for what she had done, that she retired to a life of mortification and austerity, and confessed the whole of her wicked life. The consequence was, that *Borsio* finished his life in prison, as *Forestini* did in exile, while the third brother *Morello* took service under the enemies of his country. As to *Brutio*, upon his father's death, he invaded the government of *Lodi*; but he proved so intolerable a tyrant, that the inhabitants drove him out, and he died in exile and poverty, in an obscure village.

Luchin *succeeded by* John *the archbishop*,

JOHN, the archbishop and prince of *Milan*, is represented as being a finished pattern of all civil and personal virtues. His accession to the government was considered by the *Milanese* as a public benefit. In prudence and piety, justice and moderation, he resembled the first *Otho*; in constancy and magnanimity, his father *Matthew*; in generosity, openness of manners, affability, address, and person, his brother *Galeazzo*,

zzo; and his nephew *Azzo*, in his winning deportment, and insinuating converſation; while he poſſeſſed all the virtues of *Luchin*, without his ſeverity.

UPON his acceſſion to the government, his firſt care was to recall from baniſhment his two nephews, the ſons of his brother *Stephen*. They had, during their exile, ſerved with great reputation in the wars of the *Low Countries*, and ſometimes in the *Engliſh* armies. They appeared, upon their return to *Milan*, dreſſed in the habits worn in thoſe countries, in which they are yet ſeen depictured in ſome of the *Milaneſe* churches, as paying their devotions in thankſgiving for their return. To render their family more ſtable, ſoon after their return they matched into two powerful families; *Galeazzo* married *Bianca*, the daughter of *Amadeo* of *Savoy*; as *Barnabo* did *Beatrix*, the daughter of *Scaliger* of *Verona*, a lady of ſo lofty a deportment, that ſhe generally went by the name of the queen. The firſt warlike adventure, after their return, was to reſume the expedition againſt *Genoa*; which they proſecuted with ſo much ſpirit, that they obliged the *Genoeſe* to ſubmit to the authority of the archbiſhop. *Paul Jovius*, on this occaſion, calls the *Genoeſe* general *Murtha*. It is certain, that *Murtha* was obliged to reſign his authority, whatever it was; and the *Genoeſe* were forced to accept of *Pallavicini*, who acted as deputy for the archbiſhop of *Milan*. *Murtha* had been very inſtrumental in bringing about this revolution; but upon his death, which happened ſoon after, they made one *Valente*, or *Valens*, their general, in oppoſition to *Pallavicini*. The reader, in the hiſtory of *Genoa*[h], will ſee the ſtate of the *Genoeſe* affairs at that time, which was as fluctuating as the tempers of the inhabitants. The archbiſhop, who had done every thing to ſoothe them, exaſperated at their inconſtancy, raiſed an army, and again proclaimed war againſt them. Upon this, and ſome untowardly events, which happened at ſea, *Valente* was obliged to reſign his command, and the *Genoeſe*, once more, received *Pallavicini* as their governor under the archbiſhop. This new ſubmiſſion entirely changed the face of affairs in *Genoa*. *Pallavicini* carried with him to *Genoa* a ſtrong reinforcement of troops, which not only ſerved to garriſon the city, but to man their fleet. He made them a preſent likewiſe of thirty gallies, armed, manned, and victualled at his own expence. *Pagano Doria* was appointed admiral of the whole, and they ſailed under the flag of the *Viſconti* family; the archbiſhop, at the ſame time, taking care to provide for the expences of the

1353. *who acquires* Genoa,

[h] See vol. xxviii.

expedition.

expedition. The voyage was ſucceſsful beyond expectation, *Doria* ſcoured the coaſt of *Catalonia*, entered the *Venetian* gulph, and defeated or plundered the enemy's ſhips wherever he came. At laſt he attacked their general *Nicholas Piſani*, whom he defeated, and returned in triumph to *Genoa*, carrying with him thirty-five gallies, and thirty-four ſmaller veſſels, with above five thouſand priſoners.

and Bologna.

THIS ſeaſonable relief filled the minds of the *Genoeſe* with ſuch tranſports of affection and gratitude, that, by a public decree, they continued their government in the perſons of *Galeazzo* and *Barnabo*, if they ſhould ſurvive their uncle the archbiſhop; and thus the *Viſconti* family became ſovereigns of all *Liguria*. About the ſame time *Pepoli*, a noble *Bologneſe*, having ſeized the governor of *Bologna*, was preſſed ſo hard by the papal arms, that he was obliged to have recourſe for aſſiſtance to the archbiſhop of *Milan*, who readily gave it him. The archbiſhop, however, does not ſeem to have acted quite diſintereſtedly on this occaſion. He obliged *Pepoli* to reſign to him the government of *Bologna*, in lieu of *Crepacori* and *Nouantola*[k]. This acquiſition of ſo conſiderable a city as *Bologna*, rendered the *Viſconti* family formidable all over *Italy*, and at laſt excited a confederacy againſt the archbiſhop, between the pope, the *Florentines*, and the *Venetians*. The particulars and progreſs of this confederacy have been touched upon in other parts of this work[l]. It is ſufficient here to ſay, that the confederates prevailed with the pope to excommunicate the archbiſhop, and to put his dominions under an interdict. This gave the archbiſhop very little trouble, and he appointed *Oligiana* to be his governor of *Bologna*, who acted with ſo much courage and ſucceſs, that he eaſily baffled all the attempts of the pope againſt that city. At laſt an expedient was fallen upon. The pope's legate *Griſante*, who afterwards became himſelf pope, under the the title of *Urban* V. paid a viſit to *Milan*, and entered into a negotiation, by which the archbiſhop was to pay every year ſixty pounds of gold by way of tribute for *Bologna*; others ſay that he was to pay twelve thouſand florins a year for twelve years, and a hundred thouſand florins for the expences of the war.

A confederacy againſt him.

THE archbiſhop of *Milan* became then ſo great as to draw upon himſelf the jealouſy of the emperor, notwithſtanding his being the profeſſed head of the *Gibelin* faction in *Italy*. The *Florentines* and he never had been in good correſpondence together; and he now put himſelf at the head of the

[k] See vol. xxxvi. p. 47. [l] See vol. xxxvi. p. 119.

Ubaldini, the *Uberti*, and the *Pazzi*; all of them *Florentine* exiles, aſſiſted by the governors or tyrants of *Arezzo* and *Corona*. The whole confederacy was commanded by *Oligiano*, who was reputed to be a relation of the *Viſconti* family; but was in fact the archbiſhop's natural ſon, and born at the village of *Oligio*, from which he took his name. *Oligiano* drawing together his army, marched from *Bologna* towards *Sambucco*, a village belonging to *Piſtoia*, which he took. He then appeared before *Scarperia*, within twelve miles of *Florence*. His army was compoſed of about ten thouſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot, beſides a vaſt number of irregulars, who proceeded with great devaſtation[m]. It does not appear, however, that *Oligiano*'s progreſs was ſo great as the *Milaneſe* hiſtorians have given out; for the archbiſhop very readily entered into a propoſal for an accommodation; and a truce was accordingly agreed to at the little town of *Serazana*, belonging to the *Genoeſe*. The manager for the archbiſhop was *William Pallavicini*, and *Charles Strozzi* for the *Florentines*. It is ſaid, that in this congreſs the deputies from above ſixty cities and princes appeared, and the archbiſhop proceeded with ſo much moderation and juſtice that he ſatisfied all their demands; ſo that none had reaſon to complain. He found means even to elude with a joke the pontifical thunders. For when his holineſs perceived that the peace muſt be concluded without his intervention, he cited the archbiſhop to appear before him at *Avignon*, under pain of excommunication. *Viſconti* received the ſummons with great appearances of reſpect; and profeſſing himſelf to be the humble ſon of the church, he ſaid that he could appear before his holineſs as ſoon as he could be attended with a proper equipage anſwerable to his pontifical dignity. He then gave orders for magazines to be erected all over *Lombardy*, and for aſſembling troops on the frontiers of his dominions. Not contented with this, he bought up all the proviſions, and hired all the inns that lay on the road to *Avignon*; ſo that his holineſs ſoon ſaw himſelf deprived of the moſt beneficial part of his revenue by the recourſe of churchmen, and other ſtrangers, being ſtopt up to his court. Upon this, ſending for the *Milaneſe* agents, he aſked what their maſter's meaning was by making ſuch immenſe preparations, to make up a difference that might be otherwiſe accommodated? The agents anſwered, as they had been inſtructed, that their maſter was under a neceſſity to make ſuch preparations, that he might do the more honour to his holineſs, by appearing before him

His management with the pope.

[m] See vol. xxxvi. p. 122.

at

at the head of seven thousand horse, and as many foot. The pontiff understood the meaning of this answer; and replied with a smile, that the archbishop had no occasion to put himself to so much trouble and expence, and that he willingly dispensed with his appearance. Upon this answer, the archbishop ordered all the magazines, and the vast provisions he had amassed, to be gratuitously divided amongst the most reputable inhabitants of the country, or those whose circumstances were but indifferent; and thus all the religious houses and the poor were amply provided for some months. This conduct, at once generous, charitable, and wise, rendered the archbishop extremely popular in *Lombardy*, and procured him a number of real friends, to the great terror of his enemies.

Fresh confederacies against him.

TOWARDS the end of his life, however, the perpetual stream of success that had attended his government, excited the jealousy of the neighbouring princes so greatly, that a new confederacy was formed against him by the families of *Este*, *Gonzaga*, and *Scaliger*, which had each of them been in alliance with him. They accordingly attacked him with a numerous army, and besieged him in his camp, near *Modena*, where, being bravely repulsed, they fell into the *Cremonese*, which they filled with devastations. Notwithstanding this, the archbishop had taken his measures so well, and had fortified his camp so strongly, that he threatened to make himself master of *Reggio* and *Modena*; by which he must have extended his dominions from *Bologna* to *Placentia*, all upon his own territory. But he was in the mean time seized with a slow fever, which, after various attacks, put an end to his life, in the month of *September*, when he was sixty-three years of age. He was buried near his predecessor the archbishop *Otho*; and it must be acknowledged that his reign, which lasted but seven years, was an almost uninterrupted course of felicity. We have one thing to add to his character, which was uncommon to that age, which is, that though he appears to have been far from a libertine, yet he laughed at the ridiculous pretences, and detested the tyranny of the papal power [n].

His death,

and successors.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great abilities of archbishop *John*, he made a very unequal distribution of his dominions at the time of his death. By his brother *Stephen* he had three nephews. The eldest was *Matthew*, commonly called *Matthew* the Second. The next was *Galeazzo*; and the youngest, *Barnabo*. The two last we have several times

[n] See vol. xxvi. p. 47.

mentioned;

mentioned; but the former was a prince entirely given to his pleasures, and made little or no figure in life. By the last will of archbishop *John*, all his territories were to be divided amongst those three brothers. *Milan* and *Genoa* were to be governed by two of them, and the rest of the dominions was to fall by lot to the third. *Matthew* obtained for his portion, *Bologna*, *Lodi*, *Placentia*, *Parma*, and *Bobbio*, together with many other rich towns and provinces. *Oligiano* at that time was in possession of *Bologna*; and the *Bolognese* understanding that archbishop *John* was past recovery, ran to arms, in order to assert their independency; but *Oligiano* took his measures so well, that they were defeated and capitally punished. He then repaired and fortified the citadel of *Bologna*, which had been begun by archbishop *John*; and finding himself, as he thought, secure against all opposition, he seized the reins of government in his own right, and expelled *Matthew*'s potesta out of the city. *Matthew* himself was so much immersed in sensuality and luxury, that he made no attempts to recover his right, but spent his days in hawking, and his nights with women, in the most infamous course of debauchery; if we are to believe some historians of his family; and this course of debauchery threw him into a consumption, which put an end to his life in the second year of his government. *Death of* Matthew II.

It seems however pretty certain, that *Valentina* his mother was firmly persuaded that he was taken off by poison at *Sarona*, one of his country-seats, half-way between *Milan* and *Como*; for which she never ceased to curse the two brothers to her dying day. It is said, that in conversation *Matthew* dropt some words reflecting upon archbishop *John* for the division he had made of his dominions, and hinted that there could be no enjoyment of power with a partner. His words were construed so much to his disadvantage, that the two brothers poisoned him in a dish which he was very fond of. He left two daughters, but no son. His wife was *Liliola Gonzaga*, daughter of the duke of *Mantua*. His daughters were *Catharine* and *Ursina*. The former was married to *Balthazar Pusterla*, a nobleman of great rank and riches, and the latter to *Ugoline Gonzaga*, a famous warrior. This *Matthew* II. lies buried at *Milan* without a stone or inscription.

GALEAZZO II. was, as we have seen, remarkable for the beauty of his person, which he adorned with the utmost art and elegance of that time. When young, he had paid a visit to the *Holy Land*, where he had obtained the honour of knighthood; and while he served in *Germany*, he killed *Account of* Galeazzo II.

in

in single combat, a nobleman, whose device he afterwards always made use of, consisting of two torches of fire, and two buckets of water hanging by a ragged branch, which device continued in his family even in the time of the *Sforzas*. When the emperor *Charles* IV. came to *Milan* to be crowned, he was constituted the imperial vicar over all *Lombardy*, in conjunction with his brother *Barnabo*; and during the ceremony of the inauguration the emperor bestowed the honour of knighthood on the sons of both, though then very young. The one was *John Galeazzo*, afterwards the first duke of *Milan*, and one of the greatest princes of his time; and the other was *Marc*, the son of *Barnabo*, who made no great figure. The ceremony of the coronation being over, the emperor having received vast sums at *Milan*, in return for the new honours he had bestowed on the two brothers, returned to *Germany*. It is surprising that those two brothers, though men of great ambition and intrigue, had not the smallest difference with each other during the whole course of their lives; but upon the death of their brother *Matthew* they made an exact division of the whole heritage. *Bologna* fell to the share of *Barnabo*, which was still held by *Oligians* under the protection of the pope, and gave rise to a bloody war. The *Visconti* family was so formidable at this time, that the *Italian* princes laying aside all their domestic quarrels, united against them, as did *Conrad Landi*, and *Marcoald*, two *German* generals, who had been left in *Italy* by the emperor, and who entered into the pay of the confederates. At this juncture all *Italy* was full of foreign mercenaries; and the two *Germans* had no difficulty of bringing an army into the field, with which they invaded *Lombardy*, and carried their ravages to the gates of *Milan*. *Galeazzo* and *Barnabo* were obliged for some time to put up with those insults; but at last, drawing together their troops, they gave the *Germans* battle at *Casa*, and defeated them. *Marcoald* was taken, and *Landi* escaped, after a bloody engagement, in which six thousand horse, and four thousand foot, were either killed or made prisoners.

and his brother Barnabo,

who besiege Bologna.

BARNABO then led his victorious troops against *Bologna*, where he found a much greater resistance than he expected. The *Florentines*, the *Pisans*, the *Ferrarese*, the *Mantuans*, and the *Veronese*, alarmed at the event of the late battle, ranged themselves under the banners of the pope's legate *Egido*, in defence of *Bologna*; and the marquis of *Montferrat*, to give *Galeazzo*'s troops a diversion, invaded the *Milanese* with great fury. He took *Alba* by surprise, and made himself master of *Pavia*, from whence he expelled the *Guelphs*. We

have

ve in the history of *Florence* given an account of the ar-
al of the *English* in *Italy*. Besides those who served under
aukwood, a large body was employed by *Galeazzo*, and by
ir means he recovered *Alba* and *Pavia*, and took a monk,
e *Busselario*, who had incited the *Pavians* to revolt, prisoner.
his fellow made a desperate resistance, and had become
fter of the city, which was with some difficulty recovered.
leazzo had then leisure to march to the assistance of his
other, who had been defeated in several battles by the
ops under the legate; so that *Oligiano* perceiving *Bologna*
be no longer tenable, gave it up to the legate, in exchange
r *Fermo*. All this while *Barnabo* continued to carry on the
r with great vigour, equally against the legate as against
igiano; which induced the confederate states to send, by
y of diversion, an army into the *Milanese*, in hopes of
awing *Barnabo* out of the *Bolognese*, and obliging him to
s the *Po*.

BUT *Ugoline* having passed that river, and taken *Novara*,
s encountered in his turn by a war of diversion. *Gale-*
zo fell into the *Mantuan*, and having taken *Seralio*, a forti-
ation on the banks of the *Po*, all the *Mantuan* lay open
his invasion, which so terrified the inhabitants of that city,
which *Ugoline* was prince, that while he thought himself
the high career of victory, he was obliged to fly to the
relief of his own subjects, and to conclude a new treaty with
Galeazzo and his brother.

THIS accommodation was far from diverting *Barnabo* from
his design of recovering *Bologna*, which he considered as hav-
ing been taken from him by treachery. While the fate of
this war was depending, *Galeazzo*, whose spirit aspired beyond
almost any prince of his time, resolved to raise his family by
two royal matches. The first was by marrying his son with
the daughter of the king of *France*, which match accord-
ingly took place; and the next was, by marrying his daugh-
ter *Violante* to prince *Lionel*, duke of *Clarence*, the second
son of *Edward* III. of *England*. This match had been pro-
posed about the year 1366; and *Humphry Bohun*, earl of *Nor-*
thampton, was appointed, on the part of *Edward*, to negotiate
the marriage. The affair continued in dependence for al-
most two years; but at last it was concluded chiefly by the
intervention of Sir *John Haukwood*, whom we have so often
taken notice of in the course of this history, and who was
afterwards married to a natural daughter of *Barnabo*. *Ga-*
leazzo gave two hundred thousand crowns of gold, and the

Marriage between the princess of Milan *and the duke of* Clarence.

° See vol. xxxvi. p. 134.

cities

cities of *Mondovi* and *Alba*, in dowry, with his daughter. The marriage was concluded at *Windſor* on the 25th of *April* 1368, and *Galeazzo* advanced ten thouſand florins as part of his expences for the treaty. The *Engliſh* hiſtorians pretend that *Edward* agreed to this match upon poſitive aſſurance given him, that the *Italian* ſtates, particularly the two princes of *Milan*, the republic of *Florence*, and that of *Venice*, would unite in chooſing prince *Lionel* emperor. There is nothing improbable in this, when we conſider the diſpoſitions of the *Italian* ſtates, and the vaſt averſion they had to the *German* emperors; and the little danger they had to apprehend from *Edward*, whoſe power and reputation was, at this time, beyond that of any prince in *Europe*. The marriage was celebrated on the 29th of *May* in the great church of *Milan*. The magnificence and ſplendor of the nuptials were inexpreſſible. Above two hundred *Engliſh* noblemen and gentlemen attended on the bridegroom, and at every courſe moſt magnificent preſents were ſent to the attendants of the *Engliſh* prince, and ſuch as few crowned heads in *Europe*, at that time, could have equalled. Amongſt other preſents, were no fewer than ſeventy beautiful horſes, with rich trappings of ſilver and ſilk, maſſy pieces of plate, curious falcons and dogs, javelins, ſwords, coats of mail, breaſt-plates, helmets ſplendidly adorned and finely worked, ſcarfs embroidered with pearl, military belts, and a profuſion of wearing apparel of all kinds, adorned with jewels of immenſe value. As to the entertainment itſelf, it was ſo extravagant, that when the diſhes were carried off the table, they were more than ſufficient for ten thouſand men. We muſt not forget that *Francis Petrarch*, the famous poet of *Italy*, was one of the gueſts on this occaſion. We have thought proper to mention thoſe particulars, to give our readers ſome idea of the immenſe riches and magnificence of the *Milaneſe* court at that time.

Death of the latter. THE *Engliſh* prince did not long ſurvive his nuptials. The change of climate, and manner of living, threw him into a fever; and, after he had put his worldly affairs in order, he died at the city of *Alba*, not without great ſuſpicion of poiſon, on the 17th of *October*. This ſuſpicion was encreaſed by many circumſtances, particularly the total alteration which his elevation to the imperial dignity muſt have introduced into the affairs of *Italy*, as he could have had no other dominion there but the kingdom of *Naples*. The *lord Edward Spencer* was convinced that the duke had foul play for his life: and his ſuſpicion fell at firſt upon the *Viſconti* family; but they cleared themſelves to his ſatisfaction, and the princeſs

was

was a second time married to the marquis of *Montferrat*, who was assassinated by a boor upon the mountains of *Parma*.

GALEAZZO had now a son grown up with the most promising appearances of genius and capacity; and the rest of his life was one continued course of prosperity. After he had happily finished all his wars, the particulars of which the reader will see in other parts of this work, he retired to taste the fruits of leisure with a few studious companions, amongst whom was *Francis Petrarch*. By his persuasion he built a noble library, and founded the famous university of *Pavia*, under the patronage of the emperor *Charles*. Though he was naturally mild and averse to punish, yet when it became necessary, he was inexorable. An instance of this was the case of *Picardoni Vasalli*. This person, who was of a mean original, had attended him during his exile; and when he was restored to *Italy*, he, in recompence for his fidelity, had made him his chief financier, and entrusted him with his treasures. *Vasalli* was not proof against corruption, and oppressed the people so cruelly, that all the subjects of the *Milanese* joined in impeaching him. *Galeazzo* gave him up to justice; and, after a regular trial, being found guilty, he was hanged on a gibbet. *Galeazzo* refused to suffer any of his ill-gotten wealth to come into the treasury; and observed, that his crime was aggravated by the criminal's ingratitude and insensibility of the low station from which he had been raised. He discovered another instance of justice, in the punishment he inflicted upon the podesta of *Vico*, whom he ordered to execute the law immediately upon certain banditti and murderers, who had been condemned to death. The podesta, by the interposition of the friends of the malefactors, delayed their punishment till *Galeazzo* returned to *Pavia*. While he was there, the friends of the condemned applied to him for their pardon, which he readily granted, as thinking they had been for some time dead. Finding his mistake, he ordered the podesta's head to be struck off, before the prison door, for disobeying his orders. *Character, magnificence, and death of Galeazzo.*

In his buildings *Galeazzo* was excessively magnificent, and affected both to imitate and to rival the *Roman* magnificence in architecture, as may be seen by the citadel which he raised at *Milan*, and the vast porticoes and squares which he erected for public spectacles. His bridge over the *Tesin* was looked upon to be a master-piece; and even *Petrarch* himself, who was very sparing of his compliments to great men, admired the palace he built on the north side of *Pavia*, so greatly, that he said, "*Galeazzo* in his former works had outdone "the greatest potentates in *Europe*; but in that palace, that

"he had outdone himself." The whole was filled with noble pictures, and enclosed by a wall fifty miles in circumference. The great number of families that were turned out of their possessions, to make this immense work, created next to a rebellion against *Galeazzo*, who, it seems, was not very generous in indemnifying the possessors for what they had lost; and one *Bartholo Sista*, being turned out of his paternal estate, was so exasperated at *Galeazzo*, that he wounded him in the belly with a knife, which must have killed him, had it not met with part of his armour. The ruins of this park, and some parts of the magnificent buildings remained in the time of the emperor *Charles* V. the battle of *Pavia*, where *Francis* I. was taken prisoner, having been fought within its walls. *Paul Jovius* has given us the *Latin* inscription which was upon one of its sides. At last, upon retaking *Asti*, and raising the siege of *Vercelli*, the worldly happiness of *Galeazzo* seemed to be complete; and he died in the year 1378, in the fifty-ninth year of his life, and the twenty-second of his reign.

History of Barnabo.

We are now to attend the fortunes of his brother *Barnabo*, so called from his grandfather by his mother's side, who being of the family of *Doria*, famous for their exploits at sea, was thought to inherit somewhat of the boisterous unsteady temper of that element. *Barnabo* was in his person brave, and endowed with singular firmness, both of mind and body. He spent his time in action, and scarcely ever had a minute of respite from war; for no sooner did he finish one quarrel than another instantly broke out. He was, however, so liberal, that he was served with chearfulness by his soldiers. His obstinacy in endeavouring to retake *Bologna* from *Oligiano* produced a formidable conspiracy against him, at the head of which was the pope. The real design of the confederates, was to have exterminated the *Visconti* family. For this purpose they had hired *English*, *Spaniards*, *French*, and all kinds of foreign auxiliaries; and at last the emperor *Charles* IV. was called into *Italy*. In this contest *Barnabo* was twice defeated; once near *Bologna*, and again at *Guastalla*; but he repaired his losses with wonderful address. He had a naval engagement upon the *Po*, in which he had so much the superiority, that he not only defeated his enemies, but built a strong fortress at *Borgo*, which he defended against the emperor; and laid great part of the *Mantuan* under water, by piercing the mounds and dykes of the *Po*. At last, all parties being weary of war, the duke of *Bavaria* undertook to mediate a peace, which ended in *Barnabo* being obliged to abandon his enterprize upon *Bologna*, and the emperor

peror renewing his ancient engagements with the *Visconti*, after which he returned home with a large sum of money paid him by *Barnabò*.

THOUGH the latter was thus obliged to give up *Bologna*, which he had so long and so earnestly struggled for; yet it was some indemnification to him that he acquired *Reggio*, by paying *Feltrino Gonzagà* a sum of money for the purchase. *Paul Jovius* says, that during the nine years in which the contest about *Bologna* lasted, the two brothers of the *Visconti* family expended upon it no less than three hundred millions of gold; but this sum seems to be incredible, as *America* was not then discovered, unless we suppose the species of the money to have been very insignificant, which we scarcely can do, as the lowest gold coin we know at that time, amounted to above half a crown *English*. The same author remarks, that this vast expence was the more extraordinary, as both brothers were extravagantly fond of building. We are told, that *Barnabo* erected a bridge over the *Adda*, built of three stories, one above another. The lower was for chariots and heavy carriages, the middle for horses, and the uppermost for infantry and foot passengers. He likewise erected a bridge of so amazing a construction, that it was carried over houses and lands, and the buildings left intire. According to *Paul Jovius*[a], some part of this surprising work was visible in his time. He built the castle of *Brescia*, and that of *Mousa*; but perhaps the noblest works he erected were the prisons of *Milan*, where civil debtors were confined in noble, but secure apartments, and provided with all the necessaries of life. Those particulars were not the whole of his expence. He married one of his daughters, *Viris*, to *Leopold* duke of *Austria*; another, *Thadea*, to *Stephen*; and a third, *Magdalena*, to *Frederick*, dukes of *Bavaria*. Another of his daughters he married to *Frederick* king of *Cyprus*. Another, *Agnes*, to *Francesco Gonzaga*. Another, *Catherine*, to his nephew *John Galeazzo*. Two others, *Antonia* and *Anglesia*, to *Conrade* and *Frederick* of *Wirtemberg*, dukes of *Suabia*: and he gave *Lucia* to *Edmund*, king *Edward* the IIId's son.

Expences of the Visconti family.

Their marriages.

THOSE daughters were all legitimate; but he had a numerous progeny that was illegitimate. He gave his daughter *Dominia* in marriage to Sir *John Hawkwood*, and *Lucia* to *Landi*, a *German* nobleman; and each of them had in apparel and fortune a million of crowns of gold. In all other relations of life, he was equally splendid and magnificent. He had five sons that were legitimate, *Mark*, *Lodovick*, *Ro-*

[a] Ibid. pag. 158.

dolph, *Charles*, and *Maſtino*: all thoſe were provided for ſeparately and independently, with appointments befitting ſovereign princes. Of natural ſons he had *Ambroſe*, *Uſtorgius*, *Palamede*, *Lancelot*, and *Sacramore*, who all took the name of *Viſconti*; and upon the death of *Philip*, the laſt male branch of the family, they were acknowledged as legitimate. Of thoſe, *Ambroſe* made a great figure in war; and by the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, whom he headed upon the death of *Hawkwood*, he made war upon the pope, the queen of *Naples*, the *Florentines*, and the *Genoeſe*, with various ſucceſs. At laſt, while he was keenly engaged in war in the *Bergameſe*, he fell into an ambuſh of mountaineers, in proſecuting ſome advantages he had obtained, and was cut off, to the great affliction of his father, who, in revenge, put all who had a hand in his death to the ſword.

Diviſion of their territories.

THIS diviſion of government proved fatal to his family. He and his brother had till then lived in the ſtricteſt friendſhip with each other. But after his children grew up, their deſires were enlarged; and, by the inſtigation of their mother, the queen as ſhe was called, they began to conſider their uncle *Galeazzo* to be an obſtacle in the way of their preferment. In thoſe ambitious notions they were flattered by the queen ſo far, that they formed ſchemes for poſſeſſing themſelves of the undivided ſucceſſion; and the queen dying in the mean time, *Barnabo* gave himſelf entirely up to the madneſs and ambition of his ſons. The vaſt expences of his government had, in ſome degree, rendered this neceſſary for his affairs; but he little knew the character of his nephew *John Galeazzo*, ſon to his brother *Galeazzo* II.

Art of John Galeazzo.

THIS prince, one of the moſt artful of any in his time, had hitherto affected only the title of count of *Virtue*. He affected a ſolitary unambitious life, and even to have a turn for devotion; but in the mean time he had filled his uncle's court with ſpies, who informed him of the moſt minute particulars relating to the government; and diſcovered at length, that nothing but diſſimulation could prevent his being deprived of life or fortune, or of both. To take away all ſuſpicion of his deſigns, he reduced his table and manner of living to a narrow compaſs, and entertained none about his perſon whom he could not thoroughly truſt, both in point of courage and honour. To give the greater colour to his caution, he pretended that he took all thoſe meaſures to guard himſelf againſt certain ambitious courtiers, who wanted to take advantage of the inclination he had for devotion, and that it was neceſſary for him to keep for ſome time upon the defenſive, at leaſt till he ſhould pay a religious vow; after

which he intimated, that he was determined to retire from the world.

JOHN GALEAZZO acted his part so well, that even his cautious uncle had no suspicion of his secret sentiments. He seemed to be afraid, even to a degree of religious timidity, of appearing abroad; and when he did, it was only with a caution and diffidence that rendered him next to ridiculous and contemptible. Those arts concealed his designs so well, that he several times applied to his uncle for his interest to procure him a quiet retreat, as soon as his religious vows were performed. One of those was to pay a visit to the church of the Blessed Virgin upon *Monte Varezzio*. This was to be done so secretly, that all kinds of eye-witnesses were to be excluded. It was with difficulty that *Barnabo* himself, and two of his sons, were permitted to wait upon him at the gate of *Vercelli*, to pay him their compliments. But no sooner were they arrived there, than, upon a concerted signal, all three were suddenly made prisoners; and the private orders that had been given to the troops, who were advancing from all quarters, were immediately put into execution. The gate and castle of *Jove*, as had been before agreed on, served to confine the illustrious prisoners; the principal passes of the city were immediately seized; and to secure the troops in the interest of *John Galeazzo*, they no sooner were admitted into the city, than the houses of the chief friends of *Barnabo* were given up to be plundered. This, and many other incidents, encreased the public disorders; nor did any unanimity appear, but in the execrations that were poured out on all sides against *Barnabo*. The booty in plate, money, hangings, and all kinds of rich furniture, was immense. The ministers of the late government were dragged from dunghills, where they had concealed themselves, and put to various deaths; and at last the citadel itself fell into the hands of *Galeazzo*, who found in it a vast sum in ready money.

Tyranny of Barnabo.

FEW revolutions were ever known to be so sudden, so unexpected, so effectual, and so bloodless, as this was. It cannot be accounted for, otherwise than by reflecting on the acts of tyranny, into which *Barnabo*'s dotage for his family drove him. He had for some years lived a scourge to his people, and every day had produced fresh instances of his rapacity and cruelty. At last his avarice exceeded all credibility: he instituted a chamber of enquiry, for punishing all who had been, for five years before, guilty of killing boars, or of eating them at another's table. They who could not redeem themselves by money were hanged, and above one hundred wretches pe-

riſhed in that manner; while others, who had any thing to loſe, were ſtripped of all their ſubſtance, and obliged to labour at the fortifications, and other public works. Amongſt the other ingenious arts of oppreſſion, he obliged his ſubjects to maintain a great many hunting dogs, and each diſtrict was taxed at a certain number. The overſeers of his dogs were, at the ſame time, the inſtruments of his rapacity. When the dogs were poor and ſlender, their owners were always obliged to pay a fine; when they were fat, a penalty was incurred, for their being ſuffered to live without exerciſe. Perhaps a great part of *Barnabo*'s cruelty and oppreſſions, was owing to his family; but ſome cruelties he was guilty of, admitted of no alleviation.

who is depoſed, made priſoner, and poiſoned.

BARNABO, however, in his extreme miſery, being carried priſoner from *Milan* to *Tritici*, a caſtle of his own building, found one perſon faithful to him, and that was his miſtreſs *Doninia Porra*, who, when he was abandoned by all the world, ſhut herſelf up a voluntary priſoner in his chamber, and watched over him to the laſt day of his life, which laſted ſeven months after his degradation. It is reported, that he was poiſoned in a diſh of lentils, of which he was fond, and died in the arms of his beloved *Doninia*, in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his government. His body was buried at *Milan*, and his tomb was adorned with an equeſtrian ſtatue of white marble, repreſenting him to the life, but without any inſcription; though that of his wife, who died before him, had a moſt magnificent one.

THE reader, after what is ſaid, can be at no loſs to form a character of *Barnabo*, who certainly out-did all the princes of his age in magnificence and liberality. He was a man of undaunted ſpirit, and proof againſt both reverſes of fortune. The vaſt treaſures he expended, and the continual flow of his liberality, ſeems to countenance an opinion, that certain ſources of treaſure were ſhut up after the diſcovery of *America*, either by commerce taking a new turn, or by the old channels of it being diſcontinued. Be that as it will, it is certain that *Barnabo*'s expences were ſo intolerable, that they drove him into rapaciouſneſs, which ſeems to have been the cauſe of his own and his family's deſtruction.

Character of John Galeazzo, *firſt duke of* Milan.

JOHN GALEAZZO, the firſt duke of *Milan*, gave early in life ſo many proofs of ſtrong judgment and genius, that it was a common report that they were too pregnant to be laſting. If we are, however, to form our ideas by the writer of *Petrarch*'s life, no great dependence is to be laid on ſuch appearances. We are told, that that poet, while at *Galeazzo*'s court, when this *John* was no more than ſeven years

years of age, was, by a kind of divine inſtinct, choſen by the boy to fill his father's ſeat, as being the wiſeſt perſonage in the company. This accident might have have been unobſerved, had the thing happened to a perſon of leſs conſequence than *Galeazzo* proved afterwards to be, or had it been delivered by any other than a fanciful *Italian* author, who magnifies every thing into miracles. It is certain, however, that *Galeazzo*, through the care of his father, had a moſt excellent education. He was early initiated in all kinds of arts and ſciences that were proper to form his mind; and his own application and genius, kept pace with the cares of his tutors. His education was digeſted into a regular ſyſtem, under the beſt tutors that that age afforded; and every part of it gave ſtrength and ſolidity to another. His father had ſeen a great deal of life, but was ſenſible that his genius had not been cultivated by ſtudy to the beſt advantage, which made him the more careful of his ſon's education. Being taken out of the hands of nurſes, he was put into thoſe of the moſt learned men, and the greateſt philoſophers of that age. The reader is to obſerve, that the liberal arts were at this time but in their twilight, and the troubles of *Greece* had driven into *Italy* the learned *Byzantines*, to whom literature owed its revival. The reader, in another part of this work [a], will ſee the occaſion of thoſe learned *Greeks* opening public ſchools in *Italy*. It is incredible, how eagerly the *Italians* embraced the calls of learning. We have already mentioned the caſe of *Florence*; but if that city had the honour of reviving the *Greek* erudition, it is certain that *Milan* gave it its encouragement; and it was there that one of the moſt noble academies, or rather univerſities in *Europe*, broke forth all at once. In the civil law *Baldus* was eminent, and the two *Raphaels*, *Fulgoſius* and *Comenſis*, together with *Signaroli Amadeo*. In philoſophy, *Hugh* of *Sienna*, *Blaſius* of *Pelticani*, a *Parmeſan*, were eminent, the latter being an excellent aſtronomer, and well verſed in optics. The three chief profeſſors of phyſic were *Marſiglio* of *Santa Sophia*, *Sillanus Niger*, and *Antonio Vacca*. *Chryſoloras* of *Bizantium*, whom we have already mentioned, was eminent in the knowledge of the *Greek* language; and from the great encouragement given him at the court of *Milan*, he opened ſchools in that city; but *Peter Philargi* of *Crete*, who was afterwards pope, under the title of *Alexander* IV. was, perhaps from the great eminence to which he afterwards arrived, conſidered as being at the head of the academy. [b]. A. D. 1350.

[a] Vol. xxxvi. p. 178. [b] Ibid.

Plan of his education, YOUNG *Galeazzo* was the principal object of attention of all those learned men. A regular academy was now founded at *Pavia*; noble salaries to the several professors were appointed, and apartments assigned them for the education of youth. A fine library was erected, composed of the best authors in languages, arts, and sciences, in which the students spent their time, while they were not attending the public lectures. It happened fortunately for young *Galeazzo*, that this early initiation in the study of the liberal arts, rendered them at last habitual to him. He went through his exercises in common with the meanest student; and being kept ignorant of all the luxuries and avocations of life, but those which his health absolutely required, he had no emulation, but to excel in learning, and in those studies that could contribute to render him a great prince. His intervals of leisure from study were not spent in gaming, hunting, or any of those diversions that enervate the mind; and he abstained from the company even of those buffoons which formed the chiefest delight of the *Italian* courts in those days. All his recreations tended to health alone, without excess of any kind.

SUCH was the plan of *Galeazzo*'s education; so that it must have been next to a miracle, if he had not turned out an extraordinary person. The reader, however, is not to imagine, that in this scheme of education, those exercises were omitted, that become a prince. Riding and bodily exercises of all kinds succeeded the more sedentary studies; but none of them were considered as detached from the general plan of educating a prince and a warrior. In short, according to *Paul Jovius*, in forming him very little was left to chance, all fell in with the great idea of fitting a great prince for the cabinet, as well as the field. Even his conversation had that tendency; and his amusements, though they would have been severe studies to any other but himself, became habitual delights.

and economy. *GALEAZZO*'s education was in every respect so complete, that it comprehended matters that seemed to be remote from literature. Having in his father's life-time an independent fortune of his own, he accustomed himself to keep exact and regular accounts of all his receipts and disbursements, which he ordered regularly to be entered in a fair legible manner. He was equally careful in examining into the private characters of his officers, and had secret censors appointed, who rewarded or punished them according to their merits. His great maxim was, that one of the chief secrets in life was to connect military and civil knowledge, so as to make them depend on each other. He was so exact an economist,

nomist, that he could, at one glance, examine all his public and private expences, and he never failed to know, even to a farthing, the real state of his finances. In like manner, he every day reviewed his growing as well as his actual expences, and he kept regular journals of all events that arose in his government. But though *Galeazzo* was exact, yet he was not little. He seemed to be an economist, only with a view of knowing how much he could spend; nor did he suffer the minutest incidents to pass unobserved. His generosity appeared to be unbounded to those who served him well, either in war or peace; and he was, in short, an eminent instance of the force of education and method, without restricting himself in the most liberal expences, that munificence itself could desire.

SUCH is the character and description, that *Paul Jovius* has left us of this extraordinary prince; nor is it easy to perceive, that it has been in any degree exaggerated. If *Galeazzo* was not so great a conqueror as some of his cotemporaries, that is to be attributed to his philosophy and constitution. He laid the foundation of his military knowledge amongst the *English*, while they served in the *Milanese*, under his father and his uncle *Barnabo*. When he was twenty-three years of age, he was by his father, put under the name of *Count of Virtue*, in possession of *Novara*, *Vercelli*, *Asti*, and *Alessandria*, by which his territories became exposed to the marquis of *Montferrat*, who always was the enemy of his father's family, a restless ambitious prince. As his father had some reasons not to appear openly against that marquis, *Galeazzo* and he had a war together, without the father seeming to concern himself in it; but he was betrayed by the *Guelph* faction; for the cause of the marquis of *Montferrat* was espoused by the *Savoyards*, though that prince, then the count *de Maurienne*, was uncle to *Galeazzo*; and the *Fiesques* of *Genoa* taking part with the marquis, invited to their assistance the pope's troops, who besieged *Galeazzo* in the castle of *Vercelli*, and reduced him to such straits, that he was unable to resist the united force of his enemies, and obliged to give it up. His difficulties were increased by the defection of Sir *John Hawkwood*, who took part with the *Florentines*, and joined with them and the pope; so that *Galeazzo* was conquered; and all his troops being cut in pieces or taken prisoners, it was with the utmost hazard that he escaped out of the hands of his enemies.

His misfortunes.

ALL those misfortunes happened during the life-time of his father; but his conduct was so unexceptionable, that he rather gained than lost reputation by them. When his father died,

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he intirely altered his conduct; and pretending that his ill ſucceſſes in war diſcouraged him from attempting any thing farther in perſon, he reſigned the command of his armies to his generals. To give the more countenance to this retirement from the labours of the field, which was, in fact, occaſioned by the practices and viſible ambition of his uncle *Barnabo* and his family, he pretended that he had his horoſcope caſt, (a practice then very common in *Italy*) and that it had been foretold him, that he could make no kind of figure in a war, and that a private inoffenſive life was his only ſphere of action. He gave out at the ſame time, that he was reſolved to retire from all kinds of public buſineſs; and it was in this interval, that he effected the wonderful revolution we have already taken notice of, and which rendered him the ſole maſter of *Milan*. But all his affectation did not prevent his employing the ableſt generals, and the beſt troops he could find in *Italy*, as the reader may ſee in the hiſtory of *Florence*; ſo that at laſt he made himſelf maſter of *Pavia*, the particulars of which we ſhall not here repeat; we ſhall therefore keep to generals [b].

and ſucceſſes.

In a few years the courſe of *Galeazzo*'s victories, ſeemed to threaten the utter ſubjection of all *Italy* to his power. At laſt, the emperor *Ladiſlaus*, formally created him, by patent, duke of *Milan*; an honour to which none of his predeceſſors had till then obtained, though virtually they were ſo before. According to *Paul Jovius*, the ceremony was performed by ſending him a ducal cap and a ſcepter. This rendered him the moſt potent prince at that time in *Italy*. His troops were incomparably the beſt diſciplined, armed, and paid, of any upon the continent; and his character, in point of prudence and politics, drew to his ſervice all the generals of the greateſt reputation in *Europe*; ſo that even ſovereign princes ſerved under his banners or rather princes, who though not ſovereign in a literal ſenſe, knew no ſuperiors. He diſpoſſeſſed the *Scaligers* of *Verona* and *Vicenza*, and the family of *Carrara*, of *Pavia*, by taking the elder, *Franceſco*, priſoner, and carrying him captive to *Mouſa*. He likewiſe reduced *Treviſo*, *Feltri*, *Bellano*, *Trent*, and all that mountainous diſtrict, under his power. The people of *Perugia* and *Aſſiſi* revolted to him from the pope. The *Sienneſe* having been long fluctuating between the *Florentines*, the papal power, the imperialiſts, and the *Neapolitans*, ſubmitted to him, as did the *Piſans*, and at laſt the *Lucqueſe* themſelves.

[b] Vol. xxxvi. p. 162.

THE *Florentines* were the most concerned of any people in *Italy*, to prevent the growth of this enormous power. They were then in high reputation, and the only state who was capable to make head against *Galeazzo*; but unable to do any thing of themselves, they were obliged to have recourse to their neighbours. They endeavoured to stir up a kind of a crusade against *Galeazzo*, and for that purpose sent their ambassadors all over *Europe*, to excite not only the *Italian*, but other states, to a sense of their danger, which they said was too threatening to be longer confined within the bounds of *Italy*. This rendered that country the seat of a most terrible war, in which the *French* and the imperialists were equally involved. The *Florentines* would willingly have kept fair with *Galeazzo*, and had actually celebrated festivities upon his receiving the ducal honours; but perceiving that he assisted their enemies the *Pisans*, both parties continued for some time in a state of neutrality, though each underhand supported the party that seemed to be the most favourable to it. According to the *Florentines* historians, *Galeazzo* had formed a dangerous conspiracy, by which he intended to effect a total revolution in *Florence*, by letting loose a gang of banditti, to make themselves masters of that city; but this conspiracy was timely discovered and prevented by the punishment of the conspirators. There is, however, sufficient grounds for believing the parties accused to have been innocent of the charge, and that the whole was the contrivance of one faction against another. *Galeazzo*, at that time, was carrying on a war in *Lombardy*, where he was defeated, and forced to raise the siege of *Mantua*; upon which he was obliged to recal his general, count *Alberigo* from *Lombardy*; but by that general's address, all the disadvantages they had sustained were soon repaired; tho', on the other hand, *Paul Savelli*, the head of the *Milanese* troops, who had taken possession of *Pisa*, was intirely defeated; and had it not been for the vast address of *Galeazzo*, who prevented a sincere reconciliation between the *Florentines* and the *Pisans*, by condemning the conduct of his own troops, an intire union must have taken place between *Pisa* and *Florence*. In a short time *Galeazzo* recovered his affairs, so as to become more formidable than ever, and the league against him was once more renewed, with the addition of the *Venetians*. *Galeazzo* was too great a politician to be alarmed at this confederacy. He knew that the *Venetians* were insincere in their professions, and that they hated the *Florentines*. The prosperous condition of his affairs, however, now that he was in a fair way of making himself master of *Mantua*, prevailed upon him to listen to the terms of accommodation; and conferen-

His wars with the Florentines.

ferences were held at *Pavia* for that purpose: but in the mean time, by a ſudden mutiny at *Perugia*, he became maſter of that city, and threatened *Arezzo* itſelf. It was eaſy for *Galeazzo* to perceive, that, while he kept within the bounds of moderation, he could ſtop the progreſs of the *Venetians* in *Tuſcany*; and to give a fairer pretext to his cauſe, he offered to conclude a ten years truce, as it was impoſſible to bring matters in a ſhorter time to a definitive treaty between him and the *Florentines*. The propoſal was accepted; but with no very ſincere intentions on either ſide. On the concluſion of this truce, the *Florentines* diſmiſſed their army, and *Galeazzo* made a ſhew of doing the ſame; but his troops being intirely devoted to him, pretended that they ſerved for pay, and that they could not ſtarve; they therefore, by his connivance, took up their quarters in the *Sienneſe*, and inſtigated the *Ubertini*, and the other lords of petty fiefs, to take up arms. This, and other incidents which happened about the ſame time,

He becomes maſter of Piſa.

renewed the war in *Tuſcany*; and *Galeazzo*, who was faithfully ſerved by his allies as well as ſoldiers, became at laſt maſter of *Piſa* itſelf, by which he opened a door for the ſubjection of *Sienna*; ſo that in a ſhort time he became, in fact, more powerful in *Tuſcany* than ever; *Bologna* having now ſubmitted to him.

His vaſt policy.

THIS great revolution was effected by the ſingle expedient of the ten years truce, and is one of the moſt maſterly pieces

A. D. 1400.

of policy that we have upon record, as *Galeazzo* brought it about without incurring the ſmalleſt blemiſh upon his character. In the beginning of the year 1400, he prevailed with *Uguccio*, then maſter of *Cortona*, to prohibit proviſions of any kind to be carried through his dominions to *Florence*; and at the ſame time he foſtered a war between *Aſtorgi* of *Faenza* and the *Bologneſe*, and prevailed upon *Guinigi* to refuſe to enter into a league with the *Florentines*. Towards the end of this year, *Bentivoglio* made himſelf maſter of *Bologna*, which occaſioned a new face of affairs in *Italy*. As the friendſhip of that city was equally of uſe to the *Florentines* as to *Galeazzo*, both parties endeavoured to conceal their diſappointments, by courting the friendſhip of *Bentivo-*

1401.

glio. Both likewiſe ſent him auxiliaries; but in 1401, *Galeazzo* joined with count *Alberigo* againſt *Bentivoglio*. This left *Bentivoglio* no dependence but upon the *Florentines*, who ſaw themſelves in ſuch imminent danger, that they were ill enough adviſed to invite the emperor to their aſſiſtance, upon the promiſe of a large ſum of money, part to be paid in hand, and part in a certain time after he had entered *Galeazzo*'s dominions in a hoſtile manner. The vaſt golden bait prevailed upon

upon the emperor, who was miserably poor, to make great dispositions for carrying the war into the *Milanese*. The balance of power in *Italy*, in all appearance, was on the point of being ruined at this time, and nothing but the profound policy and moderation of *Galeazzo* could have saved it.

Boundaries of his dominions.

HIS plan was to make himself master of *Lombardy*, so as to be able to cut off all hopes of invading it either from *France* or *Germany*. He had driven the *Scaligers* out of *Verona* and *Vicenza*, and had confined *Francesco Carrara* of *Pavia* in the castle of *Mousa*. He still kept possession of the *Tridentine*, and all that mountainous district; so that when the emperor and his generals attacked him at *Alessandria*, they were entirely defeated by *Vermi* the *Milanese* general; and the remainder of their broken army was obliged to retire to the *Tridentine*.

THIS victory opened the way to *Galeazzo*'s conquest of *Mantua* and *Casal*; and at last he defeated a vast army of *Florentines* and *Bolognese* near *Bologna*; and the papal and *Florentine* general, *Bernard* of *Aquitain*, being made prisoner, *Bologna* itself submitted to the conqueror, after having been a bone of contention for fifty years between the *Milanese* and the see of *Rome*. But *Galeazzo* gave now an unusual proof of virtue and moderation. The *Florentines*, who were his principal enemies in *Italy*, were so far from being in a condition to expect support from the *Germans*, that they mutually accused one another before the *Venetians*; so that *Florence* itself was besieged, and must have fallen into the hands of *Galeazzo*, had he been in earnest about taking it. Some authors are of opinion, that *Galeazzo* intended to have made himself king of *Italy*; and they have given out, that he actually had prepared a crown for that purpose; but there seems to be little foundation for those assertions; for *Galeazzo* having secured the peace of his patrimonial dominions, and made himself master of all *Lombardy*, to the amazement of *Italy* and *Europe*, put bounds to his ambition, just at the time when *Florence* itself was on the point of submitting to his arms. This incredible reverse of fortune was at first disbelieved by the *Florentines*; but when they saw a stop put to the march of thirty-two thousand of the best troops in *Europe*, who were advancing against their city; and when they learned that *Galeazzo* had named ambassadors to treat for a general peace, in which the *Florentines* were to be principally considered, they began to give ear to the possibility of such an event; but still with great caution; for they treated at once with the *Venetians* and *Galeazzo*. The precaution, though wise, was useless; for *Galeazzo* was firmly resolved upon a sincere, and,

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if possible, a lasting peace; which accordingly, to the amazement of the public, was at last concluded. It is true, the time between opening this negociation and that of his death, was too short for us to pronounce as to his motives. But the probability lies for his sincerity, as there is no indication that when the negociation was begun, he had reason to believe he was so near his end, which happened but a few weeks after his taking *Bologna*[a].

GALEAZZO was certainly one of the wisest as well as the most moderate princes that then lived in *Italy*; but tho' we have, agreeable to the sense of all historians, given the highest encomiums upon his policy, his wisdom, courage, and magnanimity; yet we find no room for enlarging upon his virtue. That was a quality which seems to have been disused amongst the princes of this age. In other parts of his character we have been sufficiently copious. *Galeazzo* died in *September*, 1402, in the castle of *Meliano*, on the *Lambro*, of a pestilential fever, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his government. His last wife was *Catharine*, daughter of his uncle *Barnabo*, by whom he left a daughter and two sons, who, at the time of his death, were not arrived at man's estate. By his first wife *Isabella*, daughter to the *French* king, he had no issue; but that he might keep up his connexions with the court of *France*, he bestowed *Valentina*, his daughter by *Catherine*, upon *Lewis* duke of *Orleans*; by which her progeny, upon the failure of *Galeazzo*'s sons without issue, became powerful competitors for the duchy of *Milan*. *Asti* was given in dowry to *Valentina*.

His death.

As to the person of *Galeazzo*, it was like the other princes of his family, noble and majestic. The greatest fault of his reign, was his behaviour towards his uncle *Barnabo* and his family; nor indeed is it certain, that *Barnabo* was such a monster of cruelty as he is represented to have been. It undoubtedly was for the interest of *Galeazzo* to have him believed to be so; and we know of no advocate his memory, or those of his sons, met with to do justice to their character. It is on all hands allowed, that *Galeazzo* actually outwitted his uncle; and, notwithstanding the many apologies that have been offered in his favour, it is certain, that soon after his death the *Milanese* fell into the most violent distractions; nor could the government there be kept up without an army of twenty thousand horse, and as many foot, even in time of peace. He is charged with some unnatural vices;

[a] Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. pag. 195.

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but no proof of his guilt is upon record. He was like his anceſtors, magnificent in his public buildings.

JOHN MARIA, the eldeſt ſon of *Galeazzo*, ſucceeded to the greateſt part of the *Milaneſe*; but it ſeems to have been an infatuation with the wiſeſt of the *Viſconti* family to have divided their eſtates. Beſides the lawful ſons, he left two natural ones, *Gabriel* and *Antony*; and all of them, excepting the laſt, took the deſignation of *Maria*. His funeral was magnificently celebrated; and upon opening the codicils of his will, it was found that he had left a regency, at the head of which was *Charles Malateſta*, lord of *Rimini*, and *James Vermi*; but *Peter*, archbiſhop of *Milan*, was at the head of the commiſſion, chiefly on account of decency. *John*, the eldeſt ſon, was declared by his will to be duke of *Milan*; to which was annexed the poſſeſſion of *Bergamo*, *Cremona*, *Breſcia*, *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *Feltri*, *Civitella*, *Lodi*, *Bologna*, and a vaſt number of other eſtates; the entire barrier of the *Alps*, towards *Germany* and *France*, together with *Sienna* in *Tuſcany* and *Perugia*. To his ſecond ſon, *Philip*, he left *Pavia*, with the title of count, *Novara*, *Vercelli*, *Tortona*, *Aleſſandria*, and all that neighbourhood. He was equally mindful of *Gabriel*, his eldeſt natural ſon, whoſe mother was a lady of quality; and he left him *Piſa*, *Luna*, *Serazana*, with many caſtles in that neighbourhood. His laſt natural ſon was ſo young, that he made no proviſion for him, but left him to the care of his brothers, and his family, his mother being a perſon of no conſideration. But beſides thoſe proviſions for his family, he left very noble legacies to his other friends, particularly to the *Venetians*, the *Mantuans*, and ſeveral of his private favourites. His legitimate children, the eldeſt of whom was not above thirteen years of age, were brought up under the eye of their tutors; but it is ſurpriſing to reflect, that ſo provident and ſo wiſe a man as *Galeazzo* was, had been ſo much, during the latter part of his life, employed in war[a], that he had taken no precaution for the education of his ſons; and there was ſuch a penury of learned men in all his wide extended dominions, that ſcarce a perſon was to be found equal to the common taſk of their education. A perſon of low extraction, one *Francis Barbavaria*, was the only man found capable to inſtruct them. This drove all the men of quality from the court, and the archbiſhop of *Milan*, was the only perſon of high quality who remained about it; but even he was obliged to ſhut himſelf up within his palace; ſo miſerably was the government di-

Succeeded by his two ſons.

Diviſions of the Milaneſe government.

[a] BILLII Hiſt. apud MURAT. tom. xix. pag. 12.

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vided between contending parties. At last, the old remains of the *Visconti* family got the ascendency; and *Francis Visconti* was introduced into *Milan*, from which he had lived for some time in exile. He had a brother, *Antony*, whom he associated with himself in all his schemes. The intrigues of so distracted a court are not to be regarded. Murders, robberies, and rapines multiplied every day; and at last a kind of compromise was made between *Antony Visconti* and the party of *Barbavaria*. The *Florentines* took advantage of those confusions, and were unwearied in their endeavours to excite the states of *Italy* to throw off the yoke of the *Milanese*. By this time the duke of *Milan* and his brother were taken out of the hands of their mother, who had very seldom access to see her sons; and every day produced some new alteration in the government. One *Pandolph* was named to the government of the *Siennese*; but had neither spirit nor courage to oppose the attempts of the *Florentines*. *John Colonna* had the charge of *Pisa*, with a sufficient body of troops to defend it; but the *Florentines*, having persuaded pope *Boniface* to join them, invaded the *Milanese* under *Nicholas Ferrara*. The first attempt was upon the side of the *Parmesan*, where several tumultuary actions passed, but without any effect; and at last a treaty was proposed for accommodating all differences. *Charles Malatesta* appeared on the side of the young duke of *Milan*. *Gianelli*, the pope's brother managed for his holiness. The *Florentines* demanded *Perugia* and *Bologna*; and their claims comprehended the property of almost all *Tuscany*. This gave a handle for *Malatesta* to throw a difference between the *Florentines* and *Gianelli*, on account of the ambition of the former. He proposed to shut the *Florentines* quite out of the negociation; and this was so much for the benefit of the church, that the agreement was struck, and *Bologna*, with *Perugia*, was immediately given up to the holy see; upon which the *Florentines* were obliged to return to *Tuscany*.

which is split into factions.

This compromise proved as a precedent for all the rest of the states of *Lombardy*, which had been subjected to the *Milanese*, to endeavour to assert their own independency; and the old factions of the *Gibelins* and *Guelphs* were now revived with more animosity than ever. Not only states and principalities were torn in pieces by those distractions; but every village had its separate factions; and though the whole went under the name of *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*, yet those were no other than sounds to cloak private faction and personal resentments. In a short time all the *Milanese* was one promiscuous scene of carnage; and the rage of parties that had been quieted under the mild government of the *Visconti*, seemed

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to have been gathering ſtrength, that it might break out with the more fatal effects. Every petty governor of a town or ſtate, ſet up to be independent; while thoſe of greater conſideration were ſo much intereſted in their own ſchemes of ambition, that they neither durſt nor cared to check their inferiors. The misfortune was, that though the *Milaneſe* was ſuppoſed to be an imperial fief, yet the whole empire was in a condition equally diſtracted; ſo that it could not be ſaid that there was any center of authority, not only in *Milan*, but in *Italy*, and indeed in *Germany* itſelf. While matters were in this confuſion, each ſeized the portion of territory that lay moſt practicable or convenient for himſelf, without the ſmalleſt regard to their former oaths and engagements. *Pandolfo Malateſta* made himſelf maſter of *Breſcia* and *Bergamo*. *Gabrini Fundulio* ſeized upon *Cremona*; as *Scaliger* did upon *Pavia* and *Aleſſandria*. *Vineati* became maſter of *Lodi*; the *Benzoni* of *Crema*; the *Arcelli* of *Piacenza*; *Ottoboni* of *Parma*; *Franchino Ruſca* of *Como*; and the *Bruſſati* and *Tormelli*, returning from baniſhment, poſſeſſed themſelves of *Vercelli* and *Novara*. The young duke of *Milan* continued ſtill in the power of his kinſmen *Viſconti*, while his mother was a helpleſs exile amongſt the friends and exiles of her huſband's family, without even the means of ſupporting herſelf. *Pandolfo Malateſta*, being introduced to *Como* by the faction of the *Ruſcani*, gave up that rich city to be plundered. The ducheſs was, at that time, at *Como*, and a ſcheme was laid for driving her from thence. For this purpoſe factions were encouraged; and the ducheſs plainly perceiving, by the progreſs of the tumult, that her enemies intended to become maſters of the city, thought proper to retire to *Mouſa*, though vaſtly againſt the advice of her friends. During this ceſſation of government, the young duke was, by his mother, adviſed to create a governor, who ſhould, during his minority, have the care of his dominions; and to name *Charles Malateſta* to that office. He was a worthy man, and a brave ſoldier; but though the young duke's name and authority introduced *Malateſta* into *Milan*, yet he found things there in a moſt deſperate ſituation. The greateſt part of the generals and counſellors employed by the great duke, had been either put to death, or obliged to fly for their lives. There was only one circumſtance in his favour, and that was the diſſentions and diſagreements that prevailed amongſt the oppoſite faction, and which *Malateſta* took care to improve, ſo as to procure to himſelf an eaſy acceſs to his government. His firſt care was to introduce a force into *Milan*, ſufficient to overawe the diſ-

affected of every kind; and taking from the factions all hopes of profiting by the public commotions, he treated of a marriage between his niece and the young duke. It is ſaid, that the public factions, at this time, arrived at ſuch a height, that when any perſon was devoted to death, the common ſaying of the judge was, "You have given me a ſubject, and "it muſt be my buſineſs to make him a criminal."

Charles Malateſta *made regent.*

SUCH was the ſtate of the *Milaneſe* affairs, when *Charles Malateſta* entered upon his regency. Having with great difficulty equipped a ſufficient army, his firſt undertaking was to puniſh one *Stranguline*, who had been guilty of murdering his collegue, and had fled to *Scaliger*, who was then in poſſeſſion of the caſtle of *Milan*, which *Charles* beſieged with ſo much vigour, that he ſoon reduced it. He next took a ſignal revenge upon thoſe who had been the moſt active againſt the ducheſs dowager; and to ſhew how high party was carried at that time, the common executioners of priſoners were maſtiff dogs trained up to blood. This method of execution was highly agreeable to the young duke; and *Malateſta*, for that reaſon, haſtened the marriage between his niece, who was daughter to *Pandolph*, and the young duke. This expedient had ſome effect in ſoftening the young prince's manners; but a new faction at this time ſtarted up. *Chriſtopher Caſſati*, and *Antony Vercelli*, lifted themſelves under the banners of the young count of *Pavia*; and they had entered into a conſpiracy for inviting the *French* under *Boucicault* to take part in the war. Both *Charles* and *Pandolfo Malateſta* oppoſed this conſpiracy; and it is ſaid, that young *Philip* narrowly eſcaped being murdered. It happened unfortunately for the *Milaneſe*, that *Charles Malateſta* was the profeſſed partizan of the *Guelphs*, while the *Milaneſe* in general inclined to the *Gibelins*. This occaſioned another revolution; and *Charles Malateſta* was driven out of *Milan* by *Facino Scaliger*, who permitted his followers, the *Gibelins*, to indulge themſelves in all kinds of licentiouſneſs. This produced another conſpiracy againſt *Scaliger*, who was ſurpriſed and made priſoner by *John Luitprand*, who ſoon repented of his undertaking, and pleaded youth and want of conſideration for his excuſe. *Philip* count of *Pavia* was thought to be at the bottom of this conſpiracy; and *Scaliger*, diſſembling his reſentment, took little notice of *Philip*; but, pretending to be indiſpoſed, took his bed, and meditated to make himſelf maſter of *Pavia*. According to *Paul Jovius*, the deſign upon *Scaliger* was ſo near being executed, that he was obliged to the ſwiftneſs of his horſe, which carried him off with ſuch violence, that he received a contuſion

tuſion in his forehead, and eſcaped to *Roſetta* with the loſs of his cap. Be that as it will, it is certain that he was delivered almoſt as ſoon as he was made priſoner.

AFTER this the faction of the *Guelphs*, which was headed by *Antony Torriano*, prevailed upon *John Maria*, notwithſtanding the ancient enmity between their families, to invite *Bouccicault*, the *French* general, to become the guardian of the *Milaneſe*, in place of *Scaliger*. *Bouccicault*, who was remarkable at once for the vaſtneſs of his courage, and the largeneſs of his perſon, was governor, under the *French* king, of *Genoa*, which had revolted to him amongſt the other ſtates of *Italy* that had thrown off the yoke of the *Milaneſe* upon the death of *John Galeazzo*. *Bouccicault*, according to *Paul Jovius*, came to *Milan*, attended by a great retinue of *French* cavalry: but began his government by an attempt to make himſelf maſter of the caſtle of *Milan*. In this, finding ſome difficulty, he endeavoured to effect his end by gold; and that failing, he employed rougher meaſures, for he erected a court of juſtice, and iſſued edicts, as if he had been the abſolute lord of *Milan*; and even went ſo far as to coin money. It was believed, that the hatred which the *Italians* naturally entertained of the *French*, puſhed *Bouccicault* upon thoſe unpopular meaſures; for in a ſhort time he became obnoxious, and hated not only by *John Maria*, but by the *Milaneſe* of all ranks and denominations; and though he was one of the moſt worthy men of his time, he was repreſented as endeavouring to uſurp the power of the ducal family. But in the mean while, a great revolution happened at *Genoa*, from whence, by the intrigues of *Scaliger*, the *French* troops were driven out, and the marquis of *Montferrat* was ſubſtituted in *Bouccicault*'s room, and acknowledged to be the prince, or rather guardian, of *Genoa*. This revolution was no ſooner known at *Milan*, than *Bouccicault*, pretending to lead an expedition againſt *Pavia*, evacuated that city before the news became public. In his march towards *Novi*, he was attacked by *Scaliger*, and ſo totally defeated, that he loſt in one day the government both of *Genoa* and *Milan*; ſo that it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he eſcaped back to *France* by the *Alps*.

Adventure of Bouccicault.

THE *Italian* hiſtorian [a] has, on this occaſion, charged *Bouccicault* with a piece of barbarity little agreeable to the general tenor of his character; for we are told, that he put to death *Gabriel*, the ſame who had been driven from *Piſa* by the *Florentines*, and had taken refuge at *Genoa*, on ac-

[a] PAUL JOVIUS, pag. 178.

count of the riches he had carried from *Piſa*. About this time *John* loſt his mother, who was weakened by heart-break, and a long courſe of ill uſage. She is blamed by *Paul Jovius* for the pernicious counſels ſhe gave to throw her ſon's dominions into the hands of the pope, by which they never reverted to the dukedom. He mentions particularly the alienation of *Bologna*, which had coſt ſo much blood and treaſure to the dukes of *Milan*, as had *Aſſiſi* and *Perugia*; all which now went to the popedom, for the empty phantom of the ſuppoſed friendſhip of his holineſs, which, in the end, proved rather a detriment than an advantage. *Sienna*, at the ſame time, recovered her liberty, after long and bloody conteſts. All thoſe calamities were far from putting a ſtop to the civil diſſenſions of *Milan*, which grew every day more and more intractable. They who were defeated, being ſpirited up by revenge, refuſed to agree to any truce with their enemies; and the victors rejected all accommodation, as being uſeleſs to their purpoſes.

Compromiſe with Facino.

In ſuch various ſcenes of diſtreſs, the duke found no other expedient for preſerving or retrieving his authority, than making matters up with *Facino*, or, as we have called him on other occaſions, *Scaliger*, a prince of unbounded ambition, as well as abilities, both in peace and war. *John Maria*, therefore, having received hoſtages for the fidelity of *Facino*, gave him, under himſelf, the government of all his eſtates and armies; but he had ſcarce ratified this meaſure, than he repented it; though he plainly perceived that it was to no purpoſe. *Facino* was obliged to ſupport himſelf in his new acquired power, by other freebooters of government, whom he ſuffered to pillage the ſubjects of their private properties, but reſerved to himſelf the whole of the public money. *Facino* attributed all the danger he had eſcaped to the count of *Pavia*, and endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of that city. He therefore pretended to be indiſpoſed; and being in a confederacy with the *Beccarii*, *Pavia* was betrayed to him, and the eſtates of all the contrary faction were given up to the plunder of the *Beccarii*. *Facino* underſtanding this, and that nothing would be left to him, iſſued an order for plundering both factions, which accordingly was punctually obeyed. The count of *Pavia*, by this time, had retired to the citadel, where he had very little authority, and leſs aſſurance of ſafety. *Facino* promiſed to take him under his protection, if he was admitted into the citadel, which at laſt the count was obliged to ſuffer; ſo that *Facino* had, in fact, the full power and authority over *Pavia*, as well as *Milan*, and nothing was wanting but the title, to render him ſovereign maſter of both.

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The duke, and his brother the count of *Pavia*, had ſcarcely the common neceſſaries of life allowed them; and the former was perſuaded no longer to cohabit with his wife. Taxes and oppreſſions were multiplied, and *Facino* took ſuch a liking to the caſtle of *Pavia*, then one of the ſtrongeſt, as well as moſt delightful, in the world, that he ſhut himſelf up in it, and there he fell into his laſt illneſs; while the two brothers were reduced to ſuch difficulties, that *Philip* is ſaid to have been deſtitute of bed-cloaths.

Conſpiracy againſt the duke, who is murdered.

DURING his illneſs, which now appeared to be mortal, the *Gibelin* faction, being afraid that, upon his death, *John Maria* would recover his authority, and being no ſtranger to his innate fierceneſs and cruelty, formed a conſpiracy to put an end to his life. At this time the *Milaneſe* was intirely in peace, and *Facino*, though confined to his bed, carried his arms into the *Bergameſe*, where they did infinite damage. Some authors, particularly *Paul Jovius*, ſay, that he was making war in the *Bergamaſco*, when he was ſeized with his laſt illneſs [a], and that he was carried to *Pavia* [b]. While he was upon his death-bed, the conſpiracy againſt *John Maria* came to a head. The *Guelphs*, as well as the *Gibelins*, entered into it through deteſtation of his bloody, brutiſh diſpoſition, which, in ſome meaſure, juſtified *Facino*'s ſeverity; for the little power he ſtill retained, was daily employed in throwing the unhappy victims of his tyranny to be devoured by dogs.

THE chief of the conſpirators were of the *Viſconti* family; and their ſcheme was, if their conſpiracy took effect, to make *Heſtor Barnabo's* ſon duke of *Milan*; and if *Facino* ſhould die, to give *Pavia* to the *Beccarii*. The other conſpirators were *Bagio*, and his brother *Paul Puſterlano*, whoſe father *John Maria* had put to death, as we have already ſeen, by throwing him to the dogs, and ſome noblemen of the houſe of *Maine*, the two brothers of which had been butchered by *John*. The ſcene of the tragedy was the church, where they ſtabbed him at the great altar (C), as he was aſſiſting at maſs (D). It is remarked, that the deteſtation of *John Maria*'s perſon was ſo ſtrong with the conſpirators, that it united

[a] BILLIUS apud MURAT. tom. xix. p. 35. [b] PAUL JOVIUS, p. 180.

(C) *Paul Jovius*, page 180, ſays, that the conſpirators in number were about thirty.

(D) According to *Paul Jovius*, he was aſſaſſinated by the two brothers *Borſi*, on the 16th of *May*, as he was proceeding to *St. Godard*'s church.

them, though they were of different factions, ſo that not one of them betrayed another. *Paul Jovius* obſerves, that notwithſtanding the troubles and diſtreſſes of his government, he never abated in the ferocity of his diſpoſition. He had one *Squarcia Giramo*, of a noble family, but who ſerved him as his favourite, and the purveyor of his inhumanities, by procuring for him the largeſt and fierceſt maſtiffs, who were maintained on nothing but human fleſh. When he was dead, there was not a living creature who took the leaſt concern about his body, which would have lain unburied, had it not been for the care of a common whore, who kept it for ſome time amongſt roſes; a humanity that deſervedly procured for her a handſome proviſion from *Philip* his brother and ſucceſſor, by which ſhe was enabled to marry with credit, and in good circumſtances. The ſame day *Giramo*, the infamous minion of *John Maria*, was diſcovered in a lurking hole by the people, and dragged by a hook in his noſe to the ſtreet before his own palace, which was levelled to the ground, and there put to death with the moſt exquiſite tortures. It is remarked of *John Maria*, that notwithſtanding his ferocity, he poſſeſſed many of the great qualities of his anceſtors (A), which ſerved to render him ſtill more deteſtable.

Death of Facino,

FACINO was all this time confined to his bed at *Pavia*; but his officers and creatures kept poſſeſſion of the caſtle of *Milan*. *Heſtor*, whom we have already ſpoken of, no ſooner heard of *John*'s aſſaſſination, than he came to *Milan* with no more than twelve attendants; and the conſpirators being prepared to receive him, he was admitted into the city without oppoſition. The commandant of the caſtle was *Vicenzo*, who refuſed to deliver it up, though neither threats nor rewards were wanting to ſhake him. *Facino* no ſooner heard of the murder of *John Maria*, than he fell into a violent paſſion at the conſpirators; and his laſt breath was ſpent in recommending the perſon of *Philip*, and the puniſhment of his brother's murder, to his attendants, particularly to *Bartholomew*, archbiſhop of *Milan*, in the moſt earneſt pathetic manner. According to *Billius* [b], he likewiſe recommended to their care his wife *Beatrix*. He alſo ordered, that *Philip* ſhould not, for

[b] Billius, ubi ſupra, p. 36.

(A) *Billius* ubi ſupra. But this perhaps was only a compliment to his dignity; for *Paul Jovius* takes no notice of it, nor is it eaſy to conceive, that any good quality could exiſt in ſo young a monſter.

some time, be suffered to stir abroad, for fear of farther treachery. He died without issue, and without relations, who could succeed to the power he left in the *Milanese*. He made some amends upon his death-bed for the treachery and inhumanities he had been guilty of in his life-time. His death gave the conspirators additional hopes of success, and they all swore fealty to *Hestor*.

whose widow Philip, *the new duke of* Milan, *marries.*

It happened fortunately for *Philip*, that *Facino* was, at the time of his death, at the head of an excellent army, and that his officers had all joined in the most solemn engagements, for revenging *John Maria*'s murder. *Philip* remained at the castle of *Pavia*, closely guarded; so that he was uncertain for some time, whether he was a prince or a prisoner. *Bozero*, or *Baucio*, of *Cremona*, commanded in the castle of *Pavia*; and his first care was to shut up the gates, and to suffer none, without his knowledge, to enter the castle, or to depart out of it. This precaution was taken on account of the *Beccarii*, whose allegiance was a little doubtful; and the *Pavians*, who were devoted to *Philip*, being supicious that he was doomed to his brother's fate, took arms, and demanded that *Philip* might be produced to them. He accordingly appeared on the walls with great expressions of his sense of their affection and loyalty, and assured them that he was perfectly safe, provided he was secure of their allegiance. But though *Philip* was thus safe, yet he was destitute of every thing, particularly money, that was befitting so great a prince. *Facino* was excessively rich, especially in ready money, and had left all the fortune he could dispose of to his wife *Beatrix*, with a view, as some suppose not improbably, of her marrying *Philip*. The archbishop and *Baucio* consulted together, and proposed the match to *Philip*, who readily agreed to it; and the consent of the *Beccarii* was likewise obtained, they thinking that they would have the chief management under their former mistress *Beatrix*; but she knew them too well to trust them. *Philip*, at this time, was scarcely twenty years of age, and she was about thirty-eight, but possessed of all the remains of her husband's authority, as well as wealth. *Facino*'s officers and soldiers were intirely devoted to her, as were the inhabitants of *Vercelli*, *Novara*, and *Alessandria*, and the garrisons of almost all the neighbouring castles; so that all parties in *Pavia* being agreed, the marriage was celebrated with a general approbation.

The next care of *Philip* and his party in *Pavia*, was to relieve *Vicenzo*, who still held out the castle of *Milan*, by assuring him of a speedy assistance from *Philip* in person. *Hestor*, and the *Visconti* faction, had been far from seeing or

ſuſpecting this ſudden alteration in favour of *Philip*; and it diſconcerted all their meaſures. The reputation of *Philip* gained ſuch ground, that each vied with another to be the foremoſt to join him. All the diffidence of the *Viſconti* and their friends was now with regard to the mercenaries who had ſerved under *Facino*, and who having been indebted to him, ſought to better their circumſtances by going over to the *Viſconti*. This defection, however, was ſoon remedied, by the repreſentations of *Sicco* of *Padua*, who put them in mind, that they had ſworn to be faithful not only to *Facino*, but to *Beatrix* likewiſe. He therefore perſuaded them to wait the reſult of a letter from *Beatrix*, or her huſband. A letter accordingly arrived from *Pavia*, remitting all the debts that had been due to *Facino* and his wife; and it was explained to them, that *Philip* was now the ſole lord and maſter of the *Milaneſe*. Thoſe repreſentations had the intended effect, and the revolters were brought back to their duty, though not without receiving large gratuities, in earneſt of their future fidelity.

NOTHING was now wanting to *Philip*'s ſucceſs. His wife had brought him in ready money a dowry of about four hundred thouſand pounds, an immenſe ſum at that time; his army was in excellent order, and commanded by *Carmagnola*, and one of the *Beccarii*, while *Vicenzo* continued gallantly to defend the caſtle of *Milan*. On the other hand, *Heſtor* and his friends had been obliged to have recourſe to cruel oppreſſive methods for raiſing money to carry on the ſiege; but they were unſucceſsful. *Philip* advanced to the *Comeſe* gate, where an encounter happened between him and *Heſtor*, in which the latter was defeated, and obliged to fly to *Mouſa*. *Philip*, upon this, entered the caſtle without farther reſiſtance, and the firſt thing he did, was to proclaim pardon to all but thoſe who had been concerned in his brother's death. *Andrew Bagio*, and *Francis Maine*, were accordingly judicially ſentenced, and put to death for the ſame. This well-timed moderation won the hearts of the *Milaneſe*, and *Philip* was joyfully acclaimed duke of *Milan*.

HAVING ſettled every thing in that caſtle and city, he proceeded to *Mouſa*, which *Heſtor* had taken poſſeſſion of, and beſieged it. In this ſiege *Carmagnola* eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf. The ſiege was furiouſly preſſed, and the place was bravely defended, till *Philip* bringing up his machines, drove *Heſtor* into the caſtle, where, being mortally wounded in the leg by a ſtone, he died in three days. He was a young man of great ſpirit and courage, and in his noble appearance, being above the common ſize, he reſembled his father *Barnabo*. After *Mouſa* and its caſtle were reduced, *Philip* proceeded to

Canturi,

nturi, from whence *John Viſconti* removed to *Naples*, and the lace was immediately ſurrendered to *Philip*. *Ruſca*, a young bleman of great accompliſhments, was then maſter of *mo*, but he ſurrendered it to *Philip*, without making any rms for himſelf, as being only a kind of truſtee, for which *hilip* rewarded him with ſeveral noble poſſeſſions. In the ean while the people of *Lodi*, and the neighbouring ſtates, ntered into treaty with *Philip*; but *John*, who was in poſ-ſſion of *Lodi*, refuſed to give it up, and ordered his ſon to defend it to the laſt. *Philip*, upon this, carried *John* priſoner from *Milan* to *Lodi*, where he ſhewed him in chains to his ſon, to whom he offered not only pardon, but a reward, if he agreed to give up the place. The young man heſitated upon this, and expoſtulated upon the iniquity of his father's impriſonment. But *Philip*'s ſoldiers, in the mean time, ſtormed the place, and carried both father and ſon priſoners to *Milan*, where they were executed.

His great ſucceſſes againſt the ſtates of Italy.

PHILIP was equally fortunate againſt the other petty tyrants, who had diſmembered the eſtates of his family. He took *Bergamo* and *Breſcia* from *Pandolfo Malateſta*, and made *Gabrino Funduli*, the cruel tyrant of *Cremona*, his priſoner. There was ſomething ſhocking in the manner of this man's death. Being carried to the ſcaffold where he was to ſuffer, he was exhorted to lay his head upon the block, and to undergo death with reſignation and meekneſs; but inſtead of that, looking on the friars who aſſiſted at his execution with a furious air, he bid them trouble him no more with impertinent exhortations, adding, that he had been villainouſly betrayed by *Philip*, and that he repented of nothing ſo much, as that he had not thrown both the emperor and the pope, who came to viſit him at the ſame time, from the top of his lofty tower at *Cremona*.

It would be too tedious to particularize all the ſucceſſes of *Philip* in the *Milaneſe*. It is ſufficient to ſay, that having ſubdued all oppoſition there, he applied himſelf to regulate his court and army. He had of houſhold troops eight thouſand horſe and foot, and of his other ſubjects, drawn from different parts of his dominions, above twelve thouſand, all of them the beſt ſoldiers in *Italy*. Beſides *Carmagnola*, he had engaged in his ſervice the famous *Nicholas Picinino*, and ſeveral others of the moſt famous generals then in *Italy*, by whom his army was excellently well diſciplined. The troops I have mentioned were all quartered about *Milan*, and he had above twenty thouſand more in other parts of his dominions. Their commander in chief was *Carmagnola*, who was at the ſame time *Philip*'s firſt miniſter, and married to one of his kinſwomen;

women; and all his inferior posts, both civil and military, were well supplied with able officers and ministers.

At this time the *Venetians* held *Verona*, the *Florentines Pisa*, and the pope *Bologna*, all which cities and states had once belonged to *Philip*'s father, and he resolved to retake them. The reader, in the former parts of this work, will meet with the history of the progress of his arms; so that we need not but touch upon a few particulars that have not been yet related. *Placentia* had been surprized by *Philip Arsellani* for *Philip*, by which the emperor *Sigismond*, who had designed to give it to the marquis of *Montferrat*, was disappointed. *Arsellani*, for that service, came into great favour with *Philip*; but perceiving, in a short time, that *Carmagnola* had the sole ascendency both in the court and the army, he was so stung with emulation and jealousy, that he threw off his dependence with *Philip*, and governed in his own name. *Philip*, upon this, ordered *Carmagnola* to march with an army against *Placentia*, which he willingly did. In the mean while *Arsellani*, and *Pandolfo Malatesta*, entered into a confederacy together, in which they were joined by *Fulgoso*, the doge of *Genoa*, and his five brethren, who had driven all the opposite party out of that city. The exiles were befriended by *Philip*, who assisted them with part of his horse. About the same time the *Beccarii* again rebelled, and *Castellino Beccari* falling into *Philip*'s hands, was put to death. His brother *Lancelot* entered into a league with one of the *Facino* family; and the former attacked *Tortona*, and the other *Alessandria*; while *Carmagnola* drove *Arsellani* out of *Placentia*, but was unable to take the citadel. *Lancelot Beccari* was besieged and taken in *Seravalla*; and being carried prisoner to *Pavia*, he was there executed on a gibbet. Thus all who had an actual concern in the death of *Philip*'s mother or brother, came to condign punishment. *Philip* after that took *Gavi*, and thereby opened a road for himself into the *Genoese* dominions. *Carmagnola*, upon this, left the siege of the castle of *Placentia*, and went to put himself at the head of the *Genoese* exiles; so that *Pandolfo Malatesta* was at liberty to join *Arsellani* in the citadel of *Placentia*. *Philip* hearing this, and that the city was likely to fall into the hands of *Malatesta*, sent a squadron of ships to carry off the inhabitants under *George Valsperg*, who transported them to *Pavia*, *Lodi*, and other places; and *Placentia* accordingly fell into *Pandolfo*'s hands, but without any inhabitants. This occasioned a debate whether they ought not to burn the city; but it was spared.

and against Genoa.

CAR-

CARMAGNOLA was all this time preſſing the *Ge-* A. D.
noeſe, and had even driven them within the walls of their 1421.
ty, by attacking them on the weſtern *Riviera*, while *Gui-* *He reduces*
do Torelli kept them blocked up in another quarter. The Placentia.
Arſellani, and their confederates, endeavoured to relieve the *Genoeſe*, and advanced through the ſtraits of the mountains; but being ignorant of the ways, they were ſhut up by the *Genoeſe* mountaineers, and all of them were either killed or made priſoners; but afterwards the ſurvivors were diſmiſſed, excepting a few of the *Arſellani* and the *Malateſta* family, who were detained as pledges for the rendition of *Placentia*. *Fulgoſo* hearing of this diſaſter, offered to capitulate with *Philip*, who underſtanding that *Malateſta* was ſtill powerful, entered into a negociation with him. The *Arſellani*, however, and the other priſoners, ſtill refuſed to deliver up *Placentia*, which coſt the unhappy youths their lives, being executed on gibbets in ſight of their relations. This barbarity was thought to be owing to the perſonal reſentment of *Carmagnola* againſt the *Arſellani* and the *Malateſti*, and gave *Philip* great diſquiet, though from his natural diſſimulation he concealed it. One of the youths was much regretted by all *Italy*, on account of his excellent endowments and fine perſon. His mother beheld his execution from a window of the caſtle of *Placentia*, and was almoſt frantic with grief, pouring out the moſt bitter curſes againſt her huſband, for his obſtinacy and rebellion. The father, ſtung with remorſe, and finding the caſtle to be untenable, abandoned it next day, and fled to *Treviſo*, in the *Venetian* territories, where he died a miſerable exile. He is allowed to have been a man of great parts and courage, but was ruined by ambition. It was thought that *Philip* intended, if he had ſurrendered *Placentia*, to have ſubſtituted him in the place of *Carmagnola*, who was now declining in his favour.

THE ſurrender of the caſtle of *Placentia*, was followed by the ſubmiſſion of *Borgo di San Domino*, which was held by *Orlando Pallavicini*; and moſt of the noble families in the *Parmeſan*, declared themſelves *Gibelins*, and choſe *Philip* either for their maſter or protector; ſo that it was with difficulty that *Nicholas* of *Ferrara* prevented the city of *Parma* itſelf from following their example. This revolution was brought about by a moſt ſingular mixture of juſtice, treachery, and barbarity, and requires to be particularly related. *Facino* had driven *Otho*, who is called *Otho* III. and who pretended to be duke of *Parma*, out of *Milan*; upon which he returned to *Parma*, where he fell, in the moſt inhuman manner, upon the *Gibelins*, and all whom he looked upon to be his enemies.

His

His ſpite was more particularly levelled againſt the family of *Rubeis*, and he ordered all of them that could be found to be maſſacred, not excepting children in the cradle, whose brains he daſhed out with his own hands againſt the wall. He then intended to butcher the *Pallavicini* in the ſame manner, and had laid ſiege to *Borgo di San Domino*; but the inhabitants ſtanding to their defence, he marched to *Reggio*, then in poſſeſſion of the houſe of *Eſti*, and took it. As *Otho* had no money by which he could ſubſiſt his army, he was obliged to do it by plunder, which made him formidable almoſt equally to friends as foes. The famous *Sforza* the elder, was at the ſame time a ſoldier of fortune in *Italy*; and the marquis of *Eſte* applied to him for aſſiſtance, which he readily granted, with the conſent of the *Florentines* his maſters.

The death of Otho *of* Parma.

OTHO was very powerful in cavalry, having been joined by above four thouſand horſe, who choſe to live upon plunder rather than pay, and therefore he endeavoured to intercept *Sforza* in his march out of *Tuſcany*. For that purpoſe he attempted to ſurpriſe *Modena*; but was repulſed after a ſharp conflict, and *Sforza* effected his junction with the marquis of *Eſte*'s army. *Sforza* then marched to *Rubiera*, every day producing new ſkirmiſhes between him and *Otho* [a]. At laſt, according to *Sforza*'s hiſtorians, though the matter is not mentioned by others, *Sforza*, in endeavouring to ſurpriſe a convoy, defeated *Otho*, and took him priſoner; but being unable to detain him, *Otho* eſcaped out of his hands, and in his turn made ſome of *Sforza*'s principal officers priſoners, amongſt whom was *Attendula*, a near relation to *Sforza*, and whom he treated with the greateſt inhumanity. They eſcaped from his hands with great difficulty; and *Otho*, after continuing the war for ſome time, perceiving that the marquis and *Sforza*, in conjunction, over-matched him, pretended a great deſire to enter into a negociation. According to the authority laſt quoted, *Otho*'s view was to ſeparate the marquis from *Sforza*, in which caſe he was in hopes they muſt both of them, in the end, fall his prey. His deſign was diſcovered to the marquis by the officer who was ſent to appoint the interview; and the marquis diſſembling, agreed that it ſhould be at a little cell near *Modena*. In the mean while *Sforza* concealed himſelf in the neighbourhood with a choſen body of friends, and the marquis refuſing to appear, *Otho* was attacked, and killed by the hand of *Attendula*, without

[a] Leonardus Cribellius de vita Sfortiæ, apud Muratori tom. 19. p. 644.

alarm

oft any reſiſtance; he being ſo much hated, that a woman, oſe huſband he had put to death, plucked the heart out of body, and eat part of it.

THE death of *Otho* was a fortunate event for *Philip*. His ny immediately ſeparated, ſome of them taking ſervice un- r him, and ſome of them under the marquis of *Ferrara*; d though *Otho* left a young ſon, whoſe title was for ſome ne recognized by the *Parmeſans*, his party was quickly ven out, and the marquis was received as lord of *Parma*, ere he governed for ſeveral years; till he, in his turn, as expelled by *Philip*, who maintained himſelf in the go- rnment to the day of his death. He would likewiſe have duced *Reggio*, had not the *Venetians* interpoſed. He then arched to the *Bergamaſco* againſt *Pandolfo Malateſta*, who as but ill provided for a defence, becauſe his communica- on was cut off from *Milan*. Moſt of the forts, therefore, that country, fell into his hands one by one; and *Malateſta* as obliged to call in to his aſſiſtance *Nicholas* of *Faenza*, the *enetian* general, who could do no more than guard the ſtrong aſſes, and garriſon the forts.

ABOUT this time *Martin* V. was choſen pope at the coun- il of *Conſtance*, and arriving in the *Milaneſe*, he met with moſt magnificent reception from *Philip*, and reconſecrated he great church, that had been contaminated by interdicts. The war ſtill continuing between *Philip* and *Pandolfo Ma- ateſta*, a compromiſe was now entered into on both ſides, hiefly with a view of facilitating *Philip*'s conqueſt of *Florence*. This accommodation is ſaid to have been effected by the me- iation of pope *Martin*, which made him no welcome gueſt t *Florence*, to which city he repaired after he left *Milan*. *Philip* agreed to take *Malateſta*'s troops into his pay, and to give him an annual ſubſidy, on condition that upon *Mala- teſta*'s death, the poſſeſſion of *Breſcia* ſhould revert to *Philip*.

WE are now come to an incident in *Philip*'s life, that re- preſents him in a very different light from that in which we have hitherto conſidered him. The death of a mother and a brother, and the diſmemberment of ſo many cities and ſtates, juſtified ſome ſeverity againſt the authors; but his behaviour to his wife was barbarous, ungrateful, and wicked, to the laſt degree. We have already taken notice of the diſproportion there was between their ages, which had diſguſted *Philip* ſo much, that he had abſtained from her bed. It does not ap- pear that the lady reſented this provocation in any indecent, or indeed paſſionate manner; and ſhe had even ſubmitted to ſerve him in the moſt menial offices. Unfortunately for her, ſhe entertained as an attendant one *Orombelli*, a young man

accomplished in the arts of music, dancing, and the other embellishments that are most acceptable at a court. *Philip*, considering her life as an obstacle to his pleasure, accused her of criminal conversation with this youth; and though nothing could be worse founded than the charge, certain enchanted utensils were pretended to be found under her bed. Upon this villainous pretext the duchess was seized, and confined prisoner in the castle of *Binasco*. The youth was imprisoned at the same time; and, according to common report, both of them were put to the torture. Whatever might be in this, it is certain that he was tortured; and unable to withstand the force of the pain, he confessed the criminality, for which both of them were condemned to death, after being confronted with each other. On this occasion the duchess shewed an invincible constancy. She reproached *Orombelli* with his weakness, in yielding to tortures to confess a falshood, and, in the most solemn and affecting manner, she called God to witness for her innocency; only she implored his pardon for having yielded to the archbishop of *Milan*, in persuading her to so unequal a match. She declared, she never had resented the duke's abstaining from her bed; and she mentioned the great fortune and acquisitions she had brought *Philip*; concluding, that she the less regretted her death, because she had preserved her innocence.

Tragical death of the duchess of Milan.

HAVING finished the pathetic declaration, *Orombelli* was put to death before her eyes, and she followed him with the most heroic constancy. By the accounts of all historians, she was a woman of a very exalted character, and no reproach remains upon her memory, but the inequality of her match with *Philip*. The young man was so perfectly conscious of his own innocence, that he might have escaped when she was made prisoner; but instead of that, he came as usual to court, and declared, he knew nothing of the matter, tho' his friends told him of his danger. Soon after the execution of the duchess, the duke brought to his court a young *Milanese* lady, whom he had ravished some time before. As to the duchess, her unjust death was thought to be partly owing to the vindictive temper of *Philip*, who resented her having been the wife of *Facino*, and the partner of his victories.

Philip *becomes master of* Genoa.

PHILIP by this time had become master of *Genoa*, in the manner related in the history of that city; and to his other generals, he had added *Agnolo* of *Pergola*, who was known by the name of *Tartalia*. After that, his great aim was to subdue *Florence*, which he endeavoured to do in the manner described in the history of that city; after reducing *Imola*, and a number of other places in the *Romagna*. But though

though it muſt be acknowledged, that all *Philip*'s ſchemes and operations, both in peace and war, were conducted with the utmoſt judgment, yet it is certain that he was apt to carry his refinements too far. He had too deep a diſtruſt of mankind, to render his generals and ſtateſmen ſo uſeful as they might have been in his ſervice. But that was not the only misfortune he lay under. Though he had the beſt generals at that time in *Italy* in his ſervice, yet they were all of them mercenaries, or foreigners, and it was their intereſt to protract the war; ſo that he could never do any thing deciſive; and the indetermined ſtate of his affairs often involved him in unforeſeen difficulties. Though he had again and again defeated the *Florentines*, and even reduced them to the loweſt ebb; and though he had been proſperous in almoſt all his undertakings, yet freſh wars ſtarted up againſt him on all hands; and at laſt, when the *Florentines* ſeemed to be upon the brink of perdition by a new league, in which *Philip* included the *Genoeſe*, (though they were in fact his ſubjects) and the *Sienneſe*, they found means to counter-ballance it by another league with the *Venetians*, which was favoured by the pope, and ſaved *Florence*. *Philip*'s ſuſpicious temper was, in other reſpects, of infinite prejudice to him. The particulars of the wars he carried on by *Sforza*, *Braccio*, *Picinino*, and his other generals, are to be found in the hiſtory of *Florence*, and other parts of this work. As his years increaſed, ſo did his diſtruſt of mankind, which ſometimes proceeded to the moſt ſhocking cruelties; and his growing love of pleaſure led him at laſt to ſequeſter himſelf, in a great meaſure, from the world, and to ſhut himſelf up with the inſtruments of his lewdneſs, which ſome hiſtorians ſay, was of an infamous nature. By this time, he abandoned the care of his affairs to thoſe who had neither honeſty nor capacity to manage them. Beſides all the above conſiderations, *Philip* was now become ſordidly covetous.

THE main inſtrument of *Philip*'s greatneſs hitherto had been *Carmagnola*, who, we may ſay, was the only man of virtue about his court. He had lately conducted a war againſt the pope and the *Neapolitans* (upon whoſe crown *Philip* had an eye) with great abilities; but his command being given to *Torelli* by *Philip*, he came in ſome paſſion to *Milan*, where he loudly complained of his treatment. *Philip* being beſet with flatterers, conceived a deep prepoſſeſſion againſt *Carmagnola*, who was not of a temper to remove it by patience and obſequiouſneſs. He was ſtill governor of *Genoa* under *Philip*, who demanded him to retrench the expence of his government; upon which *Carmagnola* applied for a diſmiſſion from

He is aſſerted by Carmagnola,

his

his service. The duke was, at this time, at one of his country-seats; and *Carmagnola*, who had received no express answer, repaired to it with a few attendants; but was denied admittance to *Philip*'s person, being desired to apply for audience to *Henrico*, *Philip*'s great minion, and *Carmagnola*'s principal enemy. *Carmagnola* insisted again and again to see the duke; but was at last flatly refused admittance. Upon this, perceiving *Philip* in a window at a distance, he loudly upbraided him with his services, and the ingratitude with which he was repaid. He rode off, but was pursued by *Lampugnani*, another of *Philip*'s favourites, who endeavoured to intercept his retreat; but failed, through cowardice, in his attempt. *Carmagnola* therefore continued his journey, and reached the dominions of the duke of *Savoy*, who received him in person with all the distinctions due to his great name and merits, being himself born a subject of *Savoy*. Having related the injuries he had received at the court of *Philip*, whom he represented as being entirely immersed in pleasures, and equally weak and vicious; the duke upon this proposed to *Carmagnola*, that he should be general of the confederacy that had been lately formed between the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*, in which himself was a party. *Carmagnola* agreed to the proposal, and being invited to *Venice*, he there received the command of the sea and land forces of both republics.

who enters into the Venetian *service.*

It is remarkable, that notwithstanding *Philip*'s voluptuous retirement, he had employed spies, who traced every step *Carmagnola* went, though he travelled incognito, for fear of the *Swisses*, from the duke of *Savoy*'s territories to those of *Venice*, and was informed of every design he laid down. Perceiving that he had irretrievably lost his service, he confiscated to his own use all *Carmagnola*'s estate, effects, and money, besides his annual revenues, which amounted to above forty thousand crowns of gold. This defection of *Carmagnola* turned the scale of *Philip*'s fortunes, which ever after that declined. At this juncture, *Gabrinio Funduli* was living very peaceably at *Castiglione*, near *Cremona*. *Philip* suspected that he was a friend to the *Venetians*, and that he would betray *Cremona* to them; at the same time he knew his versatility, and that he was one of the most artful men of that age. *Oldrati*, brother-in-law to *Gabrinio*, undertook to have a watchful eye over him, and went with a few attendants to *Cremona*, where he pretended that his horse was pricked with a nail in his foot, and sent to *Castello* for a farrier. *Gabrinio* invited him to his house; but *Oldrati*, pretending he could not proceed farther, *Gabrinio* went out to meet him, and was seized by *Oldrati*, who, at the same time, found

found means to enter *Castello*, where he was made prisoner, together with his two sons, and sent to *Pavia*, where all of them were executed; and thus an immense booty, which was found in *Castello*, fell to *Philip*.

OLDRATI after this was sent with a magnificent equipage to *Venice*, in order to negotiate a peace with that republic. *Foscari* was then doge of *Venice*, and was entirely in the interest of the *Florentines*, whose affairs were managed by *Rodolfo*, an able minister, who defeated *Oldrati* in all his applications. By this time *Philip* had lost *Brescia* and *Bergamo*; but having got the younger *Picinino* into his service, soon recovered his affairs; but was afterwards himself defeated at *Anghiera* [d]. After this loss, *Philip* was obliged to retreat to *Cremona*; and his affairs, by this time, had fallen into such disorder, that he had no recourse but that of applying to *Sforza*, who, next to *Carmagnola*, was then the most successful general in *Italy*. For this purpose he employed *Nicholas de Este*, who remonstrated to *Sforza* the danger which both he and the inferior states of *Italy* must be exposed to if the *Florentines* and *Venetians* should prevail. *Sforza* knew the truth of all this; and *Philip* had, for some time before, tempted him with an offer of his natural daughter in marriage, and of leaving him all the *Milanese*. *Sforza* in answer to *de Este*'s representations, said, he had been so long amused by *Philip* with that proposal of marriage, that he could not trust him. He advised *Philip*, however, before he gave any definitive answer, to endeavour to make up matters with the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*.

Treaty between Philip and Sforza.

ACCORDING to all accounts, *Sforza* was in love with the lady who was proposed to him for his bride, and would have readily agreed to the overture of marriage, had he not been convinced that *Philip* made use of it as a bait to draw him into his terms, and then to deceive him. But, in fact, another obstacle stood in the way; for *Sforza*, as the lady was a bastard, could have very little dependence upon the succession continuing in his family. It is certain, however, that *Sforza* was inclined to close with the proposal, provided he could do it consistently with his honour to the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*, in whose service he then was.

IN the mean while, *Carmagnola* continued still at the head of the *Venetian* army; and *Philip* was so jealous of his abilities, that he had found instruments to administer poison to him; of which, however, he recovered, and carried on the war so briskly, that *Philip*, being now broken both in mind

Offer of the people of Milan to Philip

[d] Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvi. p. 272.

and fortune, declared that he was resolved, at all events, to conclude a peace. *Milan* was, at this time, immensely rich, by the former successes of *Philip*; and the inhabitants were afraid of falling under the power of the pope, the *Venetians*, or the *Florentines*, and offered, if their duke would give them leave, to carry on the war at their own expence, without any assistance from him. Notwithstanding all his misfortunes, he had still on foot a noble army; and his subjects, seeing he was now wholly immersed in pleasure and indolence, requested him to lay aside all thoughts of war and business, and trust to them for success, being resolved to live and die under the *Visconti* family. As a proof of their loyalty, they offered to maintain for him ten thousand horse and ten thousand foot, without any other consideration than that of having the benefit of the revenues of the city of *Milan* itself, without the intervention of any of his blood-sucking courtiers. But they agreed to leave him in full possession of all the rest of his dominions and their revenues.

rejected. THIS proposal was strenuously opposed by *Philip*'s courtiers, who represented to him the disgrace of suffering his dukedom to fall under a republican administration. Those arguments prevailed. *Philip* refused to admit the deputies into his presence, but referred them to *Hericio*; and thus the proposal was dropt. Notwithstanding that, *Philip* resolved to avail himself so far of their offer, as to oblige them to furnish all the expences of the war, and to carry it on at their charge. He, therefore, ransomed all the soldiers that had been taken at the battle of *Anghiera*, broke off all conferences for peace with the *Venetians*, and the war was recommenced.

New wars break out in Italy. *PHILIP* being still rich in ready money, soon got together a greater army than ever. During the conferences for peace, the *Venetians* had thought proper to dismiss some of their soldiers; and they all entered into *Philip*'s pay. The extraordinary encouragement he gave them exasperated the *Venetians*; and they called upon their allies for the performance of their engagements. These were, the *Florentines*, the duke of *Savoy*, the marquis of *Montferrat*, who was promised to be put in possession of *Alessandria*, as soon as it could be conquered, and the *Genoese* exiles, who were in hopes of returning to their city. *Philip*, on the other hand, made head against this powerful confederacy both by land and water. He recalled *Picinino* from *Bologna*, and marched a strong army into the *Bressann*, where, at first, his success was so rapid, that it promised to reinstate him in *Brescia*, and all its dependencies. It happened fortunately for *Philip*, that

Sforza

Sforza the *Venetian* general, at this time, had ſtill a deſire to the match with *Philip*'s daughter; and though he had too much honour to betray his maſters, yet he certainly did not act ſo deciſively as he might have done, had he been free from that paſſion. The reader, in the hiſtory of *Florence*, will ſee all the turns which this war took. The life of *Philip* was the moſt miſerable that can be ſuppoſed; for he was in perpetual ſuſpenſe. He was paſſionately fond of quiet, but not of peace, all his aim being to keep war and diſturbance from his own perſon. He never negotiated but with a deſign to over-reach others; and he imagined that all mankind were in a confederacy againſt himſelf. Thus his days were one continued chequer of fighting and treating. One day his affairs appeared to be irretrievable, and the next he was victorious in every quarter. He made the greateſt ſacrifices for tranquility of any prince in his time, and broke it upon the moſt frivolous occaſions. He was by nature the moſt intereſted man alive; and yet none was ever known to do more magnanimous generous actions. This was proved in his treatment of *Alphonſo* of *Arragon*. That prince had laid claim to the crown of *Naples*, in oppoſition to *Regnier* of *Anjou*. *Gaeta* being then beſieged by *Alphonſo*, *Philip*, who, as we have already hinted, had himſelf an eye to the crown of *Naples*, ordered the *Genoeſe* to fit out a fleet for its relief. According to ſome authors, who perhaps refine too much upon *Philip*'s hiſtory, he was at that time jealous of the *Genoeſe*, and obliged them to fit out that fleet, in hopes that it would be deſtroyed by *Alphonſo*. They even go ſo far as to pretend, that there was a ſecret correſpondence between him and *Alphonſo* for that purpoſe. Be that as it will, though it is extremely improbable, it is certain that *Alphonſo* was appriſed of the approach of the *Genoeſe* fleet, went out and engaged it, was defeated, and he himſelf, with two of his brothers, were made priſoners; as were many of his chief nobility and followers. Every one gave up *Alphonſo* as being now utterly ruined; and he was carried from *Genoa* to *Milan*, where he was nobly received and entertained by *Philip*, who diſmiſſed him and all his friends without ranſom. But this generoſity was attributed to intereſted motives; and the *Genoeſe*, not imagining that it was poſſible for *Philip* to perform any virtuous action, but with wicked views, reſolved to revolt from him. They were the more ripe for this, as *Philip* had behaved with great haughtineſs towards them; and though he knew they hated *Alphonſo* worſe than they did any man in the world, he compelled them to fit out a new ſquadron, which carried *Alphonſo* to *Milan*, rather as a conqueror than

Generoſity of Philip *towards* Alphonſo, *whom he takes priſoner.*

a captive. *Philip* trembled at the apprehensions of the revolt of the *Genoese*; and to appease them, he pretended that he had given *Alphonso* his liberty, only on condition that he should deliver up *Corsica* to their republic. This pretext amused the *Genoese*, till they saw two thousand fresh troops, sent by *Philip*, arrive in their city; and then their conspiracy broke out all at once.

Philip loses Genoa.

THEY were headed by one of their own number, *Francis Spinola*, who had acquired a reputation in war. They killed *Philip*'s governor, and obliged his garrison to surrender. The next care of the conspirators, was to new-model the constitution of their city, which they did by chusing eight persons, who had the government in the mean time, till it could return to its former channel. *Philip*, in hopes to prevent the consequences of this revolt, ordered *Picinino* his general to march against the city, while the insurgents besieged and took the citadel; so that *Picinino* could do nothing effectual against the city, and was obliged to march to the *Western Riviera*, where he besieged *Albenga*, which was relieved by *Fulgoso*, who again got the government of *Genoa*, and recovered several towns belonging to their dominions. Next year *Fulgoso* renewed his league with the *Venetians* and *Florentines*; and the intestine divisions of *Genoa* reviving, *Philip* applied to *Baptist Fulgoso*, brother to the doge; and, by making him great promises, engaged him in a party for raising himself to the dogeship; but in this he failed, and was taken prisoner. He was, however, pardoned by his brother, and sent with seven gallies to assist the duke of *Anjou*, in making good his claim upon the crown of *Naples*. The progress and particulars of that war, is to be found in our history of *Genoa*. All that regards *Philip* is, that *Fulgoso* was in his turn expelled by *Fliseo*, a new competitor for that government; and *Peter Fulgoso* put himself under the protection of *Philip*, who gave him *Novi*, which enabled him to make great depredations upon the *Genoese*. But *Philip* himself, during all his life-time, never regained his footing in *Genoa*.

A. D. 1437.

HIS affairs in other parts of *Lombardy* were, however, in a prosperous condition. His generals defeated the *Venetians* under *Carmagnola*; and it is said, that he had so much interest even in *Venice*, as to make a party against that general, who had behaved against him with vast rancour, and had been the chief obstacle of all his schemes. *Carmagnola* had in his composition violent resentments and great haughtiness, and was proud of having more than once humbled *Philip*, and forced him to accept law from *Venice*; but upon the loss of a battle, his death had been resolved on by that senate,

for

for many months before it happened: so that *Carmagnola* knew nothing of what was intended against him, and was living familiarly with the doge, and those who had pronounced his sentence, when all of a sudden he was arrested, and a few hours after, undergoing the torture, his head was struck off. As to his crimes, they do not clearly appear. The pretext for putting him to death, was his entering into a secret correspondence with the enemies of *Venice*; an allegation that never was proved.

PHILIP, ever since the death of his first wife *Beatrix*, had continued a widower. But his minions and flatterers, perceiving his health, through his vices, to be on the decline, became now importunate with him to marry; and the archbishop of *Milan* undertook to make a match between him and the daughter of *Amadeo* duke of *Savoy*. *Philip* at first was averse to the proposal; but his creatures being in hopes, in case of a minority, to obtain the government for themselves, applied not only to his friends and relations, but to the neighbouring princes, who all of them joined in their sollicitations for the same purpose. *Philip*, however, would have continued deaf to all their remonstrances, had they not engaged in their party one *Stephen*, a reputed astrologer, whose prognostications by the stars were held sacred by *Philip*, who was then at his retreat of *Abbiati*. *Stephen* no sooner pronounced the stars to have a favourable aspect, than he agreed that the lady should be sent for. Her friends, afraid of his fickle fantastical temper, had already brought her to *Rebecca*, which lies within three miles of *Abbiati*, where she was attended by her brother and a noble train of *Savoyards*. The ceremonial of the meeting being settled, the bride appeared mounted on a palfrey behind her brother, and *Philip* met her on horseback likewise, on a certain spot in the fields, that had been marked out for their first interview. The compliments that passed between them were few; and *Philip*, after producing a ring, espoused her and mounted her behind himself, took leave of her attendants, and returned to *Abbiati* to consummate the marriage. He was so well pleased with his bride, that he ordered vast rejoicings to be made on account of the marriage, and not only refused to receive any thing with her in dowry, but even relinquished to her brother the duke, the quiet possession of *Vercelli*; a generosity which was owing, perhaps, not more to love than to policy, as he thereby made *Amadeo* his friend.

He marries the duke of Savoy's sister.

PHILIP, after his marriage, had a short respite from war; but he was soon obliged to march his troops against the inhabitants of the *Appennines*, the *Placentine* rebels, and

ſome other free-booters in thoſe parts. There is reaſon to believe, that *Philip* had no motive for this expedition, but revenge for thoſe people having ſhewn diſpoſitions to take part with the *Venetians* in the late war; and all mention of them having been omitted in the pacification, *Philip* pretended that he had a right to treat them as robbers and traitors; and he proceeded accordingly, by hanging ſuch of them as fell into his hands. The reſt of *Philip*'s life and actions, which have not been recounted in the preceding parts of this hiſtory, were perfectly deteſtable. *Sforza*, notwithſtanding his paſſion for *Philip*'s daughter, knew him too well to preſs the celebration of the nuptials, though *Philip* himſelf had again and again offered to conclude it; but at laſt a mere accident brought it about. The *Venetians* were ever intent on their own intereſts, without regarding thoſe of their confederates, and that made them withdraw their confidence from *Sforza*, whom they would not truſt, but could not diſcharge. The palm of war was, at this time, divided ſo equally between him and *Picinino*, that it was hard to ſay which had the beſt right to wear it, though the advantage of magnanimity, generoſity, and the other civil virtues, lay on *Sforza*'s ſide. Add to this, that he had at his devotion a body of troops, the beſt diſciplined of any then in *Italy*; and they were always ready to follow him, without making any queſtions whatever party he took. Being extremely careful of his honour, he ſerved every ſtate and maſter who paid him, with great fidelity, as he conſidered that the want of ſucceſs, in their eyes, was the want of merit. He was therefore the more vexed, that the *Venetians* did not enable him to carry on the war in *Lombardy*, with the ſame vigour as before, and went to *Venice*, where he cleared himſelf of all ſuſpicions ſo effectually, that the *Venetians* ordered their troops to withdraw from *Tuſcany* to join him. But before that could be effected, *Picinino*, who was well ſupported by *Philip*, had obtained ſo many advantages in the field, that there was a probability that *Sforza* and his army muſt ſurrender priſoners of war. *Picinino*, who had nothing to depend upon for his ſubſiſtance but his ſword, thought himſelf ſo ſure of that, that having made his diſpoſitions, he ſent to demand of *Philip* the city and territory of *Piacenza*, becauſe, as he ſaid, he was not maſter of ſo much earth as would bury him. *Philip* no ſooner received this meſſage, than, either out of caprice or policy, but moſt probably the former, he reſolved to purchaſe peace at any rate. He accordingly ſent *Antony Fortona* to *Sforza*, to make an end of all difficulties, and to conclude the marriage without farther delay. The intereſt of the *Venetians*, *Sforza*'s maſters, was not

Other wars break out.

not forgot; for *Philip* gave up to them all his claims upon the *Breſſan* and the *Bergameſe*, with other cities and forts that had been conquered from him; and matters were made up at the ſame time with the *Florentines*. As to *Sforza*, he obtained the lady in marriage, and with her the city of *Cremona*. According to ſome authors, this peace was mediated by *Sforza* alone; but others ſay, that *Philip* diſpatched a meſſenger to ſound the diſpoſitions of the *Venetian* ſenate, who were as deſirous of it as himſelf; for he obtained *Martinengo*, and all the forts and places upon the *Ghiaradadda*; and the claims of the *Gonzaga* family upon the *Mantuan*, were ſettled at the ſame time. A. D. 1441.

THIS peace, which in itſelf was equitable, pleaſed all *Italy*, excepting the pope and *Picinino*. The nuncio of the former, when it was concluded, left *Venice* in a rage, breathing fury againſt the contracting parties, for having, he ſaid, betrayed the intereſts of the church. As to *Picinino*, *Philip* (A), the moment the articles were agreed upon, ſent him a peremptory order to make a truce with *Sforza* for a year. This command came upon him like a thunder-bolt. He refuſed to obey it, till *Philip* gave him to underſtand, that, if he did not comply, he would give him up to his enemies, from whom he knew he could expect no quarter; upon which *Picinino* was, with the utmoſt reluctance, forced to ſubmit. The marriage between *Sforza* and *Philip*'s daughter, was celebrated at *Cremona*. According to *Paul Jovius*, *Philip* was long in ſuſpenſe, whether to give the preference of his ſucceſſion to *Alphonſo* king of *Naples*, or to *Sforza*. The former was befriended in his councils by *Brocard Paſſico* and *Francis Landriani*; and the latter by *Andrew Birago* and *Peter Puſterla*. The matter remained long doubtful; but *Philip*'s affection for his daughter prevailed in *Sforza*'s favour, though, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve, he retained ſtill a ſtrong inclination for *Alphonſo*. Sforza *marries* Philip's *natural daughter*;

THOUGH *Philip* had every motive, both of intereſt and inclination, to cheriſh the peace he had juſt obtained; yet

(A) Whatever hiſtorians in general may ſay, this peace ſeems not to have been ſo haſtily concluded as they repreſent, and it was in fact owing to the ſecret jealouſy which all parties had of the pope, as well as the reſentment of *Philip* againſt *Picinino*. That it had been for ſome time in agitation appears pretty plain, from the uncertainty of its date, ſome placing it in 1440, and ſome in 1441; whereas the truth is, the chief terms of it were concluded in the former year, but it was not ratified till the latter.

it scarcely was concluded, when, by his own impatience and suspicious temper, it was disturbed. *Alphonso*, the king of *Naples*, having got the advantage of his competitor *Regnier*, who held nothing in that kingdom but the capital, had seized *Benevento*, and other great possessions belonging to *Sforza*, that had been granted to his father for his services in that kingdom. *Sforza*, who, after the celebration of his marriage, had retired to *Venice*, immediately formed connexions in favour of *Regnier*, who was joined likewise by the pope, the *Florentines*, and the *Genoese*; all of whom were jealous of *Alphonso*'s power. He, on the other hand, had recourse to *Philip*, with whom he had so much reason to be satisfied; and *Philip*, having nothing to apprehend on the side of *Naples*, readily came into his views, and even persuaded his holiness to join against *Sforza*, most of whose estates had formerly belonged to the church. At the same time, *Philip* offered to send *Picinino*, who continued still in his service, to his assistance, which he actually did; and *Picinino* entering the marquisate of *Ancona*, stripped *Sforza* of almost all he possessed there. In the mean while, *Alphonso* drove his competitor *Regnier* out of *Naples*, and took that capital; while *Antony Bentivoglio* of *Bologna*, the *Venetians*, and the *Florentines*, prepared to assist *Sforza*. *Philip*, according to the mysterious manner in which he conducted all his actions, seeing *Alphonso* in possession of the throne of *Naples*, was secretly glad of the confederacy that had been formed in favour of his son-in-law; but still proceeded in a way peculiar to himself. He would not give *Picinino* orders to return with his army to the *Milanese*, and agreed with *Alphonso* in suffering *Sforza* and the pope to fight it out between themselves. Though *Picinino*'s army was paid by himself, yet he was afraid of the entire dependence they had upon their general; and thus *Picinino* had only himself, and the valour of his soldiers, to depend upon; while *Sforza*, receiving fresh reinforcements, defeated *Picinino*, and obliged him to take refuge in *Montechio*. This reverse of fortune interested the pope and *Alphonso*, who were afraid of *Sforza*'s progress, in favour of *Picinino*, whom they enabled to take the field with a stronger army than before, which turned the tide of war once more against *Sforza*. When *Picinino* was on the point of victory, *Philip*, under a plausible pretext, ordered *Picinino* to repair to *Milan*, which he did, leaving the command of his army to his son. *Sforza* laid hold of that opportunity to attack young *Picinino*, whom he entirely defeated, and took prisoner; and the father, perceiving that he had been deceived and abandoned by *Philip*, died of grief in the year 1445. *Sforza*, by

but continues in the Venetian *service.*

his

his late victory, regained his eſtates in *Ancona*, and came to an accommodation with his holineſs.

We have already ſeen the revolution which, at this time, happened in the *Bologneſe*, in which *Philip* had ſo great concern[a]. Notwithſtanding *Sforza*'s late accommodation with the pope, he never had been able to prevail with *Philip* to give him the command of his army, who ſent for *Ciarpellone*, a general officer who had deſerted from the *Venetian* ſervice, to ſucceed *Picinino*. *Ciarpellone* was then in *Sforza*'s army; but upon his receiving *Philip*'s order, he was arreſted and put to death, though it does not clearly appear upon what pretext. We are informed, that *Philip*, before this, had given an eſtate to *Ciarpellone* in the *Milaneſe*. This outrage upon *Philip*'s dignity, produced another war in *Ancona* and *Lombardy*[b]. *Philip* was joined, in ſupporting *Giſmond Malateſta* of *Rimini*, by the pope and the king of *Naples*; as was *Sforza* in ſtripping him of his eſtates; by the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*. *Philip*, upon the death of *Ciarpellone*, had given the command of his army to young *Picinino*, whom *Sforza* had ſet at liberty. But he was totally defeated at *Caſal* by the *Venetians*, who purſued their advantages to the very heart of the *Milaneſe*, and the gates of that capital; while *Sforza* baffled two attempts formed by his father-in-law upon *Cremona* and *Pontremoli*[c]. The ſucceſſes of the *Venetians* produced a reconciliation between *Philip* and his ſon-in-law *Sforza*. Both of them were perfectly ſenſible that the *Venetians* aimed at becoming maſters of the *Milaneſe*. The duke could immediately receive no aſſiſtance from his ally *Alphonſo* king of *Naples*, who however promiſed to ſend it to him; and being now diſpirited, blind, and neglected by his ſubjects, he found himſelf obliged, after all his fine ſpun politics, to apply for relief to his ſon-in-law *Sforza*.

The latter had a difficult game to manage. He was ſtill commander in chief of the *Venetian* army, though his kinſman *Attendula*, an able and brave officer, was the acting general, and had entirely broken the power of *Philip*'s arms under *Picinino*, and therefore was extremely cautious in his anſwer to *Philip*. The *Venetians* were not inſenſible of the views of his father-in-law, and endeavoured to outbid him, by offering him a power over their armies, little inferior to that of a perpetual dictator. *Sforza*'s indeciſion ſtill continued; and the *Venetians* thought themſelves, through their late ſucceſſes, powerful enough to force him into their mea-

[a] Univ. Hiſt. vol. xxxvi. p. 278. [b] Ibid. p. 180.
[c] Vol. xxii. p. 177.

ſures.

sures. They imprisoned an envoy he sent to their senate. They cancelled all the public acts they had passed in his favour; and at last they attempted to surprise *Cremona*, in which they failed. In the mean while, *Philip* had lost almost all his towns upon the *Adda*; and *Brandolino* erected the *Venetian* standard under the walls of *Milan*, inviting the inhabitants to shake off *Philip*'s yoke, and to assert their liberty. It was now high time for *Sforza* to determine on the part he was to act; and his decision was in favour of his father-in-law. He accordingly set out to his relief; but when he was upon his march, he received accounts of *Philip*'s death, which happened in *August* 1448, when he was sixty years of age, from a violent fever.

Philip's *death and character.*

PHILIP's character is one of the most difficult to draw of any in history. Though he is allowed, by all writers, to have been one of the best soldiers and completest statesmen of his age; yet distrust and superstition had weakened him to a degree of the lowest contempt with his friends, as well as his enemies. He naturally was expensive, magnificent, and voluptuous; yet he seldom enjoyed quiet, and more than once brought his dominions to the brink of ruin by his parsimony. *Paul Jovius*, who was the best acquainted with his character of any other writer, is of opinion, that the unexampled generosity he shewed to *Alphonso* king of *Naples*, was the result of his own magnanimity; that he excelled all his ancestors in the splendor of living; that the magnificence of his hospitality was inexpressible; and other writers agree in celebrating the politeness of his address, and the sprightliness of his conversation: while all allow, that he bore the most mortifying reverses of fortune with the greatest calmness and intrepidity. The same authors who cloathe him with this noble character, admit that he was naturally so timid, that he trembled at hearing a small clap of thunder; and that on such occasions he fled like one distracted to dark subterraneous recesses. When at home he generally lived in a small closet that could receive but very little company. The access to his person was very difficult. He commonly managed his business at second hand, and shewed great aversion to company. In the latter part of his life, he pretended that his eye-sight had failed him, and that he could not discern one person from another; while those who were better acquainted with him, thought that this defect proceeded only from affectation and distrust; and that the frequent use he made of interpreters and monitors proceeded from dissimulation. He took great delight in reading history; and, according to *Paul Jovius*, who lived near the time, he used a spying or magnifying glass,

glaſs [c], to look at the young men belonging to his court, as they were playing at tennis, or exerciſing themſelves in wreſtling; and when he ſaw any who pleaſed him by their addreſs, vigour, or beauty, he commonly took them into his ſervice about his perſon; a circumſtance that has borne hard upon his memory, though *Paul Jovius* attempts to vindicate him from any ſuſpicions of unnaturality.

AFTER the murder of his wife, and ſeveral wanton executions he ordered, it would be difficult to clear him from the charge of being perſonally cruel; but *Jovius* lays the blame of many of his failings upon bad adviſers, particularly upon *Oldrati Lampugnani*, who had been bred up with him from his youth, and had obtained an entire ſway over his affections, by depreciating all but his own merits, and thoſe of his favourites. *Philip*'s failings grew with his age; and *Jovius* himſelf acknowledges, that towards the end of his life, his bad qualities encreaſed, particularly his inconſtancy and cruelty. He is accuſed, while he was fickle and variable in his friendſhip, to have been determined and inexorable in his hatred, and that, however he might ſeem to overlook it, he never pardoned an offence that had been once given him.

HIS irreſolution made him unhappy at the time of his death; for though he had nothing but the aſſiſtance of *Sforza* to depend on, and though he doated on his daughter *Blanche*, yet he could not bear the thoughts of *Sforza*, who, as we have already ſaid, was a baſtard, ſucceeding him in his dominions, and ſtill turned his thoughts towards *Alphonſo*. That prince had nobly repaid the generoſity which had been ſhewn him by *Philip*, whoſe partiality towards him went ſo far, as it is ſaid, to make a will in his favour, which never was ſigned, *Philip* being deterred by the univerſal averſion that prevailed amongſt his ſubjects againſt the *Neapolitans*. *Alphonſo* III. of *Naples*, however, hearing that this will had been deſtroyed, put in his claim to the *Milaneſe* ſucceſſion.

BY *Philip*'s death, the legitimate male line of the *Viſconti* family was at an end, and the next lawful heir was *Valentina* his ſiſter, who had married the duke of *Orleans*, ſon to *Charles* V. of *France*. By the contract of that marriage, the lawful progeny of it was to ſucceed to the duchy of *Milan*, in failure of the heirs male. But this proviſion was diſputed by the emperor, who pretended that it could not be valid without his conſent, which it never had obtained. Notwithſtanding this objection, neither *Sforza* nor the *French* court *Affairs of* Milan.

[c] Obducto ad feneſtram ſpeculari vitro. PAULUS JOVIUS, pag. 186.

regarded

regarded the imperial authority, and the people of *Milan* regarded it leſs than either. *Sforza* had great difficulties to conquer before he could make good his claim. By his difference with the *Venetians* he had not been able to pay his troops; and he knew that moſt of the powers of *Italy* were his enemies. Though he had a great party in the *Milaneſe*, yet that city was far from being united. Many of its inhabitants inclined to a republican government, and ſome to *Alphonſo*; but the republicans proved the moſt powerful. *Sforza*, to give them as little time as poſſible for deliberation, moved with his army towards *Milan*, and offered its inhabitants his ſervices. By this time, they had eſtabliſhed themſelves into a kind of republican government; and we are now to conſider the houſe of *Viſconti* to be entirely at an end. The great figure which they had for ſome ages made in the affairs of *Italy*; the prodigious magnificence of their buildings and public works, and their ſtrength, eſpecially under *Barnabo*, compared to their power ever ſince, makes it plain that the *Viſconti* on the whole were a generous and a wiſe family.

SFORZA received an anſwer to his application, that the people of *Milan* were ready to take him into their pay upon the ſame terms on which he had ſerved the late duke; and that in the mean time they were willing to relinquiſh to him *Breſcia* and *Verona*, as ſoon as he could conquer them. It would be diſguſting the reader, ſhould we proceed in the hiſtory of the *Sforza* family, which we were unavoidably obliged to inſert in the foregoing parts of this work, particularly in our hiſtory of *Florence*, where he will find a full account of *Lewis Sforza*, who made ſo great a figure in the hiſtory of *Italy*, and who fell a ſacrifice to his own cunning. It is certain, that if a legal title by birth lay to the ſucceſſion of the *Milaneſe*, it was veſted in the houſe of *Orleans* and the kings of *France*. *Lewis* XII. accordingly put in his claim to the ſame, as being grandſon of *John Galeazzo*; and for ſome time he was ſucceſsful; but the inſolence of the *French* was ſuch, that they were driven out of the *Milaneſe* by the *Swiſs* and *Maximilian Sforza*; and *Francis* I. of *France*, in his turn, defeated the *Swiſs* and *Milaneſe*, and obliged the deſcendants of the *Sforza* family to relinquiſh the government for a penſion of thirty thouſand ducats a year. *Francis Sforza*, the ſon of *Maximilian*, however, being aſſiſted by the emperor and the pope, regained the poſſeſſion of the *Milaneſe* about the year 1521; and eight years after, the *French* king, by the treaty of *Cambray*, gave up his claim upon that duchy.

BUT, in fact, the emperors of *Germany* had, perhaps, the faireſt title to the *Milaneſe*, in right of their being formerly ſovereigns of *Italy*. Upon the death of *Francis Sforza*, therefore, in the year 1536, the emperor *Charles* V. declared the *Milaneſe* to be an imperial fief, and granted the inveſtiture of it to his ſon *Philip* II. king of *Spain*, in whoſe family it continued till the year 1706, when the *French* and *Spaniards* were driven out of it by the imperialiſts, and the emperor again took poſſeſſion of it as a fief. It was confirmed to his houſe by the treaty of *Baden* in 1714, by the quadruple alliance in 1718, and by the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle* in 1748. This fine duchy, however, has undergone prodigious diſmemberments, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve in the hiſtory of *Savoy*; though her imperial majeſty, as heireſs of the houſe of *Auſtria*, never has relinquiſhed the *dominium directum*; which, however, ſeems more properly to belong to her huſband, as head of the empire, than to her. The duke of *Modena*, who is in high favour with the imperial court, was appointed, in 1753, imperial vicar-general and governor of the *Milaneſe*, during the minority of the archduke of *Auſtria*, *Peter Leopold*, who is declared governor-general of the *Auſtrian Lombardy*.

END of the HISTORY *of* MILAN.

The

The HISTORY of MODENA *and* FERRARA.

SECT. I.

Containing a Geographical Deſcription of Modena. *Hiſtory of the* Modeneſe *to the Year* 1762.

Deſcription of Modena, *and its territory.*

WE have, in the ſeveral parts of this work, been ſo full on the hiſtory of the different parts of *Italy*, as occaſion preſented, that it would be repeating the ſame thing over, ſhould we particularize all the facts in which *Modena* was concerned in common with the other *Italian* ſtates. We ſhall therefore, in conformity with our propoſed brevity, touch upon a general deſcription of the duchy, and the hiſtory of its dukes, in their order of ſucceſſion, which we had no opportunity of introducing before.

MODENA is ſurrounded by the duchies of *Parma* and *Mantua*, the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, the duchy of *Florence*, and the republic of *Lucca*. It is from ſouth to north fifty-ſix *Engliſh* miles, and from weſt to eaſt between twenty-four and thirty-ſix. The ſoil is reckoned generally good, and is full of natural medicines, which are famous for curing particular diſeaſes. *Modena* is the capital of the duchy; and though not celebrated for its lofty buildings and ſpacious ſtreets, it contains ſeveral objects worthy the curioſity of a traveller. The new city, however, is tolerable, and viſited for its fine pictures, particularly the famous night piece of *Correggio*, repreſenting the birth of Chriſt, and the adoration of the ſhepherds, which is reckoned to be one of the fineſt in the world. The moſt celebrated churches, are thoſe of the *Jeſuits*, the *Theatines*, and the *Dominicans*. In the college founded by *St. Borromeo*, ſeventy or eighty young noblemen are maintained and inſtructed. The ducal palace is magnificent, and full of excellent pictures. *Reggio*, anciently called *Rhegium Lepidi*, is the next town of note in the duchy, and a biſhop's ſee, under the archbiſhop of *Bologna*. It lies in a healthy ſituation, and deſerves, more than *Modena* does, to be the capital of the duchy. It is tolerably well fortified, and inhabited by people of faſhion. The city of *Reggio* paſſed through a vaſt number of hands, before it came to the houſe of *Eſte*. The manner of living here is licentious, through the formality and ſtrictneſs of devotion that prevails

revails amongſt the fair ſex, and which gives them great berties.

CARPI, is of itſelf a principality, though a ſmall one, nd lies about four leagues from *Modena*. It formerly beonged to the houſe of *Pio*; the elder ſons of which bore the itle of princes of *St. Gregory*. In the beginning of the fourenth century, *Manfroy* was the firſt prince of *Carpi*; but in he ſixteenth *Albert Pio*, after ſerving the emperors *Maximian* and *Charles* V. entered into the ſervice of *Francis* I. of *France*, and was his ambaſſador to pope *Clement* VII. on which account, being found at *Rome* at the ſack of that city, he emperor *Charles* V. gave his principality to *Alfonzo*, duke of *Ferrara*, in whoſe hands great part of it was before, having been obliged to ſurrender it to defend himſelf from his wn couſins and kinſmen. The duke of *Ferrara*, in recompence, gave to the family the town of *Saſſuolo*, and ſome other lands. *Albert* was, however, at laſt obliged to retire to *Paris*, where being ſtripped of all his eſtates, he died in 1538, with the reputation of one of the beſt and braveſt men of his age. The family of *Pio* is yet in being, and continues attached to the *French* court. Some of them have been even raiſed to the purple, and ſtill make a figure in *Europe*. *Correggio* is another principality of this duchy, but its heads forfeited their eſtate by taking part in the wars of *Italy* againſt the emperor, who conferred it on the duke of *Modena*. The princes of that houſe now live at *Parma*, and pretend to be deſcended of a natural ſon of the houſe of *Auſtria*. *Berſelli* is another territory, lying in the ſame duchy, and was formerly celebrated both in the *Roman* and the *Longobardic* hiſtory. It is now dwindled down to an inconſiderable place, compared to what it was. In 1702 the fortifications were blown up; the place itſelf having been bombarded by the duke of *Vendoſme*. It is at *Berſelli* that the *Po* divides the *Modeneſe* and the *Mantuan*, and thoſe two dukes jointly contributed in fitting out and maintaining a veſſel on that river, for collecting their duties, and preventing all illicit commerce. But the imperial court gave orders, upon a quarrel with the duke of *Mantua*, for deſtroying this cuſtom-houſe yacht (as we may call it) which was accordingly done; and the dukes of *Modena* have ever ſince been endeavouring to repair *Berſelli*, which would be of vaſt advantage to the navigation of the river on their ſide.

RUBIERA is a fortreſs lying between *Modena* and *Reggio*, but is by no means ſtrong, and ſerves at preſent to confine ſtate priſoners. *Final* of the *Modeneſe*, ſo called to diſtinguiſh it from the *Final* of the *Genoeſe*, is a pretty little

town,

town, lying on the river *Panaro*, five leagues from *Modena*, towards *Ferrara*. By its ſituation, it is greatly expoſed to the ravages of war; and during the two laſt wars in *Italy*, it was frequently the theatre of action, and obliged to obey both ſides, as each prevailed. *Saſſuolo* formerly belonged to the princes of *Carpi*, and at preſent is a palace belonging to the duke of *Modena*. *Nouantola* is the rich and famous abbey we have taken notice of ſo often in the hiſtory of *Bologna*. The remains of it are ſtill magnificent; but the few monks who repair to it, are miſerably poor, while the revenues of the abbey are pocketted either by the duke of *Modena*, or ſome of his family. According to ſome authors, this monaſtery was founded by the famous counteſs *Matilda*; others ſay, by *Anſelm*, a religious *Lombard* prince, who himſelf led a life of devotion, and ſettled in that, and other religious houſes, in the neighbourhood, upwards of one thouſand monks. *Canoſa* is the celebrated caſtle, lying on the top of a mountain, and giving title to an earl, where the counteſs *Matilda*, and her gallant pope *Gregory*, obliged the emperor *Henry* IV. to wait for three days ſucceſſively bare-footed (though he was a very high-ſpirited prince) in 1076, in a coarſe woollen penitential habit, without eating or drinking, during very ſevere weather, and with tears to implore to be re-admitted into the boſom of the church. It appears that *Canoſa* was, at that time, the ſtrongeſt place in all the counteſs's extended dominions. Its counts were ſometimes maſters of *Reggio*. *Garfagno* is a mountainous diſtrict, without any thing remarkable to diſtinguiſh it, excepting great plenty of wild bears.

MIRANDOLA is part of *Modena*, and formerly was governed by dukes of the name of *Pico*. It lies ſurrounded by *Modena*, *Mantua*, and *Ferrara*, and has, by turns, been ſubject to all three. In the beginning of this century, at the death of *Charles* II. of *Spain*, the duke, who was then a minor, under the guardianſhip of his mother, applied conjointly with her to the emperor *Leopold* for aſſiſtance, to maintain herſelf in the regency; but ſoon after, upon the acceſſion of the duke of *Anjou* to the *Spaniſh* monarchy, they ſlighted the emperor's protection, and joined with the *French* and *Spaniards*, in recognizing *Mirandola* as part of the *Milaneſe*. The imperialiſts, who were then in *Italy*, immediately ſtripped the dutcheſs dowager of all her power, and entered *Mirandola*. The *French* beſieged and took the place in 1705; upon which the young duke threw himſelf upon their protection; but ſoon after the *French* being expelled from that part of *Italy*, the duke loſt all his eſtates, which were given to one of the duke of *Modena*'s ſons. He was, at the ſame time,

time, put under the ban of the empire, but obtained, in 1711, an offer of a million of gilders, which were accordingly paid him; and the poſſeſſion of *Mirandola* was confirmed to the duke of *Modena*, by the peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, in 1748. *Mirandola* itſelf is a ſtrong city, with a citadel, and is a biſhop's ſee, and was of infinite ſervice, during the laſt war in *Italy*, to the *French*. The laſt city in the *Modeneſe*, to be ſpoken of, is *Cento*: this is a little town, and was taken by pope *Alexander* VI. from the biſhop of *Bologna*, who was indemnified by other lands, and given with his natural daughter *Lucrece Borgia*, in dowry to *Alphonſo*, the firſt duke of *Ferrara*. Pope *Julius* II. cancelled this deed, and reſtored *Cento* to the biſhops of *Bologna*; but upon the death of *Leo* X. duke *Alphonſo* again took poſſeſſion of it, and the houſe of *Eſte* has ever ſince held it in fealty of the holy ſee. We have been the more explicit on the hiſtory of thoſe ſeveral little principalities, becauſe they were in fact formerly ſo many ſovereign princes, though holding nominally only of the emperor or the pope.

Original of the houſe of Eſte.

THE houſe of *Eſte*, from which the dukes of *Modena* are deſcended, originally came from *Germany*, along with the emperor *Charlemagne*. They take the name of *Eſte* from a ſmall, but handſome, city in the *Paduan*, where they remained after the return of that great prince to *Germany*. The firſt of the family we have any preciſe knowledge of, was *Azo*, who ſeems to have been a commiſſary or chamberlain for the imperial intereſt. In progreſs of time the emperor's reſidence being confined to *Germany* or *France*, his title and perſon was ſcarcely remembered; and the ſucceſſes of thoſe who had been imperial lieutenants in *Italy*, were ſuch, that though they did not declare themſelves independent upon the imperial power, yet acted as if they had been ſo. Each ſeized upon the portion of territory or power that had been allotted him or his anceſtors; and their commiſſions, from being only temporary and limited, became hereditary, it being very difficult to retrace the tenures on which they originally held them. Notwithſtanding this, it is generally agreed, that all *Lombardy* and *Tuſcany*, and even the *Romagna* held of the empire.

Azo I.

AZO, the firſt count or marquis of *Eſte*, like the other imperial ſubſtitutes there, kept his reſidence ſometimes in one place, ſometimes in another, and aſſumed the title of lord over the places he held. The truth is, he ſeems to have been one of the moſt early feodaries in *Italy*. At firſt, thoſe ſubſtitutes had no pretext to any hereditary power; but the troubles of the empire, that immediately ſucceeded the reign of *Charles the Great*, not ſuffering the emperors to ſend new ones,

their possessions and governments descended to their sons. *Este*, from which *Azo* took his name, was very probably a place of consequence. The dominions annexed to it, reached over great part of *Lombardy*, and the towns on both sides the *Po*, amongst which were *Cremona*, *Mantua*, *Ferrara*, *Guastalla*, and others, of which he had the superintendency or government. He is said to have died in the year 970. He was succeeded by his son *Theodald*, and according to others by *Boniface*. This *Theodald* had married a natural daughter of the emperor *Otho* II. and added to his paternal government the city of *Lucca*, then one of the most considerable in *Italy*, and, according to some, the government of all *Tuscany*. It is pretended, that in virtue of this power he assumed the title of imperial vicar; and that, as such, he exercised the most extensive authority over the greatest part of *Italy*, though his dominions were incontestably subject to the empire; for the independent claims of sovereignty were not yet set up; nor in so small a distance of time was the power of *Charles the Great* forgotten. Its remembrance, however, began to be weakened; for *Theodald* was succeeded by his son, though others say his brother *Boniface*. He likewise married a daughter of the emperor *Conrade* II. sister to *Henry* III. Her name was *Beatrix*, and she was mother to the famous countess *Matilda*. The wars between the popes and the emperors had, by this time, broken out, and all *Italy* then groaned under the yoke of the *Normans*. *Boniface*, who is sometimes called marquis of *Mantua*, and sometimes of *Modena*, was assassinated at *Spinetta*, and left two children, *Boniface* and *Matilda*. But *Boniface* dying, *Matilda*, became the heiress of that great estate. She inherited her mother's aversion to the emperors of *Germany*, and found a fit tool to work upon her passions in the person of the famous *Hildebrand*, afterwards pope *Gregory* VII. He was by birth a *Tuscan*, of a mean extraction; and being brought up at *Rome*, he was admitted a monk of *Cluni*. Being of an active, turbulent disposition, and an enthusiast for the papal power, he was employed by the court of *Rome*, in the numerous intrigues and disputes between it and the emperors. But, at that time, the popes generally received their confirmation from the emperor, and sometimes the latter nominated the very person whom they were to chuse. In other parts of this history, we have been very full on the transactions of those times. It is certain that *Gregory* arrived at the pitch of insolence and power he attained to, by getting the intire management of the estates belonging to *Matilda*; and, according to some, the possession of her person. Having found means to imbroil the princes of *Germany* with

History of the countess Matilda.

with one another, he repaired, as the arbiter of their disputes, to *Augsburgh*, attended by *Matilda*. Having proceeded successfully there, and sufficiently humbled the emperor *Henry* IV. he returned to *Italy*. During his absence from *Germany*, the emperor recovered his power so far, that all of a sudden he broke into *Italy*, with a design to depose the pope, who upon that intelligence retired with *Matilda* to the castle of *Canosa*, of which we have already spoken. But nothing could humble the spirit of *Gregory*, while supported by *Matilda*, who, in right of her mother, pretended to be an independent sovereign; and in some histories, they are termed queens of *Italy*. The emperor, who was not then above twenty-five, had got a decisive victory over the *Saxons*, and yet he was excommunicated by *Gregory*. Upon a frivolous pretence, he treated the king of *France* in the same manner as he did the *Normans*, and several other princes both in *Germany* and *Italy*. All this he effected by playing one power against another, through the assistance of *Matilda*. He was likewise greatly assisted by some attemps that had been made upon his life by a ruffian, one *Synesius*, who was employed by the emperor to assassinate him, and by the divisions which then reigned in *Germany*; thro' which he gained almost all the prelates and clergy, and one half of the lay power, to his interest. This raised him to such a pitch of arrogance, that he set at nought the imperial power, and at last he presumed to depose the emperor himself.

THUS the emperor, instead of humbling the pope, was himself reduced to the danger of being himself actually deposed, and obliged to come to the disgraceful resolution of repairing to *Canosa*, and submit himself in the most abject manner to his holiness. It is said, that at first he insisted upon *Henry*'s surrendering into his hands his crown, and all the badges of his authority, and acknowledging himself unworthy to wear them. This sentence was mitigated by *Henry* obtaining an interview with his cousin the countess *Matilda*; and upon her return to *Canosa*, she was attended by some of the chief princes in *Italy*, who were friends to *Henry*, for whom they all interceded. It is probable, that the whole of this negociation was a piece of management contrived by the countess and his holiness, who, with great seeming difficulty, was at last prevailed upon to suffer *Henry* to repair to *Canosa*. He accordingly left his army at *Vercelli*, and went with a few attendants to *Canosa*. That town, or rather fort, had three inclosures. *Henry* was stopped when he passed the first, and his retinue was prohibited from proceeding farther; so that he was admitted by himself alone into the second inclosure, where

The emperor humbled by the pope.

being ſtripped of his robes, he was dreſſed in a hair cloth, and obliged to wait and faſt for three days, notwithſtanding the extremity of the weather. As laſt he gained admiſſion to the pope, to whom he made all the ſubmiſſions that his haughtineſs could require; and after the moſt humiliating behaviour, he received pardon and abſolution from his holineſs, though upon very hard terms.

AFTER this, the counteſs *Matilda*, who ſeems to have been a weak brained enthuſiaſt for the ſee of *Rome*, but in other reſpects not deſtitute of ſpirit and prudence, made a gift to the pope of all her eſtates in *Italy*; and this gift laid the foundation of all the differences between the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*. As to *Matilda*, though ſhe was twice married, ſhe left no children: and the haughtineſs of the pope had almoſt proved his and her ruin. The *Italians* and *Germans* could not bear to reflect upon the ſhameful part *Henry* had acted, and, obliged him to break the compromiſe he had entered into with his holineſs. After remaining for ſome time near *Canoſa*, he formed a deſign for ſeizing both the pope and *Matilda*; but receiving timely notice of it, they remained upon their guard within *Canoſa*, which diſconcerted all the emperor's ſchemes. The reſt of *Matilda*'s hiſtory belongs properly to the general hiſtory of *Italy*, and may be found in the other parts of this work.

Azo II. of Eſte.

THE next marquis of *Eſte* we meet with on record, was *Azo* II. the ſon of *Albert*, or *Sigibert*, a younger ſon of *Theodald*, and brother to *Boniface*, father to the counteſs *Matilda*. Her ill-adviſed donation had cut all the blood of *Eſte* out of their patrimonial inheritance; but *Azo* II. found means, however, to retain ſome eſtates that had been purchaſed, or conquered, by his father. By prudence and abilities he rendered himſelf neceſſary to the popes who ſucceeded *Gregory* VII. and thereby he gradually enlarged his poſſeſſions, even during the life-time of *Matilda*, whoſe heir in blood was the emperor *Henry* IV. There was no queſtion as to *Matilda*'s title to her eſtates; but the emperor pretended that ſhe could not alienate the feudatory rights from the empire. For this reaſon he made light of his kinſwoman's donation: but this proved a matter of more importance than he had foreſeen. The *Italian* princes, or, as they were called, vicars, in general were much better pleaſed with their ſubjection to the pope, than to the emperor, and could be of little conſequence but by maintaining the papal power. The weakneſs of the times contributed greatly to the prejudices that prevailed against the emperor, on account of his oppoſing the pope

But notwithstanding all those circumstances, many of the states that had recognized *Matilda*'s authority, during her life-time, stuck to the emperor. Amongst those were *Cremona*, *Mantua*, *Guastalla*, *Lucca*, and a great part of *Tuscany*. *Azo* II. kept himself as neutral as possibly he could, and became at last the head of that branch of the *Este* family, that came to the possession of the *Ferrarese*; so that he is generally reckoned in the *Guelph* interest. *Hugh*, who was earl of *Maine* by his mother, succeeded *Azo* II. and was himself succeeded by *Obizo*, the first marquis of *Este*, lord of *Verona*, and other places, to which pope *Celestine*, in 1194, added the lordship of *Ancona*. It happened to be a fortunate circumstance for the *Guelph* interest, that many inferior magistrates at this time held deputations from the pope, over particular cities and places, under the denomination of podestas, in which they maintained themselves without acknowledging the imperial power, but in a nominal, rather than a real, dependence upon the popes. Those podestates, such as *Ferma*, *Senegaglia*, and *Pesaro*, were not hereditary; and, as they fell, were by degrees conferred by the popes upon the princes of *Ferrara*, whom they looked upon to be their chief bulwark in *Italy*. *Azo* II. died in 1212, as his son *Azo* III. did in 1264. His son *Rinaldo* died in his father's life-time, as did his brother *Obizo* II. About the end of the thirteenth century, the house of *Este* became very powerful, through the devolution of many states or podestates that were joined to it. The next head of that house was *Azo* IV. whose son *Francis*, by a former marriage, being afraid to be disinherited, if his father should leave children by his second wife, who was daughter to *Charles* II. king of *Naples*, put him to death, and by the assistance of the *Venetians*, made himself master of *Ferrara*, which he fortified, but was obliged to resign his rights to the *Venetians*. This *Francis* is represented as being a monster of cruelty; and for some time, by the assistance of the *Venetians*, he kept himself in possession of *Ferrara*, till his crimes became so odious, that pope *Clement* V. published a crusade against the *Venetians*, leaving every man at liberty to seize upon their goods, and to kill their persons wherever they could be found. *Platina* pretends, that *Francis*, by his cruelties in the *Ferrarese*, where he had reduced half that city to ashes, obliged the subjects to invite the *Venetians* to protect them from his fury. Notwithstanding this, they were involved in the crusade now published against them; and the riches they had acquired by merchandize being immense, a vast many hands were found to execute it. Cardinal *Pelegrue* was sent by his holiness, with full powers, to take care of

A. D. 1212. *which house increases its power and reputation.*

the papal interest in *Ferrara*; and by help of the *Florentines*, he retook that city in the name of his holiness, and gave the government of it to *Robert*, son to the king of *Naples*. That prince being soon after obliged, on account of his father's death, to return to his paternal dominions, he left the government of the *Ferrarese* to one *Diego*, a *Catalan*, with orders to preserve the subjects in their obedience to the holy see. But their affections being fixed on the family of *Este*, they rebelled against their new governor, which obliged him to draw the garrison out of the citadel, and to hang twenty-eight of the chief partizans of the *Este* family. This brought the popes to consider what the consequences might be, if they should persist in their endeavours to reannex the sovereignty of the *Ferrarese* to the see of *Rome*. For this reason *Benedict* XII. gave the investiture of the *Ferrarese* to *Obizo* III. brother to *Francis*, who died in the year 1309. This *Obizo* married *Jacqueline Pepoli*, by whom he had no children, but by his mistress, *Lippa Ariosta*, he had eleven, whom he publickly owned; and having married her before his death, they succeeded him in his estates without opposition. The eldest son was *Aldobrandin*, who, by the sage advice of his mother, who had been, in a manner, associated by his father in the government, ruled his dominions with great prudence. *Aldobrandin* died without children, and was succeeded by his brother *Albert*, who had a mistress named *Isotta*, whom he married some time before his death, and by her he left issue *Nicholas*, surnamed *The Lame*. His succession was disputed, on account of his illegitimacy by *Azo*, a descendant from the first marquis of *Este*; but *Nicholas* maintained his ground against all opposition; and being accounted a prince equally magnanimous and politic, he was termed the arbiter of *Italy*, and courted by most of the *Italian* princes of his age. He possessed himself of *Ferrara* and *Modena*, *Parma*, *Reggio*, and other cities, and left behind him two legitimate, and two natural sons. *Leonel*, the eldest of the natural sons, in right of seniority, took possession of his estates in prejudice of the legitimate heirs, whom he sent to be educated at the court of *Alphonso* of *Arragon*, king of *Naples*, as being the most proper school where they could learn the art of reigning. During their absence, his government was so mild and beneficent, that he reconciled all the *Ferrarese* to his allegiance. He rebuilt the walls of *Ferrara*, and enlarged the streets; he embellished the buildings; he founded churches and monasteries, and behaved with excessive prudence and affability towards all who approached him. He married a princess of the house of *Gonzaga*, and by her he had a son named *Nicholas*, whom,

whom on his death-bed he recommended to the care of his brother *Borso*, who accordingly put him in poſſeſſion of his eſtates, when he became of age fit for governing. This *Leonel* died in 1450. Some hiſtorians have, with great probability, aſſigned him another wife, a daughter of *Alphonſo*, king of *Naples*. They pretend that *Alphonſo* the more readily complied with this match, in hopes that his daughter's children might ſucceed to the duchies of *Modena* and *Ferrara*: and, indeed, when we conſider the litle difference that was paid to legitimacy in this family, we cannot well be ſurprized at the fact. The *Neapolitan* princeſs, however, having no ſon, *Borſo* became adminiſtrator of the duchies, but ſeems to have ſerved his brother's ſon, as his brother had ſerved the legitimate offspring of his father; for he acted as adminiſtrator for full twenty-one years, but behaved with ſo much wiſdom, liberality, and magnificence, that the defects of his title were over-looked; ſo that it is remarkable in this family, that the princes of it ſupplied their defect of title, by the exerciſe of thoſe virtues which ought to have given them title. In ſhort, when the emperor *Frederic* III. came into *Italy*, *Borſo* performed ſo many eminent ſervices to him, and received him with ſo much politeneſs and magnificence, that he created him, as a mark of his regard, duke of *Modena* and *Reggio*, in the year 1451. Pope *Paul* II. in imitation of the emperor, when *Borſo* came to viſit the holy places about *Rome*, created him duke of *Ferrara*, a title which he ſaid depended immediately upon the holy ſee. *Borſo* ſhewed himſelf more worthy to reign, than his brother *Leonel*, with all his good qualities had done; for he never married: and, at the beginning of his adminiſtration, he recalled from their exile at the court of *Naples*, his brothers *Hercules* and *Sigiſmond*, the ſons of *Nicholas the Lame*; and he treated his nephew *Nicholas*, the ſon of *Leonel*, with all the regard and affection that was due to his blood, except placing him in the government of the *Ferrareſe*, which we do not find he ever offered to do. Some authors affect to be ſurprized that pope *Paul* II. who could not be ignorant of the defeat of *Borſo*'s title, never made any objection to his legitimacy, but rather ſeemed to give it a ſanction. This is eaſily accounted for, when we conſider that it was the maxim of the popes to weaken the right of ſucceſſion, by primogeniture or legitimacy, all that they could. They, as well as the emperors, pretended to the full diſpoſal of every ſucceſſion that held of them; and to obviate the danger of going out of the line of *Eſte*, they conferred it upon *Borſo*.

Borſo, *duke of* Modena.

Hercules I. *duke of* Modena.

BORSO was succeeded by his brother *Hercules* I. who, as we have seen, was bred up at the *Neapolitan* court, and was forty-five years of age when he came to govern. He had married *Eleanor* of *Arragon*, daughter to the king of *Naples*, of whom he had a numerous progeny. His title, however, was disputed by *Nicholas*, the son of *Leonel*, who had formed some intrigues to seize upon the regency; but he was surprized in his attempts, and his head was cut off without any orders from his uncle, and even without consulting him; for which reason *Hercules* banished the offenders. He was one of the greatest princes of his time, both in the field and the cabinet. His differences with the *Venetians*, have been repeatedly taken notice of in this history, as also those with pope *Sixtus* IV. and he acquitted himself, on all occasions, with the greatest honour and credit, both as to his valour and wisdom. He was much befriended by the other princes of *Italy*, and aggrandized *Ferrara*, both in its fortifications and buildings. He left behind him four sons and two daughters; one of whom, *Beatrix*, was married to *Lewis Sforza*, duke of *Milan*; and the other to *Francis Gonzaga*, marquis of *Mantua*. His brother *Sigismond*, was the author of the *de Estes* of *St. Martin*, which, we are told, are still in being. One of his sons, *Hippolito*, was raised to the purple by *Alexander* VI. and made a considerable figure amongst the scholars and politicians of that age.

Alphonso, *duke of* Modena.

ALPHONSO, the eldest son, succeeded his father in his duchy in 1505, and, like him, was a great general, and deeply involved in war. Upon the expulsion of the house of *Medici* from *Florence*, the *Florentines* gave him the command of their troops, for which the popes *Julius* II. and *Leo* X. conceived an invincible aversion to him, and his interest. He married *Lucretia Borgia*, daughter to pope *Alexander* VI. but upon the death of that pontiff, and his successor *Pius* III. pope *Julius* II. stripped him of *Modena*, *Reggio*, *Rubiera*, and other places he held beyond the *Po*. Upon the death of *Leo* X. he availed himself of the vacancy or interregnum of the holy see, to repossess himself of *Reggio*, *Rubiera*, and other states: but, as we have seen in the preceding parts of this work, he was so useful to the emperor *Charles* V. that he took him into his particular protection, and continued his friend against all the power and machinations of his enemies. Under *Adrian* VI. who was a wise and pacific pontiff, he obtained some time to breathe; and it is said to have been owing to his counsels, that the duke of *Bourbon* marched against *Rome*. As the use of artillery was now become frequent in *Europe*, he shewed so great a genius for the improvement of guns,

guns, cannons, and other warlike machines, that he is said to have been the beſt engineer of his age. He was almoſt in perpetual wars, till the treaty between the pope and the emperor, in 1526, reinſtated him in his dominions. One of the articles of that treaty was, that pope *Clement* ſhould give him the inveſtiture of *Ferrara*, which his holineſs never really intended to do; and that the duke ſhould retain poſſeſſion of *Modena*, *Reggio*, and *Carpi*, for which he was to become ſubject to the emperor only. The ſame emperor promiſed him likewiſe the poſſeſſion of *Novi*, and to give him one of his daughters in marriage. The inſincerity of the pope, and the cautious mercenary diſpoſition of the emperor, once more brought matters into confuſion. When the emperor, in 1530, came to receive the imperial crown at *Bologna*, *Alphonſo* attended him; and there it was agreed, that *Charles* ſhould take into his own hand the city of *Modena*, as a depoſit, till he ſhould pronounce ſentence between them, which he did at *Ghent* in 1532. By his award the duke, in conſideration of peaceably poſſeſſing his dominions, was to pay to his holineſs one hundred and forty thouſand golden ducats, and an annual ſubſidy of ſeven thouſand, as a quit rent for the duchy of *Ferrara*. His holineſs, who was perfectly well ſkilled in all the arts of cunning and procraſtination, refuſed to ratify this award, which did not take place during his life-time. This *Alphonſo* was three times married. His firſt wife was *Anne Sforza*, daughter to the duke of *Milan*; and by her he had no iſſue. By his ſecond wife, *Lucretia Borgia*, whom he married for intereſt and conveniency, he had *Hercules* II. who ſucceeded him; *Hippolito*, who was a cardinal, archbiſhop of *Milan*, and one of the richeſt eccleſiaſtics of his age; *Francis*, marquis of *Maſſa*, who left behind him only one daughter. The third marriage of *Alphonſo* I. was with a lady of *Ferrara*, whom he had ſecretly, for ſome time, kept as his miſtreſs. Her name was *Laura Euſtochia*; and upon the death of *Lucretia Borgia*, he eſpouſed her, and legitimated her ſon Don *Alphonſo*, prince of *Montecchio*; which legitimation was afterwards diſputed.

HERCULES II. before his father's death, which happened in 1554, married *Rene* of *France*, daughter to *Lewis* XII. and he ſerved in the *French* armies as lieutenant-general under *Henry* II. to whom he proved a brave and an uſeful ally. His brother, the cardinal archbiſhop of *Milan*, having vaſt preferments in *France*, was the means of his being attached to that ſervice; and indeed thoſe connexions continued for many years. His ducheſs was ſecretly of the reformed religion; and it is confidently reported, that ſhe had Hercules II.

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an interview on that head at *Ferrara*, with the famous *Calvin*. Her conversion gave great disquiet to her husband, and it was during his life time kept secret; but upon his death, which happened in 1559, the dutchess returned to *France*, where she made profession of the reformed religion, and died in the same.

HERCULES II. left by his wife *Rene*, his son and successor *Alphonso* II. and *Lewis*, who was afterwards a cardinal, and succeeded to some of his uncle's great benefices in *France*, and was one of the brightest ornaments in the *Romish* church in those days[a]. *Alphonso* II. was educated in *France*; but served against the *Turks* in the imperial armies. He married, first, *Lucretia de Medici*, daughter to the grand duke of *Tuscany*. His second wife was *Barbara* of *Austria*, daughter to the emperor *Frederick*; and he had a third wife, *Margaret Gonzaga*, daughter of *William* marquis of *Mantua*; but left behind him no children by either of those marriages. He therefore adopted as his heir and successor *Cesar de Este*, who was the son of *Alphonso* prince of *Montecchio*, whose mother was the *Ferrarese* lady we have mentioned. *Alphonso* II. took all the means he could to render this adoption valid, by procuring it to be ratified by the emperor *Rodolph* II. But when pope *Clement* VIII. mounted the papal throne, he declared that Don *Cesar* could not, as he was illegitimate at the time of his birth, succeed to the dutchy of *Ferrara*, which he not only annexed to the ecclesiastical state, but prepared to take possession of it by main force. The *Ferrarese*, who doated on *Cesar*, complained of the injustice done both him and them, as no objection had been made in times past to the legitimacy of their dukes, though not born in wedlock; but all was to no purpose. Don *Cesar* pleaded the testament of the late duke; but was unable to support his title. His holiness put himself in armour, and marched at the head of a body of troops into *Ferrara*, from whence he drove Don *Cesar* out of one gate, while he himself entered at the head of his army by another. The armour in which the pope was dress, is to be still seen in the vatican; and to take from Don *Cesar* all hopes of being reinstated in *Ferrara*, he ordered the gate through which he had escaped, to be walled up.

Cesar.

The pope takes possession of Ferrara.

Don *Cesar* I. was now obliged to be contented with the title of duke of *Modena* and *Reggio*, which dominions he held for about thirty years; and he died in 1628. He married *Anne Virginia de Medici*, daughter to *Cosmo* I. duke of *Tuscany*; and by her he had two sons, *Alphonso* III. who suc-

[a] De Thou, ad Ann 1586.

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ceeded him, and *Aloiſio de Eſte*, marquis of *Montecchio* and *Seandiano*, whoſe only daughter and child *Hippolita* married *Borſo de Eſte*. He had likewiſe *Laura*, who was married to *Alexander* duke of *Mirandola*. This houſe of *Scandiano*, or *Montecchio*, was extinct in the year 1713.

Alphonſo III.

ALPHONSO III. had, in his father's life time, married *Iſabella*, daughter to duke *Charles Emanuel* of *Savoy*, and *Catherine Michel* of *Auſtria*, daughter to *Philip* II. of *Spain*. *Alphonſo* III. reigned only about twelve months, when his ducheſs, a woman of exemplary piety, dying in 1626, he was ſo affected with her death, that he reſigned his dominions to his eldeſt ſon *Francis* I. and retired from the world, taking upon him the habit of a capuchin, and practiſing all the ſeverities of that order to the time of his death in 1644, in the fifty-third year of his age. His religious name was, brother *John Baptiſt*.

Francis I.

Francis I. eſpouſed the cauſe of *France*, which raiſed him many troubles. He was in his perſon a brave and accompliſhed prince; but could not be ſaid to have been fortunate in war. He commanded the army of the *Italian* princes in 1643, and in 1656 he commanded the *French* army which laid ſiege to *Valence* upon the *Po*. The reader here is to obſerve, that there is ſome confuſion in the denominations of thoſe dukes. Moſt of the *Italian* princes do not admit the progeny of *Alphonſo*, ſon to *Laura Euſtochia*, to be the deſcendants of the ancient dukes of *Modena*; and therefore they reckon *Alphonſo* III. to be only the firſt of that name. Duke *Francis* I. attempted to take *Cremona*; but failing in his deſign, the marquis of *Caracena*, the *Spaniſh* governor of *Milan*, invaded his dominions, and obliged him to renounce his alliance with *France*. He was three times married. His firſt wife was *Mary Farneſe*, daughter to *Ranuccio* duke of *Parma*. By her he had *Alphonſo* II. or IV. who ſucceeded him; two daughters, *Iſabel* and *Mary*, who were ſucceſſively married to *Ranuccio* II. duke of *Parma*; *Amauri*, who died at the ſiege of *Candia*; and *Eleanor*, who betook herſelf to a monaſtery. His ſecond wife was *Victoria Farneſe*, the ſiſter of his firſt wife; by whom he had only a daughter, who died in her infancy. His third wife was *Lucretia Barbarini*, daughter to *Thaddeo* prince of *Paleſtrine*, brother to pope *Urban* VIII. who gave, on that account, a cardinal's hat to the duke's brother *Rinaldo*. This cardinal proved afterwards a great ſupport of the *French* intereſt, and was, for about thirty years, the protector of that nation. *Alphonſo* II. or IV. the ſon of duke *Francis*, was like his anceſtors, a warrior. He commanded ſeveral times the *French* armies in *Italy*, and died of the gout in his ſtomach in 1662. He married *Laura Martinozzi*,

Francis Mary de Eſte *duke of* Modena.

FRANCIS MARY DE ESTE, in 1720, married *Charlotte Æglé de Valois*, daughter to the duke of *Orleans*, regent of *France*. This match, in its conſequences, created a miſunderſtanding between the prince and his father; and when the late war broke out again between the houſes of *Bourbon* and *Auſtria*, in *Italy*, the duke of *Modena*, taking part with the former, loſt all his dominions. His conduct during that period, has been ſufficiently deſcribed in other parts of this work. It is enough here to ſay, that he had a ſon by his wife, *Hercules Renaud*, born *November* 22, 1727, and married *September* 29, 1741, to *Mary Thereſa*, princeſs of *Maſſa Carrara*, born *June* 29, 1725; and by this marriage there is likewiſe iſſue. By the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the duke of *Modena* was reinſtated in all his dominions. He ſoon after paid a viſit to king *George* II. in *England*, where, though incognito, he met with great marks of reſpect from the court; and upon his return to *Italy*, he was, as we have already ſaid, appointed vicar-general, field-mareſchal, and governor of the *Milaneſe*, during the minority of the archduke *Peter Leopold*, who was declared governor-general of the *Auſtrian Lombardy*. As the imperial court has given him ſeveral poſſeſſions in the neighbourhood of his duchy, in lieu of his *Hungarian* eſtates, he is now looked upon as a very conſiderable *Italian* prince.

END of the HISTORY *of* MODENA *and* FERRARA.

The

The HISTORY of MANTUA.

SECT. I.

Contains a Deſcription of Mantua; *with the Hiſtory of the Family of* Gonzaga, *Dukes of* Mantua, *till their Extinction.*

THE duchy of *Mantua* is but fifty-ſix *Engliſh* miles in length, and forty in breadth; but it claims a place here on account of the great figure its heads have made in the affairs of *Europe*, and particularly in thoſe of *Italy*. It is ſurrounded by the *Milaneſe*, the *Modeneſe*, the eccleſiaſtical, and the *Venetian* territories. The *Po*, which runs through the midſt of it, receives the *Oglio*, *Minſio*, *Secchia*, and other rivers. The ſoil of the *Mantuan*, like moſt of the provinces of *Italy*, is very delectable; and its chief towns are *Mantua*, *Borgoforte*, *Governolo*, *Oſtiglia*, *Gonzaga*, *Goito*, *Luzara*, *Viadana*, *Guaſtalla*, *Novellara*, *Sabionetta*, *Bozzolo*, *Caſtiglione della Stivere*, and *Solferino*. *Situation and Deſcription of the duchy*

MANTUA, the capital, ſtands in a very undeſirable ſituation, in the middle of a lake, or rather a moraſs, formed by the *Mincio*, about fourſcore miles to the eaſtward of *Milan*, and the ſame diſtance to the ſouth-weſtward of *Venice*. It is joined to the continent by ſeveral bridges, or cauſeways, which are ſtrongly fortified. The city itſelf was reckoned to contain about fifty thouſand inhabitants; but now, it is ſaid, they are dwindled down to fewer than twenty thouſand, four or five thouſand of whom are Jews, and live in a ſeparate quarter; and it is above four miles in circumference. Notwithſtanding the unwholeſomeneſs of its ſituation, its ſtreets in general are long, broad, and ſtrait, interſperſed with noble palaces, ſquares, and churches; and, upon the whole, the moraſs renders it very ſtrong. It contains about eighteen pariſh churches, others ſay, twenty-one; four collegiate, beſides other churches and alms-houſes, eleven oratories, and forty convents. Its ſuburbs were formerly adorned with noble buildings, particularly the famous palace of *The*, which is now reduced to the appearance of a ſtable. The cathedral is a work of the famous *Julio Romano*, and contains ſome of the fineſt paintings in *Italy*. The church of *St. Antony* is celebrated for relics, particularly a quantity of our Saviour's blood, which is preſerved with the greateſt veneration. The inſide of the *Franciſcan* church is very elegant; and all that *and of its capital.*

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can be ſaid of the ducal palace is, that it is very large. In the palace church are the two famous pictures, the baptiſm of *Conſtantine*, and the martyrdom of *St. Andrew*. In *Mantua* was formerly a celebrated muſeum, which was deſtroyed by the imperialiſts in 1630. In ſhort, this city, which was once ſo renowned for magnificence and manufactures, particularly of ſilk, can now ſhew only the ruins of the one, and ſcarcely any remains of the other. This duchy, however, will be for ever reſpected, as having been the birth place of *Virgil* the poet, who was born at *Andes*, now *Pietolo*; and a ducal palace, called *La Virgiliana* is ſtill to be ſeen near the place of his birth. The other towns, or, as they were termed, cities, of this duchy, deſerve no particular deſcription, being remarkable for nothing but for battles and the trumpery of relics, all the gold and ſilver they contain being confined to ſhrines and ſtatues in their churches.

Mantua's different maſters.

THE reader will find the old hiſtory of *Mantua* in the ancient hiſtory of *Italy*, where it once made a capital figure. It followed the fate of the other cities of *Lombardy*, when *Charles the Great* invaded that country; for all its boaſted antiquity could not ſave it from ſubjection to the *Goths* and *Lombards*, and afterwards to *Charles*. The emperor *Otho* II. as we have ſeen in the hiſtory of *Modena*, gave the lordſhip of *Mantua*, and other cities, to *Theodald*; and notwithſtanding the hiſtory of thoſe times are very uncertain, *Theodald*'s ſon *Boniface*, and the famous counteſs *Matilda*, daughter to the latter, held the government of *Mantua* as vicars to the empire, though *Matilda* pretended to poſſeſs them in her own right[a]. It may, perhaps, be difficult to prove her right to an undoubted fief of the empire. It appears, however, from hiſtorians, who lived in or near her time, that *Boniface* eloped with her mother, the emperor *Henry* IIId's daughter, and married her; but her father is ſaid to have been afterwards reconciled to both, and to have beſtowed upon them the great poſſeſſions in *Italy*, inherited by *Matilda*. Upon the quarrel between that lady and her couſin the emperor *Henry* IV. he took *Mantua*, and ſhe retook it in 1114, the year before her death. For ſome years after, the emperors of *Germany* ſuffered *Mantua*, and other fiefs of the empire in *Italy*, to live under free governments of their own, with only a very diſtant acknowledgment of their imperial power. *Mantua*, in *Matilda*'s time, was ſo very important a city, that it gave her the chief title ſhe affected; but though ſhe conveyed it with her other lands to the holy ſee, we do not find that

[a] RICOB. FERRARIENSIS apud MURAT. tom. ix. p. 242.

the popes ever exercised, or indeed claimed any jurisdiction over it.

In 1220 *Sordello*, viscount or lord of *Goito*, which still retains its name, had the government of that city and territory; and it was, in all probability, confirmed to him by the emperor *Frederick* II. when he came that year to *Italy*, and was recognized as sovereign by its several states. We know very little of *Mantua* for some years after this, only we are told by *Ricobaldus Ferrariensis*, that in 1273, there was a great disturbance at *Mantua*; and the party that favoured the marquis was driven out of the city. Upon their expulsion, the inhabitants chose two magistrates, or podestas, with equal power to manage their government. One was *Pinamonte Bonacursi*, and the other *Ottonello Zenachalli*. This new form of government took place in the second year of the emperor *Rodolph* I. who, having no desire to visit *Italy* in person, left the *Mantuans*, as well as other states there, in possession of their form of government, upon their paying him a sum of money. It even seems probable, that he encreased their privileges. Soon after this *Pinamonte* found means to put his colleague to death; and he governed by himself for eighteen years with great cruelty. He died in 1212, and was succeeded by his son *Bardellone* (A), who, treading in the footsteps of his father's tyranny, was expelled in less than a year. The Chronicle of *Parma*, however, informs us, that *Bardellone*, in his father's life-time, drove out his brother *Carpio*, and imprisoned, or put to death, most of his party; but the account of *Ferretus* of *Vicenza* seems the most probable[b]. He says, that *Bardellone* governed tolerably well after his brother's expulsion; but that his nephew *Bottexella* arose against him, and engaged *Albert Scaliger* of *Verona* to assist him. Upon his return from *Verona* to *Mantua*, he dissembled so well, that his uncle had no suspicion of his design, and brought a great number of the *Mantuans* to his party, who admitted the *Veronese* into the city, so that it was with difficulty that *Bardellone* escaped with safety; and he repaired, in his turn, for assistance to *Azo* of *Ferrara*, and from thence to *Venice*, every where soliciting aid, but meeting with nothing but contempt and hatred; till at last he died at *Padua*. After his death, *Bottexella* met with little trouble in seizing the government,

Sordello.

Bonacursi and Zenachalli *podestas of* Mantua.

[b] Ferreti Vicentini apud Murat. tom. ix. p. 982.

(A) The Chronicle of *Parma*, apud *Murat.* tome ix. page 786, says, that in 1292, *Guido* and *Matthew de Correggio* were expelled by the *Bonacursi* out of *Mantua*.

which he held till the time of his death, in 1308. He was succeeded by his brother *Passerino*, of whose actions the *Italian* histories are full, but each different from another. This *Passerino* was an artful, turbulent, and ambitious man, and filled all about him with wars and confusion. He was more than once expelled from *Mantua*; but still found means to return by the emperor's favour, which he won by gold and great promises. At last he surprised the city of *Modena*, which was possessed by *Francis Pico* of *Mirandola*, who, with two of his sons, was killed in the attack. He then made himself master of *Mirandola* likewise; but drew upon himself the resentment of the emperor's general *Lewis Gonzaga*, who extirpated his family, and took *Mantua*, under the protection of *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, for whom he ruled it as imperial vicar about the year 1328.

This *Lewis Gonzaga* was originally a *German*; and, as other *Germans* had done, his father obtained preferment from the emperor in *Italy*, and settled in *Mantua*, where his son made a great figure. His family being noble, and himself very rich, he married a *Mantuan* lady of most exquisite beauty. *Passerino*, who was at once lustful, ambitious, and cruel, fell in love with her; and finding all his advances ineffectual, he threatened to employ force. The lady informed her husband of this; and before *Passerino* could complete his execrable design, *Gonzaga* killed him by a single blow of his fist, which struck him on the temples. *Passerino* was so much detested, that his body was embalmed; and being a squat little man, it was exposed as an object of public ridicule and detestation, in *Gonzaga*'s gallery, where it long remained. *Gonzaga*, soon after, imprisoned all *Passerino*'s descendants and relations; and gave up his brother *Butironi* to *Nicholas Pico*, the son of that *Francis Pico* whom *Passerino* had treacherously killed in taking *Modena*; and he was by him put to death. As the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria* was, at that time in *Italy*, it is more than probable that *Gonzaga* had the imperial authority for what he did, and that he gave *Gonzaga* the investiture of *Mantua*. Pope *John* XXII. however, being then at *Avignon*, refused to acknowledge the legality of that investiture, and excommunicated both the emperor and *Gonzaga*. His anathemas were disregarded by the latter, who lived to the age of eighty-three, and died in the year 1360. He had four sons; *Guy*, who succeeded him in his dignity of captain, or marquis (for those titles are not well ascertained) of *Mantua*. His second son was *Philippin*, or *Philip*, one of the greatest generals of his age, and whom we have often mentioned. His third son was *Feltrin*, who was the founder of the

the houſe of *Novellara*. His fourth ſon was *Conrade*, who had a numerous poſterity.

GUY GONZAGA ſucceeded his father in his government of *Mantua*, and the imperial vicariate. He was a religious and moderate prince, and extremely punctual in fulfilling all his engagements. His chief failing was a too great indulgence for his three ſons, *Ugolin*, *Francis*, and *Lewis*. The firſt being his favourite, and by him employed and truſted with the management of all his affairs, the two younger brothers formed a conſpiracy againſt him, and without any regard to the paternal authority, aſſaſſinated him. It does not appear that either of them were puniſhed; for *Francis* died in the life-time of his father, who adminiſtered the government nine years; and upon his death it devolved upon *Lewis* II. He governed twelve years, but with a very indifferent character. Guy.

HIS ſon *Francis* I. ſucceeded him in 1382, when he was no more than thirteen years of age, and grew to be a great prince. He defended *Mantua* againſt all the intrigues and power of *John Galeazzo*, firſt duke of *Milan*. According to *Leander Alberti*, he had many private, as well as public, virtues. He knew how to preſerve his authority to the utmoſt. He underſtood hiſtory; was a lover of learning, and learned men; winning and witty in converſation; but liberal and ſplendid in his court. He died in 1407, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *John Francis*. This prince equalled, if not exceeded, all the virtues of his father. He was but twelve years of age when he came to the government; but he acquired ſuch a character for wiſdom, that he was diſtinguiſhed by the title of *Arbiter of Italy*. To repeat all the noble actions of his life, would be to repeat great part of this hiſtory, particularly in his conduct when he was general of the eccleſiaſtical and *Venetian* troops againſt the duke of *Milan*. In the year 1433, the emperor *Sigiſmund*, being at *Mantua*, on his road to *Rome*, in gratitude for the ſervices performed to him, created *John Francis* marquis of *Mantua*, and honoured him with a very noble coat of arms, which was ever after worn by the family till it was extinct. The ceremony of his creation was extremely magnificent. It was performed upon a ſumptuous theatre, erected in the Grand Square of *Mantua*, where the emperor *Sigiſmund* crowned him with his own hand. Francis I. John Francis.

THIS firſt marquis was a very powerful prince; and having ſeveral children, he gave them all great fortunes. He beſtowed upon his eldeſt ſon *Lewis*, the city of *Mantua*, and a large eſtate belonging to it. He gave to his ſecond ſon *Charles*, *Reggiolo*, *Gonzaga*, *Luzzara*, *Iſola*, *Rivarolo*, *Bozzolo*,

zolo, *S. Martino*, *Sabioneta*, *Gazzolo*, *Viadana*, and *Suzzara*, together with a noble palace in *Mantua*. He left to his third ſon *Alexander*, another palace in the ſame city, with *Caneto*, *Redondeſco*, *Caſtel Giuffé Medola*, *Caſtello della Stivere*, and *Uſtiniano*. To his youngeſt ſon *John Lewis*, though dedicated to an eccleſiaſtical life, he bequeathed *Rovigo*, *Volta Capriana*, *Ceresara*, *Pinboca*, and *Caſtellaro*. It is remarkable, that all thoſe places were either cities or large towns, and that they lie in the moſt fertile parts of *Italy*. The marquis, towards the latter end of his life, inclined ſo much to religion, that he endeavoured all he could to withdraw himſelf from the world, and died in 1444.

Lewis III. His eldeſt ſon, *Lewis* III. ſucceeded him in the marquiſate. He began his government by quarrelling with his brothers about the eſtates left them by their father; and he forced *Charles* to recognize him as his ſuperior, and lord paramount of all the lands he held. Having great experience in war, the *Florentines*, the *Venetians*, and the duke of *Milan*, gave him ſucceſſively the command of their armies; and he was ſo excellent and ſo ſucceſsful a politician, that, like his predeceſſor *John Francis*, he was called the Arbiter of *Italy*. After the *Turks* had rendered themſelves maſters of *Conſtantinople*, pope *Pius* II. indicted a conncil at *Mantua*, to conſult on the means of retaking that city, or to check their progreſs; and he was entertained by *Lewis* with the utmoſt ſplendor. *Lewis* behaved in like manner to the emperor *Frederick* III. *Chriſtiern* I. king of *Denmark*, and ſeveral other princes who viſited him at *Mantua*. He embelliſhed that city with many ſumptuous buildings; and by introducing a cut from the *Mincio*, he fertilized great part of his dominions. The church of *St. Andrew*, which is the cathedral of *Mantua*, owes its foundation to him; and he died at *Goito*, in 1478. He married *Barbe*, or *Barbara* of *Brandenburgh*, the daughter of the margrave *John*, ſurnamed *the Chemiſt*; and by her had five ſons and two daughters. The ſons were, firſt, *Frederick* I. who ſucceeded him; ſecond, *Francis Gonzaga*, who was made a cardinal in 1464, and died in 1483; third, *Lewis Gonzaga*, who was biſhop of *Mantua* in 1483, and died in 1511; fourth, *Barbara*, married to *Everard* I. duke of *Wirtemberg*; fifth, *Dorothy*, married to *Galeazzo Maria* duke of *Milan*; ſixth, *John Francis Gonzaga*, the founder of the houſe of *Sabionetta* and *Bozzolo*, which was extinct in the year 1703, in the perſon of *John Francis*; ſeventh, *Rodolph Gonzaga*, from whom are deſcended the princes of *Caſtiglione*, which houſe ſtill remains.

FRE-

FREDERICK I. of *Mantua* has the glory of not shining in history as a warrior; but he was a wise, generous, elegant prince, and brought the sciences to great perfection in his dominions. The arts of poetry, painting, and sculpture owed more to his patronage than to that of any prince of his time; but the love of his people was his chief passion. He had a maxim, that no subject ought to be idle, and therefore he assisted with money, in their respective employments and callings, all the poor of his dominions who were unable to assist themselves. Like some of his predecessors, he was endued with that hereditary policy which put into his hands the balance of power in *Italy*; and the tranquility it enjoyed during his government, was in a great measure owing to him. He married *Margaret*, daughter to *Albert* III. duke of *Bavaria*. By her he had three sons, besides daughters, who were all of them married into great families. The sons were, *Francis* II. who succeeded him; *Sigismund*, cardinal and bishop of *Mantua*, who died in 1525; and *John Gonzaga*, who left behind him a numerous posterity. This *Frederick* I. died in 1484. Frederick I.

To write the particular history of *Francis* II. of *Mantua*, would be only a repetition of what is to be found in the preceding parts of this work. He was one of the most illustrious generals of his age; but there is somewhat very particular in the manner of his accession to the government; for though it was generally thought to be hereditary, yet he was formally created marquis by a ceremonious act. A theatre being erected in the Great Square of the city before the castle, he received the investiture of his government from one of his public officers, who put into his hand a sceptre or rod. This particular proves, that the subjects of the *Italian* states still retained ideas of the municipal rights, which they enjoyed under the sanction of the empire; and that they considered their sovereigns only as trustees for defending the community and its liberties. When very young, he commanded the *Venetian* and the confederate troops against those of *France*, under *Charles* the *French* king, at the famous battle of *Taro*, where his personal valour, and good conduct, baffled the attempts of *Charles* to pass that river. He afterwards went into the service of *Lewis* XII. of *France*; and he commanded against *Gonsalvo*, commonly called the Great Captain. But, the *French* suspecting him as being too good an *Italian* to act in earnest on their side, he saw such visible marks of their distrust, as made it necessary for him to pretend sickness, by Francis II.

[b] Vol. xxviii. p. 223.

which he got quit of their service; but was followed by all the *Italian* cavalry, which occasioned the total loss of *Naples* to the *French*. He afterwards commanded the troops of the emperor *Maximilian*; those of *Lewis the Moor*, duke of *Milan*; and those of pope *Julius* II. He had the misfortune to be taken prisoner in a battle by the *Venetians*, who thought themselves victorious in having him their captive. He was delivered by the treaty that succeeded; and the pope had so high an esteem of his abilities, that he made him grand gonfalonier of the church; and the *Venetians* again placed him at the head of their armies. The great actions he performed for all the princes and states he served, make a considerable figure in the preceding part of this history. He is particularly noted for his affability, and humane treatment of his soldiers. According to some modern authors, he was the first of the *Italian* princes who wore a beard; but that must be a mistake, as appears from what we have said of the dukes of *Milan*; though perhaps it may be true, that he was one of those great men who have thought that the largeness of a beard drew respect upon a person. His death happened in 1519. His wife was *Isabella*, daughter of *Hercules* I. duke of *Ferrara* and *Modena*; and by her he had three sons and three daughters. The former were, first, his successor *Frederick* II. second, *Hercules*, who was made a cardinal in 1527; third, *Ferdinand*, who was duke of *Malfi*, and the founder of the house of *Guastalla*, which failed in the year 1746; but by the treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, in 1748, it was, by the empress queen, given up to the infant Don *Philip* of *Spain*.

Frederick II.

FREDERICK II. of *Mantua*, was but nineteen years of age when he succeeded his father, and was inaugurated in the same manner as he was; but with greater pomp; for at the ceremony, he created several knights, and made a procession at the head of his court, from the cathedral through his capital, to be recognized by his people. Young as he was, he shewed an extraordinary impatience to imitate the military virtues of his father. He commanded the troops of *Leo* X. and entered into the confederacy for delivering pope *Clement* VII. from his imprisonment in the castle of *St. Angelo*, in 1526. He afterwards made up matters with the emperor *Charles* V. and that monarch having received the imperial crown at *Bologna*, from the same pope, paid *Frederick* a visit in his return to *Germany*, at *Mantua*, where he was entertained with extraordinary magnificence, and received from the emperor the ducal crown, by which he was created the first duke of *Mantua*.

FREDERICK II. married *Margaret*, daughter to *William* VIII. marquis of *Montferrat*, who died in the year 1518, leaving a son, *Boniface*, who died in 1530, without issue; but left his estate to his uncle *John George*. He, though an ecclesiastic, quitted that profession; but though espoused to *Julia*, daughter to *Frederick* king of *Naples*, he died in three years without issue. Upon this the house of *Savoy* claimed the succession; but the emperor marched his troops into *Montferrat*, and gave the investiture of it to *Frederick* duke of *Mantua*, who after performing many glorious actions, both in war and peace, died in 1540, leaving three sons; first, *Francis* III. second, *William*; third, *Lewis Gonzaga*, duke of *Nevers*, in *France*. The fourth son *Frederic*, was posthumous, and was afterwards bishop of *Mantua*, and a cardinal. Frederick II.

FRANCIS III. though but six years of age at the time of his father's death, was inaugurated in the same manner as his predecessors had been. His tutor was his uncle *Hercules*, the cardinal, who was a man of great probity and prudence, and managed all the affairs of his nephew, without the intervention of his mother. *Francis* married *Catherine* of *Austria*, daughter to the emperor *Ferdinand* I. but had no issue by her, and died in 1550. He was succeeded by his brother *William*. This prince, being but fifteen years of age, at the time of his brother's death, the government of *Mantua* continued in the hands of the cardinal. The most remarkable affair that happened to this prince, was a family dispute which he was obliged to maintain, and which makes it necessary for us to speak of the third brother. Francis III. William.

He had entered very young into the service of *France*, where he became so agreeable to the *French* king, that he was made governor of *Champagne*. He then courted the princess *Henrietta* of *Cleves*, though she was homely in her person, and had three brothers, and two sisters, all of them elder than her, alive. The match between a prince who had his fortune to make, and such a princess, was not very promising; but he courted her without having a rival for several years, without being able to gain her. At last, her three brothers and her two sisters died, and leaving her heiress to an immense fortune, she was courted by numbers of the first rank and quality in *Europe*. To prevent any bad consequences from their rivalship, *Charles* IX. of *France*, who was her sovereign, took her under his protection, and gave her leave to take any of her suitors for a husband that she pleased; and her choice generously fell upon her constant admirer *Lewis Gonzaga*, whom she married in 1562; and by that match he became duke of *Nevers* and *Rethelois*, and consequently one

of the moſt conſiderable noblemen in *France*. This duke, two years after his marriage, went into *Italy*, to raiſe troops for his maſter *Charles*, and claimed from his brother the ſhare of his father's and mothers ſucceſſion, which had been uſually given to the younger brothers of the family, and particularly ſome eſtates belonging to *Montferrat*.

Diſpute between two brothers.

DUKE *William*, who was naturally very ſuſpicious, thought that his brother's raiſing men for the *French* king, was only a pretext; that his true deſign was to ſupport, by force, the people of *Caſal*, the capital of *Montferrat*, who had rebelled, and to ſeize the places he had demanded in *Montferrat*. The duke of *Nevers* juſtified himſelf; but it was with ſome difficulty he ſucceeded, and the diſpute had very diſagreeable conſequences in the family. In favour of this duke *William*, the emperor *Maximilian* II. in 1572, erected *Montferrat* into a duchy. We have little or nothing more to add, than that in 1574, *Henry* III. of *France* paid him a viſit, in his journey from *Poland*, to take upon him the *French* crown. Duke *William* was married to the princeſs *Eleanor* of *Auſtria*, youngeſt daughter to the emperor *Ferdinand* I. and by her had a ſon, *Vincent*, and two daughters; of whom *Margaret*, the eldeſt, married *Alphonſo* II. duke of *Ferrara*; and *Catherine* was the wife of *Frederick* of *Auſtria*, her uncle.

Vincent I.

VINCENT I. was a pacific prince, and ſo very religious, that he inſtituted the order of the Precious Blood, the *Mantuans* being fully perſuaded that they are in poſſeſſion of the ſponge which was wet with the blood of our Saviour, and which *Longinus*, the ſoldier who pierced his ſide, but was afterwards a great ſaint, carried to *Mantua*, where he preached the Chriſtian religion. This ſtory, and many ſuch abſurdities, are received as certain truths, not only at *Mantua*, but all over *Italy*; ſo that pope *Leo* III. came in perſon to *Mantua* to adore the holy relic; and it continues to this day in high veneration, and gave occaſion to the inſtitution we have ſpoken of, which took its riſe in 1608. *Vincent* was more deſervedly famous for the vaſt encouragement and patronage he extended to learned men, and perſons of genius in the fine arts; all of whom, eſpecially thoſe who celebrated him in their works, he encouraged to profuſion. He died in 1612. He married firſt, *Margaret*, daughter to *Alexander* duke of *Parma*; and ſecondly, *Eleanor*, daughter to *Francis* duke of *Tuſcany*; and by her he had three ſons; firſt, *Francis* IV. ſecond, *Ferdinand*; and third, *Vincent* II. who were ſucceſſively dukes of *Mantua*; and two daughters, of whom the firſt was married to *Henry* duke of *Lorrain*; and the other, *Eleanor*, was the ſecond wife to the emperor *Ferdinand* II.

FRAN-

FRANCIS IV. died in the first year of his government. He married *Margaret* of *Savoy*, daughter to *Charles Emanuel*, and *Catharine Michel* of *Austria*, by whom he left only a daughter. This circumstance created some difficulty. The young lady's uncle, cardinal *Ferdinand*, upon this, claimed to be duke of *Mantua*, but was opposed by her grandfather, the duke of *Savoy*; so that a quarrel ensued, in which not only the *Italian* states, but *Austria*, *Spain*, and *France*, were engaged; but after a variety of negociations and expedients, the affair was rather hushed up than adjusted. *Ferdinand* having thrown up his cardinal's hat, kept possession of the duchy of *Mantua*, and died in 1626, without leaving any issue by his wife *Catharine de Medici*. Francis IV.

HE was succeeded by his brother *Vincent* II. who was likewise a cardinal, but resigned his hat, and married *Isabella Gonzaga*, daughter to *Ferdinand*, duke of *Bozzolo*. As it was likely that his government might be disputed by his niece *Mary*, he applied to the pope to be divorced from *Isabella de Bozzolo*, on account of her youth, and to be enabled to marry his niece. But while he was in the prosecution of this affair, in which he was disappointed, and for which he was but ill qualified by his health and habit of body, he died without any issue in 1628, and by his death the male line of the eldest branch of the *Gonzaga* family, became extinct; an event which created great troubles in *Italy*. Vincent II.

THE princess *Mary*, daughter to *Francis* IV. now revived her pretensions, she being the undoubted female heir of that line. The duke *de Nevers*, in *France*, claimed to be the next male successor. His name was *Charles*, and he had succeeded his father *Lewis*, and both of them were great favourites at the *French* court; but he set up another title besides that of his paternal descent. The *French* king, who thought himself interested in the succession of *Mantua*, constantly kept a resident at that court, who gained so far upon *Vincent* II. that he dropped his design of marrying his neice, and procured his consent that she should be married to the eldest son of the duke *de Nevers*. The marriage was accordingly performed by proxy, the very day before the death of duke *Vincent* II. At this time the duke of *Nevers* was the *French* ambassador at *Rome*; and hearing of *Vincent*'s death, he came to *Mantua*, and took possession of that duchy, as well as that of *Montferrat*, by a double title, his own right, and that of his daughter-in-law. The reader, in the course of this history, may all along perceive, that the emperors of *Germany* had considered *Mantua*, and the other *Italian* duchies and states, as being fiefs of the empire, and that they had a right to *Dispute about the succession.*

dis-

Charles *the firſt duke of* Nevers *ſucceeds,*

diſpoſe of their ſucceſſion, eſpecially if there was any doubt as to the claims of the competitors. Beſides the duke of *Nevers*, the duke of *Guaſtalla*, and other princes of the *Gonzaga* family, had all ſet up pretenſions; and therefore the emperor inſiſted that the duchies ſhould be put under ſequeſtration, till the ſeveral claims were adjuſted. At the ſame time he intimated to the duke of *Nevers*, that he was diſpoſed to give his claim the preference.

Supported by the French.

LEWIS XIII. was then king of *France*; and being fond of every opportunity to humble the emperor, he prevailed with the duke not to ſubmit to the ſequeſtration, but to do himſelf juſtice by arms. The duke following that advice, the emperor conſidered it as ſuch an infringement of his authority, that he put the duke to the ban of the empire, and made the governor of *Milan* the executor of the ban; and he accordingly laid ſiege to *Caſal*, for refuſing to ſubmit to the ſequeſtration. *Lewis*, at that time, had got rid of his civil wars with the Proteſtants, and was at leiſure to employ his troops in *Italy*. He accordingly paſſed the mountains, and raiſed the ſiege of *Caſal*; but ſoon after returned to *France*. Upon his return, the imperial troops under general *Collalto*, poured into *Italy*, and the war became very furious. *Spain* joined with the emperor, and the *Venetians* with the duke, who was ſo infatuated, as to give no ear to his beſt friends, when they repreſented that *France* had nothing but her own ends in view, and that though he ſhould even force the emperor to grant him the inveſtiture, yet he muſt receive it with the ruin and depopulation of his eſtates, after a bloody war; not to mention, that his ſubjects were extremely averſe to live under any prince who had not the imperial ſanction. By this time *Spain* had declared herſelf in favour of the emperor; but neither the *French* nor the *Venetians* thought proper to declare againſt her, becauſe of her connexions with the duke of *Savoy*, who was a capital party in the diſpute, and whoſe ſituation enabled him to check the march of the *French* armies. Cardinal *Richlieu* was then the firſt miniſter of *France*, and in his high impetuous manner he put himſelf at the head of her troops, and marched into *Savoy*. There he endeavoured to over-reach that duke, ſometimes by treachery, ſometimes by negociating, and was ſo near ſucceeding, that it was with difficulty that he eſcaped to *Turin*; but *Pignerole* fell into *Richlieu*'s hands, and that conqueſt laid the firſt foundations of the *French* power on the ſide of *Italy*. The war ſtill went on between the emperor and the *Venetians*, with various ſucceſs, but with ſo many mortifying events to the duke of *Nevers*, that he began to think of accommodating matters with

with the emperor, but was diverted from it by the marſhal *d'Etree*, the *French* ambaſſador and general in the *Mantuan*, and by the *Venetians*, who promiſed to ſupport him with all their power. The plague, at that time, raged in the *Mantuan*, and made ſuch havock in that capital, that it was in great danger of being taken by the imperialiſts, who had beſieged it. The *Venetians* endeavoured to ſuccour the place, and a large body of troops were put in motion for that purpoſe. *Collalto*, the imperial general, hearing of their approach, and having a correſpondence with ſome of the beſieged officers, ſurprized and ſcaled the walls; and thus the imperialiſts became maſters of the place, where they commited the moſt cruel ravages. The duke, and the marſhal *d'Etree*, where then in the city, and had juſt time to retire to one of the caſtles, which they no ſooner entered, than its fortifications were blown up; ſo that they were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners to the imperial general, who ſent the marquis and his family to *Melara*, a place in the *Mantuan*, where the *Venetians* furniſhed them with the means of ſubſiſtence. A. D. 1630.

In the mean while, the *French* troops were maſters of *Caſal*, and the emperor was ſo intent upon their quitting *Italy*, that, at the diet of *Ratiſbon*, he offered the duke the inveſtiture of *Mantua*. The cardinal being, at that time, afraid of his maſter's death, at laſt lent an ear to the accommodation; but *Lewis* recovering from his dangerous illneſs, the war was continued, eſpecially in *Montferrat*, where he endeavoured to eſtabliſh a footing for the *French*. The ſcene of war being transferred to *Germany*, the treaty of *Quevaſque*, which was concluded in 1631, gave peace to *Mantua*, and the emperor beſtowed the formal inveſtiture of it upon duke *Charles*, who held it peaceably till the time of his death, which happened in 1637; but he had the mortification of ſeeing great part of *Montferrat* torn from his family by the treaty of *Quevaſque*, and ſettled on the houſe of *Savoy*, to ſatisfy that duke's pretenſions upon the *Mantuan*. *Peace of* Quevaſque.

CHARLES, eldeſt ſon to *Charles* I. who had married *Mary*, only daughter of duke *Francis* II. died in 1631, and left a ſon of his own name with two princeſſes; the eldeſt of whom, who is renowned for virtue and beauty, was the third wife of the emperor *Ferdinand* III. *Charles* III. for ſo he is called, his father being conſidered as duke of *Mantua*, on account of his marriage, was educated under his father till he was eight years of age. He was deformed in his perſon, but his mind was active, and his ſpirit penetrating. He married, in 1649, *Iſabella Clara* of *Auſtria*, daughter to the archduke *Leopold* of *Inſpruck*, which was one of the moſt unfortunate ſteps Charles II. *and* III.

of

of his life; for their perſons being diſagreeable to one another, the duke fell into many amorous irregularities, which he purſued at *Venice*. Being, at the time of his grandfather's death, deſtitute of any uncle, or near relation, his education, which was left to the emperor *Ferdinand* III. was intirely neglected. *Mantua*, however, continued in peace, by the friendſhip and alliance of the emperor; ſo that *Charles* had no buſineſs to divert him from the purſuit of pleaſure, which he indulged to the full, and even ordered it to be inſinuated to his ducheſs, that ſhe might do the ſame. His adventures at *Venice* were ſuch, as cannot decently be recorded by hiſtory, but his excellent ſiſter the empreſs, employed all her credit with her huſband, in favour of the houſe of *Gonzaga*. *Charles* III. died in 1665.

Charles IV.

His ſon and ſucceſſor *Charles* IV. was but ſeven years of age when his father died, and his mother, who had the care of his education, being a *German*, was hated and calumniated by the *Mantuans*, which made her life very uneaſy. The emperor *Leopold* took the ſame concern in the affairs of *Mantua*, that his father had done; and hearing certain reports to the diſadvantage of the ducheſs dowager, he ſent count *Windigratz* to *Mantua*, with a private commiſſion narrowly to inſpect her conduct, and the affairs of the duchy. The count, though he pretended to have no buſineſs but to pay the emperor's compliments to the ducheſs, and the young duke, who, about the time we ſpeak of, was about thirteen or fourteen years of age, ſuſpected the real motive of the viſit, and did all he could to come at the truth; but the envoy ſtill kept to general terms, and eluded all their inquiries. At laſt, the young duke flatly demanded to know his real buſineſs; and the count no longer finding means to evade an anſwer, informed him, by way of ſecret, that there was a perſon about the court of *Mantua* whom the emperor diſliked, and whom he had orders to ſecure. The duke imparting this anſwer to his mother, ſhe immediately retired to a religious houſe, and a count, who was ſuppoſed to be her gallant, took the habit of *St. Dominic*. The emperor getting intelligence of this, appointed a council to manage the affairs of the duchy till the duke was of age.

his advantageous marriage,

In the year 1670, the empreſs *Eleanora*, his aunt, brought about a marriage between him and the princeſs *Iſabella* of *Guaſtalla*. This match was highly advantageous to the duke, as by the preference which the emperor gave him, he was put in poſſeſſion of the valuable duchy of *Guaſtalla*, though many of the male line of that family claimd it. This preſent, however, was underſtood by both parties to be the price of the duke's

duke's intire attachment to the imperial intereſt; and an expreſs condition was inſerted in the articles of marriage, that *Guaſtalla*, the capital of that duchy, ſhould remain in the condition it then was, that is, without fortifications. The duke forgot all obligations of that kind, and precipitately entered into all the meaſures of *France*.

and character.

THIS duke *Charles* IV. was, if poſſible, more neglected in his education than his father had been, and was without his wit and penetration. Though his wife, the princeſs of *Guaſtalla*, was a moſt amiable lady, he conceived an averſion to her perſon ſoon after their marriage, and refrained from her bed. As he had never been contradicted in any thing by his mother, he neglected buſineſs ſo much, that one day when he had occaſion to ſign his name, neither pen nor ink was to be found in all his palace; and he gave one of his courtiers a hundred piſtoles a year to attend him on all occaſions with thoſe implements. The court of *France*, knowing the invincible propenſity he had to pleaſure, encouraged him in all his exceſſes, and in his averſion to his ducheſs; and at length he was deſpiſed even by the *Venetians*, and all the friends of the houſe of *Auſtria*, who before had treated him with the higheſt reſpect and eſteem. When the *French* had got ſome aſcendency over him, cardinal *Mazarine* propoſed, under pretence that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty was his proper guardian againſt the power and ambition of the houſe of *Auſtria*, that he ſhould receive a *French* garriſon into *Caſal*; but the duke having then large appointments from the court of *Vienna*, the negociation miſcarried. His extravagances, however, ſoon bringing him into neceſſities, the *French* king reſumed his hopes of ſucceeding with regard to *Caſal*. For that purpoſe he ſent the abbot *Morel* to *Mantua*. His inſtructions were to offer to the duke an equivalent for *Caſal*, either in ready money, or in eſtates in *France*; but, at the ſame time, to inforce the great advantage it would be for the duke of *Mantua*, to be free from the expence of maintaining the numerous garriſon which that place required. The duke was reduced to a proper pitch of poverty, not to reſent this propoſal. He ſeemed, however, at firſt to be ſo averſe to it, that the abbot retired from *Mantua* with ſome apparent diſguſt. The duke was far from being in earneſt in his refuſal; but, in fact, his ſituation was ſuch, with the houſe of *Auſtria*, amongſt the neighbouring powers, that he durſt not at firſt comply. He at laſt ſent the marquis *de Guerrier*, as his ambaſſador to *Paris*, to teſtify to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, the extreme deſire he had to remain in his good graces, and his willingneſs to do every thing in his power

Gained over by the French.

to

to oblige him. *Lewis* understood this compliment as a proof of the duke's being willing to part with *Casal*, and sent the abbot *Morel* back to *Mantua*. The abbot, in his first audience with the duke, put him in mind of what his ambassador had declared to *Lewis*. According to some writers, the duke was so incautious, that he immediately signed his name on a blank sheet of paper, which he delivered to the abbot, and the latter filled up the blank, with an express order for the governor of *Casal* to yield up the place to the *French* troops. The duke, in excuse, pretended that the commission he had charged *Guerrier* with, was no more than a general compliment, and that the *carte blanche* signified no more, than his readiness to gratify his most Christian majesty, in whatever was consistent with his interest and honour. Be this as it will, if the fact of the *carte blanche* is true, it is more than probable that the *French* made the duke a present of a considerable sum of money; for *Casal* was actually given up to them.

and gives unto them Casal.

THE emperor highly resented this cession, as belonging to an imperial fief; and the *Venetians* reproaching the duke for having sold it to the *French*, he went to *Venice*, and there solemnly swore upon the host, that he never had touched a farthing of *French* money on that account. This asseveration, however, did not satisfy either the *Venetians* or the imperial court; and the duke found himself obliged to put *Guerrier* under an arrest, when he returned to *Mantua*; but no consequences happening from his imprisonment, the *Venetians* broke with the duke, and, without declaring war, cut off all communication between him and their senate and nobility. They were even so exasperated with him, that they hanged a painter who was one of his dependents, and afterwards broke open and read the letters which the duke, some time before, had sent in his favour. This is what the *French* had foreseen, and wished for; and the duke, in order to repair his decayed interest in *Italy*, took the resolution, some say by the advice of the *French* themselves, to fortify *Guastalla*, tho' in a direct violation of his marriage contract. Having no money of his own, for his excesses always kept him poor, he was obliged to borrow for that purpose forty thousand *louis d'ors* from the *French* king, who lent it him, because he thought that his necessities would oblige him to part with *Guastalla*, in the same manner as he had done with *Casal*. *Lewis* even sent him architects and engineers to expedite the fortifications.

THE

THE emperor thought himself very ill treated in all this; and, by his ministers, represented to the duke, in the warmest terms, that by his connexions with *France*, he was not only forfeiting the conditions of his investiture, but laying a foundation for the *French* becoming masters of all *Italy*. The king of *Spain* seconded the remonstrances of the emperor; but the *French* had infatuated the duke to such a degree, that the operations still went on, and their engineers and workmen were daily repairing to the *Mantuan*, in pilgrim, or other disguises. Upon this, the king of *Spain* ordered count *Fuensalida*, then governor of the *Milanese*, to advance with a body of troops to *Casal Maggiore*, where he embarked them and his artillery, and proceeded till he came opposite to *Guastalla*. He then sent the count de *Louvigny* to reason with the duke of *Mantua*, who at first appeared resolute; but perceiving that count *Fuensalida* was making dispositions to land his men, he was persuaded not only to suffer the works to be demolished, but to order his subjects to join in the demolition. This was a labour of several months; the fortifications being built in the form of a pentagon, and, if completed, it would have been one of the strongest places in *Europe*.

but is obliged to destroy the fort of Guastalla.

THE duke, notwithstanding the coldness of the *Venetians* towards him, resided mostly in that city, where he could indulge his pleasures with greater freedom than he could do in the *Mantuan*. His excesses, however, sometimes brought him into inconveniences, and, on account of a love affair, he sent a challenge to the elector of *Bavaria*, who happened to be there at the same time, but declined to fight the duke, but at the head of an army. Soon after the duke took a resolution to serve a campaign against the *Turks*, who were then threatening to besiege *Vienna*; and having raised a troop of three hundred men, he set out for *Hungary*, attended by a number of his own and other *Italian* nobility. It does not appear, that in this expedition he was wanting either in courage or conduct. His little troop made a noble appearance; and notwithstanding all he had done to provoke the emperor, he presented himself before him at *Vienna*; and *Leopold*, far from reproaching or confining him, as he had a right to do, extolled his generous resolution, and thanked him for his assistance; while the duke, in return, promised to abandon his connections with the *French*. He then became a public favourite with *Leopold*, and his general the duke of *Lorrain*, under whom he served at the second siege of *Buda*; and when that was over he returned to *Italy*. The war between the *French* and the emperor soon breaking out there, in 1695, *Casal* was besieged and taken by the duke of *Savoy*. The duke of *Mantua*

Makes a campaign against the Turks.

tua was now ſo great a favourite with the emperor, that the latter not chuſing to ſuffer *Caſal* to remain in the duke of *Savoy*'s hands, he gave it back to its former maſter, after the fortifications had been demoliſhed, according to the capitulation. It was even thought, if the duke of *Mantua* had not relapſed into his connections with *France*, that he would have been made generaliſſimo of the imperial and *Spaniſh* armies. It is certain that the ſucceſs of the war, in a great meaſure, depended upon the part he ſhould take. The imperialiſts made him very great offers, if he would give them up *Mantua* for a place of arms, and the pope, the *Venetians*, and *Swiſs*, offered to place a garriſon in it at their own expence.

Again joins the French,

SUCH was the ſtate of the duke's affairs, when the *Spaniſh* ſucceſſion threw all *Europe* again into a combuſtion. But the duke had ſecretly determined himſelf in favour of *France*. He took care, however, as uſual, to have ſome pretext for his conduct, and to clear himſelf from the imputation of rebellion, and ingratitude towards the emperor. He had hitherto refuſed to admit into his dominions either *French* or neutral troops; but prince *Vaudemont* having delivered up the *Milaneſe* to the *French*, and made himſelf maſter of *Mirandola*, in the beginning of *April* 1701, ſent a letter by a trumpet, deſiring the duke to give up his capital to his troops, and threatening, in caſe of non-compliance, to reduce it to aſhes in a few hours. It was generally believed that this was a pre-concert between the duke and the *French* court; for a body of fifteen thouſand men appeared in the neighbourhood of *Mantua*. Upon this, the duke aſſembled his council, where it was reſolved to comply with the ſummons; and the gates of the city being opened, *Teſſe*, the *French* general, took poſſeſſion of it with three thouſand *French* and two thouſand *Spaniards*. This event alarmed all *Europe*, and it was publickly given out, that the duke had received fifty thouſand *louis d'ors* for the ſurrender, and his miniſter ten thouſand for making the bargain. The duke had a reſident at *Rome*, the marquis of *Berretta*, who had, ſome time before, applied to his holineſs for a body of his troops to garriſon *Mantua*; but the pope being ſlow in ſending them, the *French* got the ſtart of them. The marquis preſented a letter to the pope, excuſing himſelf for what had happened, and laying it upon his own inability to prevent it. To this letter the pope returned no anſwer; but the marquis, ſoon after, appearing at the imperial reſident's houſe, the latter threatened to throw him out of his window.

AT *Vienna*, that court was ſo thoroughly convinced of a colluſion between the duke and the *French*, that in *July* after the

the surrender of *Mantua*, the baron *de Seyler*, the emperor's minister at *Ratisbon*, gave notice to the diet, that the duke of *Mantua*, and the counts of *Berera* and *Fiani*, his ministers, had been cited by the council of the empire to appear, and shew cause, why they surrendered to the *French* the city of *Mantua*; and to hear pronounced against them the sentence of confiscation of their estates and goods, for encouraging and promoting the cruel war which is like to be kindled in *Italy*. He also imparted to the diet, another ordinance of the same council, by which all the officers and vassals of the duke of *Mantua*, are discharged from their obedience which they owe him: together with certain circulatory letters, by which all the princes of *Italy*, feodaries of the empire, with their vassals, are exhorted to continue faithful to the empire.

His second marriage.

The duke, thus finding himself ruined at the imperial court, shut himself up in *Mantua*, and entered intirely into the *French* schemes both of pleasure and business. His duchess, *Isabella* of *Guastalla*, dying, the *French* persuaded him to make a journey into *France*, where he was received by *Lewis* with vast caresses; and the better to fix him in his interest, he gave him in marriage the princess *d'Elbeuf*, with the title of general of the *French* armies in *Italy*. This dignity gratified the duke's passion for shew; and when he returned, he took possession of his new post in the duke of *Vendosme*'s army, to the great ridicule of the soldiers, and indeed of all *Europe*. But while he was thus exercising his generalship, the war in *Italy* took a new turn, and the *French*, in 1707, were driven out of *Mantua* itself, without being able to make any stipulation in favour of the duke, or his duchess. Upon this, he retired to the remainder of his estate in the *Venetian* territories, and died at *Pavia* on the 5th of *July*, 1708, a few days after he had been put to the ban of the empire. Dying without lawful issue, many claimants of the houses of *Guastalla* and *Lorrain*, applied for the investiture of *Mantua*; but the emperor refused it to them all, and kept possession of it himself, but gave the duchy of *Montferrat* to the duke of *Savoy*. It is not our design to discuss the pretensions of the several parties who claimed this succession; but it was generally thought that the house of *Lorrain* had the best right to it; and it has, ever since the death of the last duke, been annexed to the duchy of *Milan*.

and death.

END of the History *of* MANTUA.

HISTORY of the Houſe of SAVOY.

Containing the Hiſtory of *Savoy*, *Piedmont*, and the other Eſtates of his *Sardinian* Majeſty.

SECT. I.

Containing a general Deſcription of the King of Sardinia's *Dominions; and the Hiſtory of that Houſe from the Year* 1000.

Deſcription of Savoy.

SAVOY, the *Sabaudia* of the ancients, borders upon *France* to the Weſt; upon *France* and *Piedmont* to the South; upon *Piedmont*, the *Milaneſe*, and *Swiſſerland* to the Eaſt; and is bounded on the North by the lake of *Geneva*. According to its preſent dimenſions, it is no more than eighty-eight *Engliſh* miles from Weſt to Eaſt, and from South to North ſeventy-ſix. The face of the country is rugged, and wretched to the laſt degree, being mountainous, or rather rocky; between the hills, in a few contemptible vallies, the inhabitants, with the utmoſt efforts of induſtry and labour, pick up a miſerable ſubſiſtence. There are, however, a few exceptions to this wretchedneſs. Grain grows in ſome of the vallies, and vines near the lake of *Geneva*, *Montmelian*, and *St. Jean de Maurienne*; and *Ripaille* preſents romantic but beautiful proſpects. Mount *Cenis* is famous for its height, and the difficulty of its paſſage, being the road between *Savoy* and *Piedmont*; but has of late years been rendered more practicable by incredible labour. The chief river of *Savoy* is the *Rhone*, which flows out of the lake of *Geneva*, and on that ſide ſeparates it from *France*. Into it run the following rivers: the *Arve*, which riſes in *Faucigny*, has a mixture of gold in its ſand, and near *Geneva* empties itſelf into the *Rhone*: *Les Suſſes* and *Siers*; the ſources of which are in the *Genevois*, and fall into the *Rhone* not far from *Seiſel*, the latter being increaſed by the *Seran*: the *Iſerée*, which riſes in the *Tarantaiſe*, at the foot of the mount *Iſeran*; among others it receives the river *Arc*, the head of which is in *Maurienne*, and beyond *Valence* loſes itſelf in the *Rhone*. The *Arc*, having a great many falls, is very rapid and full of foam. The chief lakes are thoſe of *Anicy* in the *Genevois*, and *Bourget* in *Savoy*[a];

[a] BUSCHING's Geography, vol. iii. pag. 16.

and

and both of them abound with excellent fish, particularly trouts. The inhabitants are generally so miserably poor, that one-third of the men seek their bread in foreign countries by the lowest occupations, such as puppet-shew men, chimney sweepers, and shoe blackers. They who remain at home labour very hard for their living, particularly in carrying strangers and travellers over their mountains, which are often impassable for mules, though it is amazing with what art and security they walk. But neither this employment, nor the most laborious drudgeries, prevents many of the inhabitants from begging alms on the high roads, from every traveller who makes a tolerable appearance. Yet, after all, the miseries of the *Savoyards* are not so much owing to the barrenness of the soil, as to the tyranny of the landlords, who discourage all cultivation of the ground by their haughtiness and rigour. Many spots of *Savoy* are capable of producing corn; and the few that do produce it, are superior to those that do not, only in the cultivation. *and its inhabitants.*

THE people, who are naturally submissive, chearful, and contented, are shut out by their situation from knowing any thing of the other parts of the world, and bear all their miseries with patience. A farmer, who has a yoke of oxen, two horses, four cows, and a few goats and sheep, is looked upon as being a wealthy man. Most of their bread is made of oats, but a few amongst the richest of them have wheat. The fare of the lower sort is extremely poor: their highest luxury consisting in milk and water for drink; and for food, in cheese, butter, wallnuts, and garden stuff, and even those in very scanty quantities. Flesh meat is seldom known, even amongst the more wealthy of them. The reigning king of *Sardinia*, and his father, have gone far towards abolishing many of the oppressive tenures and usages, under which the subjects groaned from their landlords. Nobility and genealogy, and armorial bearings, are in *Savoy* so many civil diseases, which are encouraged, because they bring in a considerable revenue to the crown; titles here being a mercantile commodity. The language of the *Savoyards* is *French*; but they retain amongst them, a great deal of the old *German* plainness and honesty. Their religion is popery, to which they are no great bigots. Hunting is one of the privileges of the noble *Savoyards*; and the lives of the poorer people might be much more comfortable, if they were indulged in the exercise either of that or of fishing, many of their woods and plains, being stored with excellent game.

CHAMBERRY, properly speaking, is the capital of *Savoy*, and is situated on the river *Leise*, in a fine valley; but

nothing worth mentioning is to be seen there. It is, however, the place where the states or parliament of *Savoy* assemble, and some vestiges of the ancient feodal constitution are still discernable there. *Monmelian* is a very strong town of *Savoy*, and *Ripaille* is famous for its delightful retirements. The rest of its towns have nothing in them remarkable. We cannot close this general account of *Savoy*, without taking notice, that vast numbers of the inhabitants have large wens and excrescences upon their throats, which is thought to be owing to their drinking snow water.

Piedmont

PIEDMONT, so called from its being situated at the foot of the mountains, is a part of the ancient *Lombardy*, and northward, borders on *Savoy* and *Italy*; westward, on *France*; southward, on the *Mediterranean*, and the republic of *Genoa*; and eastward, on the duchies of *Montferrat* and *Milan*. From south to north it is about thirty *German*, or one hundred and fifty *English* miles, but much less from west to east. The soil of it is a great deal more fruitful, and less rugged, than that of *Savoy*. Its hills produce great plenty of excellent wine, and *Turin*, its capital, is famous for fine fruits, and noble walks of chesnut and mulberry trees. Chesnuts and truffles of an excellent kind, are found here in great plenty [b]. They have a particular kind of dogs, that by their scent find out the truffles; nor do they lose that quality when carried to other countries. It is said that the cattle of *Piedmont*, brings into the country above one hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year; but the chief commodity of the inhabitants is silk, which is the best in *Italy*. The country, from *Turin* to *Coni*, is delightful; and *Rochemelon* is the highest of all the *Italian Alps*, it requiring a whole day to reach its summit, from whence there is a noble prospect all over the *Milanese*, *Venice*, and the neighbouring countries. The *Po*, into which several other rivers run, and the *Var*, are its chief rivers.

As to its inhabitants, they are lively, ingenious, and witty. The nobility live under the like constitutions, and much after the same manner as those of *Savoy*; and in *Piedmont* there are about fifty earldoms, fifteen marquisates, a great number of lordships, and twenty abbeys. The language of the *Piedmontese*, is a mixture of *French* and *Italian*; but they have the misfortune to be equally slaves to their kings, and to their religion, which is popery, and which cramps all the efforts of their natural genius [c]. In this duchy, however, amidst the vallies of *Lucerne*, *Peyrouse*, and *St. Martin*, bordering on *Dauphiné*, live the celebrated *Waldenses*; which appella-

[b] Busching, vol. iii. p. 24. [c] Ibid, p. 26.

tion

tion is not derived from a perſon of the name of *Waldus*, but the place of their abode, namely, the vallies, the *Italians* calling them *Waldeſi*, that is, the people of the vallies. Theſe people profeſs a kind of primitive Chriſtianity, and have always oppoſed the ſuperſtitions of the church of *Rome*, which has often drawn upon them moſt inhuman perſecutions. The king of *Sardinia*, by the ſituation of his dominions, has been juſtly termed the jailor of the *Alps*, as it is extremely difficult for the *French*, or any other people, to force their way into *Italy* without his conſent. This renders his friendſhip of infinite conſequence to all the powers of *Europe*, who are concerned in any quarrel relating to the *Italian* ſtates. As he is an abſolute ſovereign within his own ſtate in civil matters, and for the moſt part in eccleſiaſtic, his ordinary revenues amount to almoſt what he pleaſes; and though they cannot be calculated, muſt be very conſiderable, as he keeps a very ſplendid court, and an army of fifteen thouſand men in time of peace, though he can bring into the field forty thouſand men on occaſion.

The capital city of *Piedmont* is *Turin*, the ancient *Auguſta Taurinorum*. It is one of the fineſt cities in *Europe* for its dimenſions, being of a quadrangular form, and above four miles and a half in circumference. It is ſituated in a delightful country, on the confluence of the *Po* and the *Doria*; and nothing can be more pleaſant than the hills that ſurround it, which are covered with villas, convents, and magnificent buildings. Its inhabitants at preſent are between fifty and ſixty thouſand, and it contains forty-eight churches and convents, and ſeventeen more may be ſeen from its ramparts. Its high, or principal ſtreet, is remarkable for its regularity, breadth, and the loftineſs of its buildings, which are decorated with fine ſpacious piazzas, and balconies to every ſtory, but diſfigured by the uſe of paper lattices. The king's palace is built of free ſtone, and moſt ſplendidly adorned with pillars, ſtatues, and a grand ſtair caſe, where there is a braſs figure of *Victor Amadeus*, the late king, on a horſe of white marble. It muſt, however, be acknowledged that the old town of *Turin* (for hitherto we have only ſpoken of the new one) does not at all anſwer to this magnificent deſcription. The houſes in both are built of brick, and many of the ſtreets are narrow, crooked, and incommodious. To make amends for this, they are interſperſed with grand palaces, and ſome of them contain beautiful ſquares.

Besides the king's palace, which can be matched by few in *Europe*, *Turin* contains a great number of fine public buildings both religious and civil. The opera-houſe, the record-

office, the university, the royal printing-office, and the arsenal, are all of them master-pieces, in their several kinds. The king's cabinet of curiosities is allowed to be invaluable, and the university library, besides twenty-thousand printed volumes, is stocked with an immense collection of manuscripts. The hospitals for the sick, the poor, and the lunatics, are answerable to the other magnificent works of this city; and its fortifications render it extremely strong. A cut from the *Doria*, which is communicated by sluices to all the streets of *Turin*, every night, renders it sweet and wholesome. The inhabitants, in their manner and way of living, greatly resemble the *French*; but they are not without their religious weaknesses, witness the holy handkerchief, which is most sacredly preserved in *Turin*, within a chapel of black marble of most curious architecture. *Turin* is the see of an archbishop, and it has an university, which was erected in the year 1405. The academies here, for riding, dancing, and warlike exercises, are reckoned to be the best of any in the world, and are greatly encouraged by that king, whose courtiers, in time of peace, are formed out of the officers of his army. The court itself is polite and agreeable, and is thought to be free from that insincerity which prevails in *France*, and the dissimulation that characterizes the other courts of *Italy*. There are, however, inconveniences, that render *Turin* less agreeable to a stranger than it would otherwise be. The air is thick and moist, its water is bad, and the accommodations of inns are very paltry. Upon the whole, the city is grand and beautiful; curious pieces of antiquity are placed in many parts of its walls; and the present king has omitted nothing to complete the fortifications of the city, and to render it the strongest perhaps of any in *Europe*.

Description of its neighbourhood,

THE neighbourhood of *Turin* is full of magnificent palaces, many of which belong to the king. *La Vigne de la Reine*, is famous for its delightful prospect. *La Venerie* has a fine garden, and near it the king's guards are quartered. *Montcallier*, and *Stupinice*, are two royal palaces, neither of them four miles from *Turin*, and each adorned with peculiar beauties of painting, gardening, and situation. *Superga* is a religious foundation, the original of which is connected with our history. The high hill upon which it is built, was the place from whence the duke of *Savoy*, his present *Sardinian* majesty's father, together with prince *Eugene*, reconnoitred the *French* army, which besieged *Turin* in 1706, and had gone far towards laying it in ashes by red hot bullets; the *French* king having a particular resentment against his royal highness. The awful prospect of this scene of misery and distress, inspired

spired his royal highness with such sentiments, that he made a vow to erect a charitable foundation, if he should succeed in delivering his crown and capital from their enemies, and which he accordingly performed [d]. This building, which is six stories high, forms a parallelogram, one of the smaller sides of which is taken up by the pompous church, where, over the main entrance, is seen the following inscription; "*Virgini genetrici Victor Amadeus, Sardiniæ rex, bello Gallico vovit, pulsis hostibus, extruxit dedicavitque.*" *Victor Amadeus*, king of *Sardinia*, during his war with *France*, vowed this house; and having defeated his enemies, he has built and dedicated the same to the Virgin Mother." Under the church is built the new burial-place for the royal family. This foundation has a yearly appointment of eighteen thousand *Piedmontese* livres in specie, whereby twelve young ecclesiastics, of the better persons of quality, are maintained under the direction of a prior, and completely qualified for the highest ecclesiastical preferments. The prospect from this eminence is exceedingly delightful. The only water here for drinking is the rain, of which it is said, in case of necessity, to be provided with a sufficiency, at least for three years.

It would take up too much room here, to describe the other enchanting palaces and spots with which *Piedmont* abounds. It may be called the country of fortifications, as its situation is equally fit for erecting forts, and inviting invasions. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to a description of those cities and strong places, that have made the greatest figure in war for these three hundred years past, and tend to illustrate history by describing them.

CHIVAS, or *Chizazzo*, stands on the *Po*, about twelve miles northward of *Turin*. It is a strong place, and was retaken by the duke of *Savoy*. *Mondovi* is a fine city, and a district. It is reckoned the second city of *Piedmont*, and a place of strength, and lies forty miles to the southward of *Turin*. *Coni* lies about thirty, and, during the late wars of *Savoy*, it was reckoned to be impregnable, having baffled the *French* and *Spaniards* who besieged it. *Pignerole* is famous, in the histories of *France* and *Savoy*, for being the object of perpetual wars. It is situated on the river *Chiese*, and being very strong, underwent various fates; but at last it was returned to the possession of the house of *Savoy*, by the treaty of *Utrecht* in 1713, but on condition that it should not be refortified by his *Sardinian* majesty. Fort *Brunette* lies on one of the entrances of *Savoy* from *France*. It consists of eight

Chivas.

Mondovi.

Coni.

Pignerole.

Fort Brunette.

[d] Busching, vol. iii. p. 29.

bastions, which, with their out-works, are all cut out of the rocks. Not a single building is to be seen amongst them; and the men are so covered, that not a soldier is to be perceived, excepting a few centinels on proper posts. The communication between the bastions and other works, are under the rocks, and of such a breadth, that large carriages, and heavy cannon, with several horses, can, with the greatest conveniency and safety, go from one place to the other. Those bastions are generally guarded by three thousand men; and the desperate attacks that have been at various times made upon them by the *French*, particularly during the last war, exceed all belief.

Susa. *SUSA* lies in another pass between *France* and *Piedmont*, to which it is of the utmost importance. It stands on the river *Doria*, twenty miles northward of *Turin*. After being often in the possession of the *French*, and demolished by them, it returned to the house of *Savoy* by the treaty of *Utrecht*; but it is stronger by its garrison, than by its fortifications or situation. Here is to be seen a marble triumphal arch, erected by king *Cottius*, in honour of *Augustus Cæsar*. *Fenestrelles* and *Exilles*, are likewise famous for their strength and situation, and for the noble defence they made against the *French*, when the latter invaded *Italy* in favour of the infants of *Spain*.

Fenestrelles.

Exilles.

Asti. *Asti* is the capital of a county. It lies twenty-five miles to the eastward of *Turin*, and is a bishop's see. It is large, strong, and populous, and few cities in *Lombardy* are said to exceed it in its palaces and public buildings. Great remains of antiquity, such as a triumphal arch, an amphitheatre, and the like, are still to be seen here, it being a favourite town with *Augustus Cæsar*, and other emperors.

Saluzzo. *Saluzzo* is the capital of a marquisate of the same name, and stands on an eminence at the foot of the *Alps*. It has undergone various revolutions; but it is now remarkable for little more than the magnificence of its cathedral, and its being a bishop's seat.

Chateau Dauphin. *Chateau Dauphin* is another fort, lying in the *Piedmontese* vallies.

Valley of Lucerne. THE chief of these is commonly called the vale of *Lucerne*, which is fifteen miles in length, but of an unequal breadth. It contains twelve parishes: that of *Roras*, which is the smallest, is remarkably fruitful in wine, grain, and vegetables, the very dreadful hills, which every where surround it, being improved. The parish of *Angrogne*, in which lies the famous barricade, is perhaps one of the strongest spots in the world; for it lies amongst stupendous mountains, and the entrances into it require to be defended by a very few men, to render it inaccessible. It was here that the famous *Waldenses*, the

the pious confessors for true Christianity, we have already mentioned, held out against all their enemies, who were powerful, keen, and numerous; and here their pastors used to preach without obstruction before the reformation, and to fit young men for the purposes of the ministry. The reader is to observe, that it is with some difficulty we can account for the propriety of calling those spots vallies, as there is in some of them little or no level ground, though they are in general so exceedingly fruitful, that it has been commonly said, if *Italy* was a sheep, *Piedmont* might be considered as its kidney.

PEROUE, a fortress situated on a rock near the *Po*, and of prodigious strength. It has been known to hold out the siege of a *French* army for six months. *Verceil*, so called from a barony of that name, has been often mentioned in the foregoing part of this history. It is situated near the frontiers of *Milan*, or rather of *Montferrat*, fifteen miles to the northward of *Casal*, and about forty north-east of *Turin*: it gives name to a bishopric, which is suffragan to the archbishopric of *Milan*: it is large and fortified, and generally follows the fortune of *Turin* the capital. Before we finish this description of the vallies of *Piedmont*, some of the chief places of which we have only taken notice of, it may be proper to say somewhat farther concerning their natural curiosities. Those vallies, particularly that of *St. Martin*, contain large woods and thickets that abound in white hares, white, and other coloured partridges, and large pheasants, not to mention great numbers of wolves and bears. The marmotte, which is so famous in *England*, resides on the highest parts of the mountains. It is of a reddish colour; it is larger than a rabbit; its flesh tastes like pork, and lives where there is very little herbage: but the most remarkable property of that animal is, that while the mountains are covered with snow, which is eight or nine months in the year, it is always asleep. The bouquetin, which resembles a goat, or chamois, has its haunts upon the mountains likewise; it generally sleeps on the ice; it is very fleet; its flesh is excellent, and when its blood is administered in warm wine, it is an excellent remedy for that numbness which is so common and fatal in that country. The tumar, or bis, is a creature engendered by a bull and a mare, or a bull and a she ass: it lives upon very little; and its strength, swiftness, and utility, in travelling, is amazing. The mountains of *Piedmont* is likewise famous for excellent vegetables, some of which are medicinal.

Verue.

Vercil.

Valley of St. Martin.

THE county of *Nice*, though not properly belonging to *Piedmont*, yet borders on it, and belongs to the same master.

Nice.

Nice,

Nice, the chief town, ſtands in a fine plain, ſixty miles to the ſouthward of *Pignerole*, at the foot of the *Alps*. Its citadel is ſtrong, and the city itſelf is ſaid to be very fine. It paſſed in former times through many hands; but the king of *Sardinia* recovered it at the peace of *Utrecht*, and has ſince repaired its fortifications. It may be expected we ſhould here touch upon *Montferrat*; but that duchy has been already ſpoken of; and the places in it, belonging to his *Sardinian* majeſty, require no other particular deſcription, than what has been already given. We ſhall therefore proceed to *Sardinia*.

Sardinia. THIS iſland is of value to his *Sardinian* majeſty, chiefly as it gives him a royal title. It ſtretches from north to ſouth in the *Mediterranean*, and is about one hundred and ſixty miles in length, and from weſt to eaſt eighty. The air is ſo unwholſome, and the ſoil ſo poor, that the ancient *Romans* puniſhed their ſtate, and other priſoners, by confining them to live on the iſland. The barrenneſs of the ſoil is, however, chiefly owing to the indolence of the inhabitants, but it has of late been greatly improved; ſo that from many places they

Cagliari. export corn to *Spain*. *Cagliari*, or *Calaris*, the capital, ſituated on the declivity of a hill, is an univerſity, and an archbiſhopric, and the reſidence of the viceroy. It has an excellent harbour, and is ſaid to be large and populous, and to have a briſk trade; but it certainly is a place of no great ſtrength. The reſt of the places in this iſland have nothing remarkable in them. We ſhall, therefore here cloſe the deſcription of his *Sardinian* majeſty's dominions.

Origin of the houſe of Savoy. THE ducal and ſovereign houſe of *Savoy*, is generally thought to have the ſame original with the electoral houſe of *Saxony*, and that their common anceſtor was *Witichind*, ſurnamed *The great duke of Saxony*, who was contemporary with *Charlemagne*; but we ſhall begin our hiſtory with *Bereald*, or

Bertold. *Bertold*.

WE have already, in the hiſtory of *Geneva*, mentioned the kingdom of the *Bourgignons*, or *Burgundians*, which was ſometimes called the kingdom of *Arles*; but in fact they were diſtinct, though under the ſame ſovereigns. The kingdom of *Arles* comprehended *Provence*, the *Lionnois*, and *Dauphiny*. The kingdom of *Burgundy*, comprehended *Savoy*, *Switzerland*, and many countries in the neighbourhood. *Bertold* bought from *Rodolf*, one of the kings of the *Burgundians*, the counties of *Savoy* and *Maurienne*; and he had a ſon named *Hubert with the white Hands*. This prince, who died about the year

Hubert. 1050, performed ſo many important ſervices to the emperor *Conrade* II. that he rewarded him by giving him in property

St.

St. Maurice, Valais, and the country of *Chablais*. *Hubert's* son, *Amadeus*, died without issue, and his brother *Otho* added to his paternal dominions the marquisates of *Susa, Turin, Piedmont*, and the valley of *Aosta*. He assumed the title of marquis of *Italy*, and died in 1060. His son *Amadeus* II. pretended to be independent of the imperial power, and lived during the troublesome times of the emperor *Henry* IV. That prince, in his famous expedition into *Italy*, to recover the rights of the empire, found all the passages for his march shut up by his enemies, but that by *Savoy*, through which he demanded to march; but *Amadeus* obliged him, in consideration of that privilege, to yield to him the possession of five bishoprics in the neighbourhood. The history of *Henry* has been recounted in the preceeding parts of this work; and *Amadeo* took advantage, from his distresses, to increase his dominions, by the accession of a large portion of the kingdom of *Arles*, which he did not possess before, and which is thought to be the county of *Baugy*. In a few months after he died, and was succeeded by his son *Hubert* II. who took upon himself the title of count, or, as others say, prince of *Piedmont*. He added to his other dominions the *Tarantaise*, and died about the year 1103. His son and successor *Amadeo* III. was engaged in war with the count of *Geneva*, whom he is said to have slain with own hand. He attended the emperor *Henry* V. in his two journeys to *Rome*, and served in two campaigns against the infidels in the *Holy Land*, and died about 1149 at *Nicosia*, a city of *Cyprus*. His son and successor *Hubert* III. had a religious turn, and inclined to enter into a religious order. He joined the pope against the emperor *Frederick* I. who stripped him of *Turin*, with all its dependences, which he bestowed upon the archbishop of that city. This was a great blow upon the house of *Savoy*, for it did not recover its loss for many years. This *Hubert* III. died in 1188.

Amadeo. Otho. Amadeo II. Hubert II. Amadeo III. Hubert III.

He was succeeded by *Thomas* I. who observed a conduct very different from that of his father; for he attached himself to the imperial interest, who not only restored him to many of his paternal estates in *Piedmont*, but gave him the title of vicar general of the holy *Roman* empire in *Piedmont*, and in *Lombardy*. His son *Amadeo* IV. following his father's principles and party, prevailed with the emperor *Frederick* II. to erect the *Chablais* and *Aosta* into duchies in his favour. His brother *Thomas* added to the house of *Savoy* the principality of *Carignan*, which he purchased from the family of *Provane*, and also the marquisate of *Jvrée*, which the emperor made a present of to his house, though it was long before they

Thomas I. Amadeo IV. Thomas II.

they could enter into poſſeſſion of it. This *Amadeo* IV. reigned twenty years. He was ſucceeded, in 1255, by his
Boniface. ſon *Boniface*, who, from his bodily ſtrength, was called *Roland*. He was an unfortunate prince, being all his life-time engaged in quarrels with his neighbours, particularly with *William*, marquis of *Montferrat*, who took him priſoner, and carried him to *Turin*, where he died under his confinement, notwithſtanding the earneſt mediation of the pope in his favour. This *Boniface* never having been married, he was
Peter ſucceeded in his dominions by his uncle *Peter*. This prince married *Agnes*, the heireſs of *Faucigny*, the lord of which left all his eſtates to his daughter, by whom they came to the houſe of *Savoy*. He defeated the marquis of *Montferrat*, who had been ſo cruel to his predeceſſor *Boniface*, and acquired ſo great a reputation, that the town of *Bern* put itſelf under his protection, that it might be defended from the encroachments and menaces of its neighbours. This prince dying without iſſue in 1268, he was ſucceeded by his brother *Philip*,
Philip. archbiſhop of *Lions* and *Vienne*. But he quitted the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and married *Alice* of *Burgundy*, by whom having no iſſue, his dominions fell to his next heir *Amadeo* V. ſon to
Amadeo V. *Thomas* II. This prince acquired the ſurname of *The Great*, by his ſucceſſes, and the wiſdom with which they were conducted. He married *Sibylla*, the heireſs of *Breſſe*, a province of *France*, which is ſurrounded by the *Rhone*, the *Saon*, *Burgundy*, and the county of *Vaux*, *Coligni*, and ſeveral other territories. He purchaſed *Revermont* from *Robert*, duke of *Burgundy*, and inherited, by bequeathments from *Margaret*, queen of *France*, the fortreſſes of *Pierre-Chatel*, *Seiſſel*, and *Montfalcon*. The county of *Aſti* was given to him in a preſent by the emperor *Henry* VII. but the poſſeſſion of it was not made good to the houſe of *Savoy*, till the time of the emperor *Charles* V. This great prince acquired immortal honour, by his behaviour in defending the iſle of *Rhodes*, which had undergone various revolutions. The caliſs of *Bagdat*, or, as they are commonly called, the *Saracens*, had taken it from the *Greek* emperor. The *Saracens* were expelled by the *Turks*, and they in their turn by the knights of *St. John* of *Jeruſalem*, after beſieging the capital for two years. The *Turks*, about the year 1311, endeavoured to retake it, and muſt have ſucceeded, had it not been for the generous and powerful aſſiſtance offered to the Chriſtians by the count of *Savoy*. The hiſtories of that time are full of his gallant behaviour in defending that important iſland, which was then the barrier of Chriſtendom, againſt the infidels. The king of *Arles*, or *Burgundy*, had made a preſent of the temporal

ſove-

sovereignty of the city of *Lions* to its archbishop; and the latter had given a palace there to the knights of *St. John*, which, in consideration of the great services performed by the count to the order, the great master bestowed upon him. His defence of *Rhodes*, is said to have given rise to the device or *F. E. R. T.* the initials of the *Latin* words, *Fortitudo ejus Rhodum tenuit*. "His bravery saved *Rhodes*."

ALL the sovereign princes of *Europe* courted the friendship of this *Amadeo*, and he was generally the mediator in all their differences, witness the friendships he contracted with the emperor, and the kings of *France* and *England*, who all of them loved and honoured him, while they were at variance with one another. He governed *Savoy* forty-five years, and his brother *Thomas* reunited *Piedmont* to that house, which it had long been deprived of, as we have already seen. This *Amadeo the Great* was succeeded by his son *Edward*, who Edward.
was then only lord, or, as he was called, sire of *Baugy* and *Bresse*. In his father's life-time he had signalized himself in war, particularly in the battle of *Mont-en-Puele*; but after he came to be count of *Savoy*, he had but indifferent success in the wars he waged with his neighbours, particularly with the dauphin of *Viennois*. In the year 1328, he assisted *Philip de Valois*, whom he followed into *Flanders*, at the battle of *Montcasel*. Having received many services from the inhabitants of *Bern*, he generously re-established that city in its liberties, and died while *Clementia*, the widow of *Lewis Hutin* of *France*, was endeavouring to reconcile him to the dauphin of *Viennois*. He left behind him an only daughter, who was married to *John* III. duke of *Britany*.

EDWARD was succeeded by his brother *Aimon*. This Aimon.
prince, having seen the misfortunes of war during his brother's reign, endeavoured all he could to avoid them; and for that reason obtained the name of *The Pacific*. He was the first count of *Savoy*, who added to his titles that of count of *Verceil*. After reigning upwards of fourteen years, he was succeeded by *Amadeo* VI.. This gallant prince distin- Amadeo
guished himself at a tournament, in which the furniture of his VI.
horse, and his own armour, being all green, he obtained the appellation of count *de Verd*, or *The Green Count*, by which he was so generally known, that it has created some confusion in history. He was but nine years of age when he succeeded to the government of *Savoy*, which he greatly increased. He joined to it *Quevasque* and *Mondovi*, about the year 1346, and the year after *Cheri* and *Savigliano*. Three years after the city of *Fribourg*, of its own accord, put itself under his protection; but it afterwards recovered its liberty, and is now

somed the pontifical ornaments, and was consecrated in the church of *St. Maurice*. For some time the dignity of pope was contested between him and *Eugene*; but he was not acknowledged by the emperor, notwithstanding the most earnest instances of the council for that purpose[d]. All *Europe* was divided between him and *Eugene*. *Enius Sylvius*, who was himself afterwards pope, informs us, that *France*, *England*, *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Hungary*, acknowledged *Eugene*. *Germany* was neutral. The kings of *Arragon* and *Poland*, and the duke of *Bretagne*, acknowledged the council only, as being head of the church, while *Savoy*, *Switzerland*, *Basil*, *Strasburg*, *Pomerania*, and one of the dukes of *Bavaria*, acknowledged *Felix*, who obtained from the council a grant of many large revenues for the support of his dignity. This substantial mark of their allegiance, prevailed with *Felix* to make some efforts towards retaining the pontificate. He and the council of *Basil*, had been excommunicated by *Eugene*; and the emperor *Frederick* III. held a council at *Franckfort*, before which both popes pleaded their rights by their deputies, but without any effect. Soon after, the emperor came into the neighbourhood of *Basil*, where he had an interview with *Felix*, whose natural propensity to pleasure was so great, that he committed the management of his affairs to his cardinals, and retired again to *Ripaille*. It was there that he treated with *Alphonso*, king of *Arragon*, but in vain; for *Alphonso* acknowledged *Eugene*. Mean while, the fathers of the council of *Basil*, were perpetually applying to *Felix* to reside in that city; but he still found means to elude their requests, and to indulge his pleasures. He even rendered them obedient to his will in every thing he desired, and prevailed with them to transfer the council to *Lions*, which lay more convenient for himself. *Eugene* having excommunicated some of the *German* princes for adhering to *Felix*, the others threatened to disavow his authority; and thus every thing relating to the church ran into confusion, till the death of *Eugene*, which, for a few days, left *Felix* sole pope.

Is excommunicated by Eugene IV.

But his authority having been disowned by above half of *Europe*, the cardinals at *Rome*, in order to restore peace to the church, on the 11th day after *Eugene*'s death, proceeded to the election of a new pope, and the choice fell upon *Thomas de Sarzana*, who took the name of *Nicholas* V. and being generally recognized, *Felix* agreed at last to treat concerning his abdication of the popedom. This, however, could not be done without danger to himself; and he applied

[d] Univ. Hist. vol. xxvi. p. 168.

for

for the assistance and countenance of *Philip*, duke of *Milan*, his son-in-law, who had been very instrumental in his exaltation. *Philip* only laughed at his applications, by saying, "that as *Amadeo* had given him a wife without a portion, "so he had given him a popedom without a revenue;" for the grant of money which the council had given him, had never been paid. Though it is uncertain, whether *Felix* ever was in earnest about keeping the pontificate, yet he undoubtedly offered the emperor *Frederick* III. two hundred thousand crowns with his daughter in marriage. The emperor had his reasons for declining this offer; and *Felix* perceiving that the little authority that remained to him was daily diminishing, agreed, at the request of the emperor, under certain stipulations, which *Frederick* transmitted to *Rome* for the approbation of *Nicholas*, to resign the papacy. This negociation proved *Felix* to be an able prince. *Nicholas* annulled all that had been done by the late pope *Eugene* to his prejudice, or that of his friends. He confirmed the acts of the council of *Basil*, and granted many others that were equally to the honour and advantage of *Felix*; for he was made perpetual apostolical legate in *Savoy*, *Piedmont*, and the other places of his own dominions, as well as in the bishopricks of *Lausanne*, *Basil*, *Strasburg*, and *Constance*. He was, at the same time, created a cardinal, and bishop of *Subino*, and permitted to wear his pontifical dress, all but a few badges of authority appropriated to the pope. It was likewise stipulated, that he should not be obliged to come to *Rome*, or attend any general council; and that when he approached the pope's person, his holiness should rise to receive him, and that he should kiss his lips instead of his toe.

and resigns the holy see to Nicholas.

We have, in the history of *Geneva*, given some farther particulars concerning this *Amadeo* of *Savoy*, to which we refer the reader. He died at *Lausanne*, which, during the latter part of his life, he had chosen for his residence. He was succeeded by his son *Lewis*, to whom the father, in his life-time, had resigned the title, but few or none of the revenues of the dukedom. *Lewis* seems to have resented this hard usage; for he ordered *William de Balomier*, his father's chancellor and chief counsellor, to be drowned in the lake of *Geneva*, on pretence of his opposing the accommodation between his father and pope *Nicholas* V. During the contests about the succession to the duchy of *Milan*, after the death of *Philip Maria*, the last duke, this *Lewis*, duke of *Savoy*, who had strong pretensions to it, made himself master of *Valenza* upon the *Po*, *Romagnana*, and several other places of the *Milanese*. He had been married when young to *Anne de*

Lewis.

Lusignan, and his family has still some pretensions to the title of king of *Jerusalem*; and by her he had a numerous issue. *Charlotte*, one of his daughters, was married to the dauphin of *France*, afterwards *Lewis* XI. who, after he became king, treated her but indifferently; and the duke her father died at *Lions*, on a journey he made to see his son-in-law. Of eight sons, three of them embraced an ecclesiastical life; two, *Peter* and *John Lewis*, were successively archbishops of *Tarentc*; and the youngest of all, *Francis*, was archbishop of *Aix*. *Amadeo* IX. who was the eldest, succeeded to the dukedom of *Savoy*; and the second, *Lewis* count of *Genevois*, was married to *Charlotte* of *Cyprus*, and it is in her right that the house of *Savoy* claims the title of king of *Cyprus*. *Amadeo*'s third and fourth brothers, died without issue; and the fifth, *Philip*, is the ancestor of the present king of *Sardinia*, being stiled in his father's life-time *Lackland*.

A. D. 1465.

Amadeo IX.

AMADEO IX. of *Savoy*, though in his person he was feeble, unhealthful, and troubled with the falling sickness, was surnamed *The Happy*, on account of his virtue, his piety, his readiness to pardon all who had offended him, and his love for justice. One day a foreign minister at his court, took the liberty to ask him, whether he kept any hounds? "A great many (answered the duke), and if you will visit "me to-morrow noon, you shall see them." The minister came accordingly to court; and the duke leading him to a window, which looked into a large square, "There," said he pointing to a great number of poor people, who were seated at tables eating and drinking, "are my hounds, with "whom I go in chace of heaven." *Philibert* was the eldest son of *Amadeo* IX. and succeeded him in his dominions. He was termed *The Hunter*, from his fondness for that diversion; and dying without children, he was succeeded by his brother *Charles* I. who was surnamed *The Warlike*. The reader, in our history of *Geneva*, will find many curious particulars concerning the family of *Amadeo* IX. which we shall not hear repeat. *Charles* I. was succeeded by his son *Charles* II. when he was no more than nine months old; and he died when he was but eight years of age.

Philibert.

Charles I.

Charles II.

A. D. 1490.

Philip Lackland.

THE dukedom, upon that young prince's death, came to *Philip Lackland*, the third son of *Amadeo* IX. who lived but one year after his succession, and was succeeded by his son *Philibert*, surnamed *The Handsome*, whom he had by his first marriage with *Margaret*, daughter to *Charles* duke of *Bourbon*. The mind of this prince was as beautiful as his person, and he was about seventeen years of age; when he succeeded to his duchy. He married for a second wife, *Margaret*, daugh-

Philibert the Handsome.

daughter to the emperor *Maximilian*, who for her portion, brought him the *Franche Compte*; but there being no iſſue of the marriage, it reverted to the family of *Auſtria*. *Philibert*'s two ſiſters were married; the firſt, *Louiſa*, to the count of *Angouleſme*, by whom ſhe had *Francis* I. king of *France*; the ſecond to *Julien de Medicis*. *Phllibert* having died without iſſue, he was ſucceeded in his dominions by his brother *Charles* II. by a ſecond marriage.

THIS duke was ſo fortunate, as to marry *Beatrice* of *Portugal*, ſiſter to *Iſabella*, wife to the emperor *Charles* V. who was ſo favourable to the houſe of *Savoy*, that he put this duke in full poſſeſſion of the county of *Aſte*, which had been granted to it, as we have already mentioned, by the emperor *Henry* VI. He gave him likewiſe the inveſtiture of the marquiſate of *Chivas*, and the lordſhip of *Quevaſque*. Thoſe favours, however, had dreadful conſequences with regard to the duke of *Savoy*, becauſe they drew upon him the reſentment of *Francis* the firſt, king of *France*, the emperor's rival and enemy; and notwithſtanding all the duke could do to appeaſe that prince, *Francis* demanded his ſhare of the ſucceſſion by his mother *Louiſa* of *Savoy*. This demand had been made ſo early as the year 1518, and had been refuſed, but was now revived; and the duke was ſo much preſſed by *Francis*, that he was obliged openly to declare himſelf in favour of the emperor. Charles III.

IN the mean while, the conſtable of *Bourbon* having, as may be ſeen in other parts of this hiſtory, withdrawn his allegiance from *Francis*, and joined the emperor, the duke of *Savoy* went ſo far, as even to pledge his family jewels, to enable the conſtable to raiſe ten thouſand *Germans*, who afterwards were greatly inſtrumental in gaining for the emperor the battle of *Pavia*. *Francis*, all this while, was carrying on a ſecret negociation with the duke of *Milan*; of which the emperor having received information, he loaded that duke with reproaches, and proceeded to menaces. *Sforza*, who was a man of no principle, was afraid of diſobliging the emperor, and employed ſome of his courtiers, who picked a quarrel with *Merveille* the *French* agent, which occaſioned ſome diſturbances at court; and the duke, after confining *Merveille*, ordered his head to be ſtruck off in priſon, to convince the emperor that he conſidered him only as a private gentleman, on a tour of pleaſure at the court of *Milan*. *Francis* demanded ſatisfaction for ſo atrocious a violation of the law of nations; which being refuſed, he not only renewed his family claims upon *Savoy*, but demanded from that duke a paſſage for his troops through his dominions to *Milan*. This *joins the duke of* Bourbon.

being likewise refused, *Chabot*, the *French* general, entered *Savoy* at the head of an army, and in a short time stripped duke *Charles* of the greatest part of his forts and cities, and would have taken them all, had not the emperor amused the king with hopes that he would grant the investiture of *Milan* to his second son; which were confirmed by the cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the *French* ambassador at *Rome*.

His losses. THE duke of *Savoy* being thus weakened, the republick of *Bern* took advantage of his condition, and seized the city of *Lausanne*, a great part of *Rosgau*, and the county of *Vaud*; while the *Swiss Fribourghers* invaded *Romont*. The city of *Geneva*, at the same time, took that opportunity to expel popery, and establish protestantism, and deprive the duke of the small remains of his power over the city, and its neighbourhood. The unfortunate duke, seeing himself thus reduced, retired to *Vercelli*, where he died of heart-break, never having been able to recover any part of his losses.

Emanuel Philibert. HE was succeeded, in 1553, by his son *Emanuel Philibert*, one of the greatest soldiers and statesmen of that age. This prince had been bred up at the court of *Charles* V. and he performed the greatest services to him and his son *Philip* II. of *Spain*, at the battle of *St. Quintin*, where he commanded the imperial army, which defeated that of *France*, but the victory was in a great measure owing to the valour of the *English* troops. The duke was, at the same time, governor of the *Low Countries*, and his reputation was so high, that he was offered the command of the army of the pope, *Spain*, and *Venetians*, which was raised against *Selim* II. emperor of the *Turks*, but he declined it, being intent on the recovery of his family dominions, great part of which was restored to him by the peace of *Chateau Cambresis*. The *French*, however, still kept possession of *Turin*, *Pignerol*, *Asti*, *Chivas*, and some other towns. When *Henry* III. of *France* was on his journey from *Poland*, to take possession of the *French* crown, he had an interview with *Emanuel* at *Turin*, and the duke managed so well, that the king agreed to give him up all the places that the *French* had in his dominions. Soon after, the duke of *Alva*, general to the king of *Spain*, who was the ally and friend of the duke of *Savoy*, marched an army through the duke's territories, towards the *Low Countries*, which struck the *Genevois* and the *Swiss* Protestants with so much terror, that the city of *Bern* restored to to *Savoy* the three bailiages *Tonon*, *Gye*, and *Ternis*, and the duke renounced his pretensions to all the other dominions belonging to his family, which they had seized upon.

War with the Vaudois. THE war with the *Vaudois* is one of the most remarkable incidents in this duke's history. That poor people were harmless,

leſs, inoffenſive, and ſubmiſſive to the duke's government; but, as we have already hinted, they had been always irreconcileable enemies to the church of *Rome*. It would exceed the bounds allotted to this part of our work, ſhould we recount all the wars and perſecutions they ſuffered, and the glorious victories they obtained, in defence of their religion, over the troops of the pope, and other bigotted *Italian* princes, who were perpetually ſpiriting up the dukes of *Savoy* againſt them. Duke *Philip* had reſolution enough to withſtand all their importunities and zeal, and admired the courage with which, armed only with ſtones and flails, the *Vaudois* defended the paſſes into their country, and defeated the numerous well-diſciplined armies of their enemies. Being reſolved to put an end to their perſecutions, he permitted them to ſend twelve of their principals to his court, to make their ſubmiſſions, and to pay a ſmall acknowledgement of his ſovereignty; which the *Vaudois* did, ordering their deputies to do whatever the duke ſhould direct them, provided their religion was ſafe. It is remarkable on this occaſion, that the duke ordered ſome of their young children to be brought from their vallies, to ſatisfy himſelf whether they were not born with black throats, ſhaggy manes, and four rows of teeth; all which he had been aſſured by their enemies, and which he found, upon inſpection, to be falſe. *A peace.*

THIS unreſerved ſubmiſſion procured them but little reſpite from perſecution, which was renewed againſt them about the year 1532; but, leaving their prayers, they betook themſelves to their faſtneſſes, and their uſual arms, and defeated all the repeated efforts of their enemies, and at laſt, having ſettled a correſpondence with the reformers of *Germany*, they embraced Proteſtantiſm. Their reſolution and valour obliged the government of *Savoy*, who durſt not break with the pope, to change their method of perſecution, and, inſtead of invading their vallies, they cut them off from all communication with the reſt of their dominions, where they were put to death whenever they were found. This could not ſatisfy the zealots, who perſuaded duke *Emanuel*, againſt his own better judgement, to attempt an utter extirpation of the *Vaudois*. The duke's troops were joined by thoſe of the pope and the *French* king, and the whole were commanded by the mareſchel *Montelie* and *Charles Truchſes*, who loſt their lives in the ſervice, and their troops were defeated on every occaſion; ſo that the duke was at laſt obliged to grant the *Vaudois* the free exerciſe of their religion, under certain reſtrictions. This duke *Emanuel* acquired the principality of *Oneglia*, by giving *John Jerome Doria* in exchange for it the marquiſate of *Civis*, which he was, however, to hold as a fief of *Savoy*. *Emanuel* likewiſe *War again*

purchased the county of *Tend*, and, after a glorious government of 27 years, he died in 1580, universally esteemed and beloved for his wisdom, courage, and the great encouragement he gave to science. He married *Margaret* of *France*, daughter to *Francis* I. a princess of incomparable prudence and virtue. It was chiefly owing to her that the *Vaudois* were delivered from their persecutions; and she was so little an enemy to the reformed religion, that she is said to have sent every year 4000 crowns to *Geneva*, for the use of the *French* Protestants there.

Charles Emanuel. *He invades and seizes the marquisate of* Saluces.

CHARLES EMANUEL, son to *Emanuel Philibert*, though of a feeble constitution, had a bold, restless, enterprizing genius. While *Henry* III. of *France* was distressed on the one hand by the leaguers, and on the other by the Protestants, *Charles* invaded the marquisate of *Saluces*, which he long had an eye upon, and wrested it from the crown of *France*, on pretence of securing it against the Protestant general *Lesdiguieres*, who was master of *Dauphiny*, and might, perhaps, introduce his religion into the marquisate. But the duke did not bear his success with moderation; for he ordered a medal to be struck, with his own head on one side, and on the reverse a centaur, in the action of discharging an arrow from a bow, with the motto "Opportunè," insinuating, that he had seized the lucky crisis of conquest.

A. D. 1695.

UPON the assassination of *Henry* III. the affairs of his successor *Henry* IV. looked so gloomy, that the duke renewed his invasion, and seized several places in *Dauphiny* and *Provence*, but was soon obliged to give them up. When the peace of *Vervins* gave *Henry* the peaceable possession of his kingdom, amongst the first things he did, was to demand from the duke restitution of the marquisate of *Saluces*. *Charles*, being conscious he was no match for *Henry* in power, employed all means to prevail with him to desist from his demand; but, finding all ineffectual, proposed to comply with it, provided his majesty would desist from protecting *Geneva*. The reader, in the history of that city, will see what followed upon this. The duke even paid a visit in person to *Henry*, at *Paris*; but all his address and cunning could not prevail over that king's resolution and good sense. He immediately invaded and reduced the greatest part of *Savoy*, and ordered a medal to be struck, in answer to the provoking one of the duke. It contained his own head on one side, and on the other a *Hercules* killing a centaur with one hand, and with the other raising a crown from the ground, the motto being "Opportunius," that is, more opportunely. At last, the pope made himself a mediator for a peace between them, by which the king kept pos-

poſſeſſion of *Breſſe*, *Bugey*, *Valeromey*, *Gex*, *Fort l'Ecluſe*, and ſome other places upon the *Rhone*, ſuch as *Auche*, *Chouſi*, *Voulai*, *Pont d'Arley*, *Seiſſel*, *Chaucey*, and *Pierre Chatel*. The duke retained poſſeſſion of the marquiſate of *Saluces*, and its dependencies; but what he loſt in property was made up to him in conveniency, for he thereby gained a frontier for his capital of *Turin*, which before was expoſed to the inroads and inſults of his enemies. His attempt to ſcale the city of *Geneva*, which we have ſo amply recounted in the hiſtory of that city, followed the peace; and the duke was, by the *French* king and the *Bernois*, forced to give the *Genevois* ſatisfaction, and to agree to build no fort within four miles of their city.

In 1613, duke *Francis* of *Mantua* dying without male iſſue, the duke of *Savoy*, who, as we have ſeen in the hiſtory of *Mantua*, had ſtrong pretenſions upon that ſucceſſion, ſeized *Trino*, *Alma*, and *Monte Calvi*; but he was forced, by the grand duke of *Tuſcany*, and the republic of *Venice*, to reſtore them in a ſhort time. He ſtill, however, kept his army on foot, and was required by the governor of the *Milaneſe*, on behalf of the king of *Spain*, to diſmiſs it, which he refuſed to do. Upon this the governor beſieged *Vercelli*, and took it, after loſing above 6000 men in the ſiege, together with ſome places of ſmaller importance, which the duke had ſeized on. *France* offered her mediation, which was accepted of, for reſtoring the tranquility of *Italy*; and by the peace that followed, *Vercelli*, with the other dominions of his, which he had loſt, were reſtored to the duke, who, on his part, was obliged to give up all that he held in *Montferrat* and the *Milaneſe*. The peace being concluded, the duke ordered the marquis of *Bottio*'s head to be ſtruck off, and his eſtates confiſcated, for having ſided with the *Spaniards*, though he was a ſubject of *Savoy*. Scarcely was this war finiſhed, when the court of *France* perſuaded the duke to fall upon the *Genoeſe*, for their having bought the marquiſate of *Zuccarella*, which had been taken from the marquis *de Caretto*, by the emperor, and which the duke ſaid belonged to him by a prior ceſſion of the marquis in his favour.

The duke was very ſucceſsful in the beginning of this war. He gained the battle of *Ottaggio* over the *Genoeſe*, and took from them many of their towns, while the conſtable *Leſdiguieres*, the *French* general, took *Gavi*. The general opinion was, that, if the duke, after this battle, had marched directly to *Genoa*, he might have taken it; but *Leſdiguieres* is ſaid not to have been proof againſt the *Genoeſe* gold, and it is certain he relaxed in his operations, ſo as to give time for the *Genoeſe* to recover their conſternation, till they could be aſſiſted by the *Spaniards*, who had laid ſiege to the ſtrong fortreſs of

Verrue in *Piedmont*, but were obliged to raise it, and march to the relief of *Genoa*; which they not only effected, but assisted the *Genoese* in conquering several places belonging to the duke. A peace then followed, by which each party was to re-enter into possession of what it had before the war; and the marquisate of *Zuccarella* remained with the *Genoese*, who, however, paid to the duke of *Savoy* 160,000 crowns for renouncing all his pretensions to the same.

It was the fate of this active but too turbulent prince to govern the most submissive obedient people in *Europe*, who supported him in all his wars of ambition or justice with equal chearfulness. Scarcely had he concluded peace with the *Genoese*, when the elder line of the *Gonzaga* family failed in the person of *Vincent* II. duke of *Mantua*; and *Charles*, on that event, renewed his claim upon the duchy of *Montferrat*. We have already seen, in the history of *Mantua*, how warmly the court of *France* supported the duke of *Nevers* in his claim to that succession. *Charles* was obliged to abandon the country of *Susa*, and went to the relief of *Casal*, which was besieged by *Gonsalvo de Cordova*, the governor of the *Milanese*. When A. D. 1629. he was intent upon relieving that place, the *French*, making the best advantage they could of the juncture, attacked *Pignerole*, which they took in a very short time; and the loss of that important place broke the duke of *Savoy*'s heart, in the year 1629, after governing, or rather reigning, over *Savoy* fifty years. He was indulged with a long life and reign, which, like his character, was chequered with good and bad. He was undoubtedly a prince of great abilities, but too much enterprize. His subjects, though forward to serve him, were not endowed with a military genius that could answer the suddenness, the variety, and boldness, of his operations in the field; and he was but very indifferently served by the foreigners he took into his pay. Notwithstanding all this, and though the most powerful princes in *Europe*, at times, were his enemies, yet the greatest part of his reign cannot be said to have been otherwise than prosperous, if not glorious; though it must be acknowledged, that the *French* being in possession of *Pignerole*, at the time of his death, was a most unfavourable circumstance for his dominions. His attempt upon *Savoy*, reflects great dishonour upon his memory; and his insolence towards *Henry* IV. the greatest monarch, and best natured man of his age, deserved the chastisement it met with. In point of religion, he is said naturally to have been no bigot, and that he was forced by churchmen and priests, to give way to the persecutions which his protestant subjects suffered.

He was succeeded by his son *Victor Amadeus* I. who in 1630 wisely agreed to the treaty of *Quevasque*, in *Piedmont*, by which he accepted of an annuity of fifteen thousand crowns for all his claims upon *Montferrat*, and left the family of *Nevers* in full possession of that duchy. To insure the payment of this annuity, he was, by a separate writing, put in possession of *Trino*, *Tricerto*, *Palazzuolo*, and of eighty other places upon the *Po*; so that, in fact, he held the finest part of *Montferrat*. The truth is, the *French*, on this occasion, sacrificed the interest of the *Nevers* family for their own; for they obliged *Victor*, in consideration of what he had got in *Montferrat*, to abandon to them *Pignerole*, *Perusa*, *Angrogne*, and *Lucerne*. It is said by the *French* historians, that the famous father *Joseph*, the confident of cardinal *Richlieu*, was the main instrument in concluding this treaty; and that, after its conclusion, when he visited the duke of *Mantua*, that prince could not help testifying his discontent at what had been done; and that, on the other hand, the duke of *Savoy* did every thing he could, to avoid ratifying the treaty; but all was to no purpose, because the cardinal was resolved to carry his point, which he did, to the infinite danger of all *Italy*. Victor Amadeus I.

Two years after the conclusion of the peace of *Quevasque*, the duke took it in his head to assume the title of king of *Cyprus*. The *Venetians* took this amiss; because of their pretensions upon that crown; and, for some time, all correspondence between them and the duke was broken off. Two years after *Victor* and his army joined the *French*, who had been sent, under the marshal *de Crequi*, to the support of the duke of *Parma*, and assisted in the fruitless siege of *Valenza*, the miscarriage of which *Victor* attributed to *Crequi*, who, he said, minded the diversions of hunting much more than he did the operations of the field. Afterwards the duke exerted himself so greatly, to repair the failure before *Valenza*, that he contributed chiefly to the *French* gaining the victory of *Tornavento* over the *Spaniards*, who had almost cut their way to the *French* intrenchments. Next year, he gained a considerable battle over the *Spanish* general *don Martin de Arragon*; but he died soon after, in the same year. He was a prince of spirit and conduct, and leaving a successor *Francis Hyacinth*, who was no more than six years of age, the *Spaniards* took great advantage of the minority, by making themselves masters of *Vercelli* and fort *Brema*. To increase the misfortunes of *Savoy*, a dispute arose about the regency of the duchy, which was claimed by the duchess dowager, the cardinal *Maurice*, *Thomas Francis*, prince of *Carignan*, who were both of them uncles to the young duke. The duchess dowager A. D. 1937. Francis Hyacinth.

ger depended upon the assistance of her brother the *French* king, while the cardinal, and the prince of *Carignan*, took the party of the *Spaniards*; and it was agreed amongst them, that all the places which should willingly submit to the authority of the two uncles, should belong to their government; but all that should be conquered by the *Spaniards*, by force of arms, should remain in the possession of that crown. While those matters were in agitation, the young duke of *Savoy* died, *October* the 4th 1638, and was succeeded by his brother *Charles Emanuel* II. who was no more than four years of age. Thus the disputes about the regency continued the same as before. The *Spaniards* seized *Chivas* and *Trino*, and the two brothers made themselves masters of *Chieri*, *Moncalier*, *Pondestura*, *Asti*, *Villa Nouva de Asti*, *Alba*, *Verrue*, *Crescentino*, *S. Agatha*, *Nice*, and *Villa Franca*. The young duke, all this time, remained under the pupilage of his mother; but prince *Thomas*, in the night time, surprised *Turin*, and the duchess and her son had some difficulty to escape as, they did, to the citadel. It is hard to say what the consequence might have been, if a quarrel had not happened between the two brothers and the marquis *de Leganez*, during the siege of the citadel, on the following occasion.

Charles Emanuel II.

THE marquis pretended, that, by the articles of the treaty between them and his master, *Turin* and its citadel, when taken, must belong to his Catholic majesty. The prince, on the other hand, alledged, that *Turin* was not understood to be comprehended in the treaty, because it was the capital of *Piedmont*, and the residence of the duke. This dispute took up so much time, that the siege not going on, the *French* had time to march an army, under the count *de Harcourt*, which raised the siege of *Casal*, then besieged by the *Spaniards*, and marching to *Turin*, prince *Thomas* was shut up in that city, between the citadel and the *French* army. The marquis *de Leganez* having orders to forget all animosities, and to relieve the prince, marched to his assistance, but without effect; and the city being reduced to extremity by scarcity of provisions, surrendered by capitulation. Next year, the *French* took the strong fortress of *Coni*, and obliged the two brothers to come to an accommodation with the duchess dowager. By that she was to have the guardianship of the prince, the cardinal was to have the government of *Nice*, and prince *Thomas* that of *Jvreé* and *Biel*, during the duke's minority. All parties of the ducal house of *Savoy* being now agreed, they joined in a design to force the *Spaniards* to quit those places, which their own imprudence, or the necessities of the times, had put into their hands. The marquis *de Pianesse* retook

retook the important fortreſs of *Verrue*; and prince *Thomas*, who had by this time reconciled himſelf with the *French* court, retook old and new *Aſti* and *Trino*, but the citadel of *Aſti* ſtill held out. The year following, the *Savoyards* ſurprized and retook *Aſti*, and drove the *Spaniards* out of *St. Agatha*. It muſt be acknowledged, that, on this occaſion, the duke of *Savoy* had infinite obligations to the *French* court; nor ſhall we examine whether they were not owing as much to the jealouſy which *Lewis* entertained of the *Spaniards*, as to his affection for the ducheſs dowager.

IN 1649, duke *Charles Emanuel*, though no more than fifteen years old, was declared to be of age. Three years after, the *Spaniards* took *Trino* and *Creſcentino*, which laſt was retaken by the *Savoyards* the ſame year, and the other was reſtored to them by the peace of the *Pyrennees*, in 1658. The duke, by that treaty, having re eſtabliſhed the tranquility of his government, cultivated peace with all his neighbours, never was interrupted but by a ſlight difference he had with the *Genoeſe*, which was ſoon accommodated, through the mediation of *France*, without having any remarkable conſequences which it had threatened. A. D. 1649.

ALL the reſt of this duke's reign was ſpent in cultivating and improving the internal policy of his dominions. *Turin*, to him, owes ſome of its moſt magnificent ſtructures at this day; and he cut the amazing paſſage through the rock *Mont Viſo*. This is an arch 500 geometrical paces in length, and broad enough for two loaded mules to walk abreaſt, for tranſporting goods to and from *France* and *Italy*, which, before that time, could not be done without infinite labour and danger. He was equally magnificent in all his other public works, and he is ſaid to have loſt his life in the following remarkable manner. Being one day in the menage, or riding-ſchool, the young prince's horſe, in going through his exerciſe, threw him; which accident ſtruck his father with ſo much concern, that he is thought never to have recovered it, for he died a few days after in 1675.

HAVING here mentioned *Thomas* prince of *Carignan*, it is proper to give ſome account of his family, and poſterity. He was the fifth ſon of duke *Charles Emanuel* I. who, as the *Italians* are very fond of epithets, was called The Great. He held in *France* the poſt of grand maſter, and married the heireſs of the houſe of *Soiſſons*, by whom he had the following iſſue. 1ſt, *Emanuel Philibert Amadeo*, who continued the houſe of *Carignan*. 2d, *Louiſa Chriſtina*, married to *Ferdinand Maximilian* of *Baden*. 3d, *Joſeph Emanuel John*, who died without iſſue. 4th, *Eugene Maurice*, count of *Soiſſons*, author of that branch of

of the *Savoy* family, and father of the famous prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, who, after that, made so illustrious a figure in the affairs of *Europe*, and was companion, friend, and fellow hero of the great duke of *Marlborough*.

Victor Amadeus II.

CHARLES EMANUEL II. never acknowledged any legitimate son but his successor *Victor Amadeus* II. to whom his mother *Joan Baptist de Savoy Nemours* was guardian during his minority. When he grew up he demanded in marriage the infanta of *Portugal*, and the duke of *Cadaval* came to *Nice* with a *Portuguese* fleet, to carry him to *Lisbon*; but, all of a sudden, he changed his resolution, and the marriage was broken off; and, two years after, he married *Anna Maria* of *Orleans*, daughter to *Philip* duke of *Orleans* and *Henrietta Anne* of *England*. The issue of this marriage, when the succession of the family of *Stuart* to the throne of *Great Britain* was set aside, was nearer in blood to the crown than the house of *Hanover*, but their claim was disregarded, because they were of the *Roman* Catholic religion. *Victor Amadeo* II. imitated the conduct of *Lewis* XIV. at the revocation of the edict of *Nantes*, by persecuting his Protestant subjects the *Vaudois*, with all the fury and malice of a bigot; but this inhuman resolution cost a great deal of blood in enforcing it.

This duke, however, entered in the grand alliance that was formed against *France*, and by a secret article of the same, it was stipulated, that the *Vaudois* should be restored to their antient rights. It being thought by the confederates that his alliance would be highly useful, in checking the power of *France* on that side, they furnished him with considerable supplies both of men and money. Notwithstanding that, the *French* general *St. Ruth* took from him all *Savoy*, while marshal *Catinat* beat him in the two battles of *Staffarde* and *Marsaille*, and conquered from him *Carmagnolo*, *Susa*, *Nice*, *Villa Franca*, and *Montmelian*. The duke, soon after, retook *Carmagnola*, and obliged the *French* to raise the siege of *Coni*. To give them a farther diversion, he invaded *Dauphiny*, where he took *Gap* and *Ambrun*, and carried away their bells. This small success was far from drawing the *French* out of his dominions; for they took from him *Casal*, and *Fort St. Bridget* near *Pignerole*. The duke's losses presented him with so melancholy a prospect, that he entered into secret connexions with *France*; and, under pretence of being indisposed, he returned out of *Dauphiny*. Soon after, *France* thought his friendship of so much importance, that she granted him a most advantageous peace, and gave him up *Nice*, *Susa*, *Villa Franca*, *Montmelian*, and *Pignerole*, the fortifications of which were demolished, together with the three vallies of *Perusa*,

Lucern,

Lucern, and *Angrogne*, with a ſum of money, by way of indemnification: nay, ſo intent was *Lewis* XIV. on forming a ſtrict connexion with the duke of *Savoy*, that, by the ſame treaty, he concluded a marriage between his grandſon the duke of *Burgundy*, eldeſt ſon to the Dauphin, and *Mary Adelaide*, *Victor*'s eldeſt daughter. After this, he entered into a new contract with him for driving the imperialiſts out of *Italy*; and actually beſieged *Aleſſandria* in the *Milaneſe*.

In the year 1701, *Philip* of *Anjou*, the ſecond ſon of the Dauphin, being called to the crown of *Spain* by the death of *Charles* II. married *Mary Louiſa Gabrielle*, the duke of *Savoy*'s ſecond daughter, and the duke was declared generaliſſimo of the armies of *France* and *Spain* in *Italy*. But all thoſe repeated marks of diſtinction and friendſhip could not fix the duke in the intereſts of *France*. The *Spaniſh* ſucceſſion being diſputed by the emperor *Leopold*, the confederates in the grand alliance joined againſt *Lewis* and his grandſon the king of *Spain*. It was eaſy for the duke of *Savoy* to foreſee his danger if he ſhould continue his engagements with *France*; and, after prince *Eugene* had penetrated into *Italy*, he began ſecretly to negotiate with the allies. This could not be concealed from the penetration of the *French* court, and *Lewis* ordered his generals to make the duke's troops priſoners. Upon this, the duke arreſted the ambaſſadors of *France* and *Spain*, a regiment of *French* horſe, and all the *French* who were at *Turin*. This drew from the *French* king the following laconic letter, addreſſed to him; viz. "Monſieur, Since religion, honour, "alliance, treaties, and your own hand, are of no force be"tween you and me, I have ſent my couſin the duke of *Ven*"*doſme* to explain my mind to you, and he will give you four "and twenty hours to conſider what you have to do." This threatening letter had an effect very different from what the writer intended. The duke was one of the moſt penetrating princes in the world, and was remarkable through all *Europe* for accommodating his ſituations to his intereſts; but on occaſion of this inſolent letter, he ſhewed a firmneſs ſcarcely to be paralleled in hiſtory. Though he loſt town after town; though his army amounted ſcarcely to 12,000 men; though he had ſcarcely territory to ſubſiſt even thoſe, and though he was but ill ſupported by the imperial court, he could not be brought to abandon his allies. At laſt, on the 5th of *June*, 1706, the *French* beſieged his capital of *Turin*. His ducheſs and his clergy preſſed him to comply with the neceſſities of his ſituation. He continued firm againſt her, and he forbad the others to appear before him. He had, however, the ſatisfaction to reflect, that the places he had loſt had made ſo good a defence,

defence, that they gained time for prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* to advance to his relief. He even declined the civility offered him by the *French* marſhal *de Feuillade*, who, by orders of his king, offered paſſes and a guard to the duchess and his family, to carry them to a place of ſafety, when *Turin* was beſieged. At laſt, the glory of taking ſo important a city loſt the duke of *Vendoſme* and *Feuillade* their command, in which they were ſucceeded by the duke of *Orleans*. The duke who had been driven from place to place by the ſuperior power of the *French*, on the 15th of *June*, had the mortification to ſee his capital bombarded by the *French*, with red hot balls; the *French* king, being ſo exaſperated, that he ordered the ſiege to be carried on with unuſual fury. The duke did all he could to interrupt the progreſs of his enemies, by giving them repeated alarms, which retarded their operations for ſome time; ſo that the *French* loſt above 14,000 men before the place: but they had made themſelves maſters of the ſtrongeſt poſts, and the ammunition of the beſieged was almoſt exhauſted. In this diſmal extremity, the duke's couſin, prince *Eugene*, with the rapidity, conduct, and good fortune, that attended all his enterprizes, after ſurmounting moſt incredible difficulties, on the 30th of *Auguſt*, appeared near *Turin*, and two days after he joined the duke of *Savoy*. The action that followed was one of the moſt glorious that happened in thoſe years of glory, and has been mentioned in other parts of this work. It is therefore ſufficient to ſay here, that, notwithſtanding the junction between the duke and prince *Eugene*, the *French* thought themſelves ſure of carrying their point. The duke of *Orleans* and the general officers were for marching out of the lines; but the marſhal *Marſin*, who ſerved under that duke, but was chiefly truſted by his maſter, produced an order from the *French* king, that the duke ſhould follow his opinion. Nothing could be ſtronger than their ſituation, and therefore nothing more dangerous than the attack. As the confederates advanced, they were expoſed to the dreadful fire of forty cannon. Notwithſtanding this they proceeded, and at laſt formed, and marched, without firing, till they came to the foot of the entrenchments. The reſiſtance was equally brave; and it is ſaid that prince *Eugene* was repulſed in two of the attacks he made. In the third, he drew his ſword at the head of his battalions, and was amongſt the firſt that broke into the intrenchments. In an inſtant, all the confederate army followed his example; and room being made for the horſe to advance, the *French* abandoned their defence, and were every-where cut in pieces; ſo that the duke of *Savoy* entered his capital that very evening. The loſs of the *French* in this battle was very great. About

Seige of Turin *raiſed.*

5000 were killed in the battle, beſides what were killed in the purſuit. The duke of *Orleans*, who ſhewed great perſonal valour, was wounded, as was marſhal *Marſin*, who died next day. Near 8000 men, among whom were a vaſt number of officers, ſome of them general ones, were made priſoners. Two hundred and fifty-five pieces of cannon, 180 mortars, 7,800 bombs, 32,000 royal grenades, 48,000 cannon balls, with a proportionable number of ſmall artillery and ammunition, fell into the hands of the confederates, with all their tents, baggage, ready money, and horſes of all kinds; ſo that, upon the whole, the loſs which the *French* ſuſtained was incredible, and was an ample proof of the great deſire their king had to reduce the city, and irretrievably to ruin the duke of *Savoy*. On the other hand, the defence which *Turin* made, under count *Daun*, a name auſpicious to the houſe of *Auſtria*, was brave; but in the whole coſt above 5000 men, beſides 3000 of the confederates, who were killed in the battle. After it the duke of *Orleans* retired into *Dauphiny*, and the duke of *Savoy* not only recovered all the towns and territories he had loſt, but enabled the imperialiſts to drive the *French* out of *Lombardy*.

Attempt on Toulon.

It happened upon this occaſion, that, to the misfortune of *England*, the duke of *Savoy*, and *Holland*, prince *Eugene* was entirely directed by the court of *Vienna*. The *Britiſh* miniſtry, in concert with the *Dutch*, had formed a project for the conqueſt of *Toulon*, which might have finiſhed the deſtruction of *France*. The duke of *Savoy* made the firſt ſketch of this project, and communicated the ſame to prince *Eugene*, who finding it diſliked by the court of *Vienna*, was backward in giving him encouragement to undertake it. The truth was, that court was not ſo intent upon humbling *France*, as upon aggrandizing itſelf, by employing its troops in the conqueſt of *Naples*: and it was thought that the *French* had early notice of the deſign. The court of *England* was ſo earneſt in carrying it into execution, that the emperor was at laſt obliged to give way, and prince *Eugene* had orders to aſſiſt in it, but with a very bad grace. A large ſum of money was furniſhed by *England*, and the enterprize was ſupported by a ſtrong *Britiſh* fleet, under the command of that excellent admiral, Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*. The duke of *Savoy* and prince *Eugene*, on the 11th of *July*, 1707, favoured by this fleet, paſſed the *Var*, at the head of 30,000 men, and advanced with great celerity againſt *Toulon*. They had been promiſed great reinforcements from the imperial court, but were diſappointed; and prince *Eugene*, who never appeared hearty in the expedition, had orders from the emperor not to expoſe his troops too much. Being

ing arrived before the place, they had great ſucceſs by ſeizing ſome of the moſt important poſts in the neighbourhood; but, the duke of *Savoy* preſſing prince *Eugene* to advance, the latter at laſt ſhewed him the emperor's orders, which amounted to a prohibition, and occaſioned a delay that was the ruin of the enterprize. Prince *Eugene*'s backwardneſs, or rather inactivity, did not damp the duke or the *Engliſh* admiral from acting with the utmoſt vigour. The latter bombarded the town, and became maſter of two forts that commanded the mole; ſo that many houſes were deſtroyed, ſome magazines were blown up, and eight ſhips of the line, moſt of them capital ſhips, were burnt or rendered unſerviceable. But by this time the *French* had not only re-called their troops from *Spain*, but were marching with the whole power of their monarchy to relieve *Toulon*. The duke of *Savoy*, finding he was thus in danger of having his retreat cut off, and that the troops in the garriſon, who made a ſally which coſt him a thouſand men, increaſed every day, reimbarked his artillery, his ſick and wounded, and returned in good order, without being purſued, to *Piedmont*. Thus ended this important expedition, to the great diſappointment, though not diſgrace, of the *Engliſh* and duke of *Savoy*, and is a pregnant proof, among many, how regardleſs the houſe of *Auſtria* is of all intereſts but its own.

is fruitleſs.

A. D. 1709. THE unſucceſsful expedition againſt *Toulon* gave the *French* an opportunity, in the mean while, of becoming maſters of many places in *Savoy*; ſo that, when the conferences were held at *Gertruydenburg*, in *May*, 1709, the duke, who was admitted to be a party there, claimed reſtitution of the whole duchy of *Savoy*, the county of *Nice*, and all his hereditary dominions, together with the quiet poſſeſſion of the territory, ſtates, and places that had been ceded to him by the emperor, and his allies, with the ſovereignty and ſole property of the cities of *Exilles*, *Feneſtrelles*, and *Chaumont*, with the valley of *Pragelas* to *Mount Genevre*, and its adjacencies, which were to be the boundaries between his dominions and thoſe of *France*. The conferences at *Gertruydenburg* proving, for reaſons foreign to this hiſtory, ineffectual, and the duke, having ſome differences with the emperor, he remained quiet till the peace of *Utrecht*, 1713, when he renewed his claims, with ſome additional ones. By that treaty he was put in poſſeſſion of the duchy of *Savoy*, the county of *Nice*, and all their dependencies. The *French* king likewiſe yielded to him, in perpetuity, the valley of *Pragelas*, the forts of *Exilles* and *Feneſtrelles*, with the vallies of *Oux*, *Sezane*, *Bardonache*, and *Chateau Dauphin*. The duke, on the other hand, ceded to *Louis* the valley of *Barcelonetta* and its dependencies; ſo that the ridge of the *Alps* became the boundary that ſeparated *France* and *Piedmont* and the

the county of *Nice*; the plains of those ridges being equally divided between them.

But as the duke of *Savoy* had not only behaved in the common cause with unexampled firmness and spirit, but was a great means of its success, and as his importance in the affairs of *Europe* was now known to be very great, all parties concurred to aggrandize him. The emperor was in a manner forced to confirm to him the possession of that part of *Montferrat* which had belonged to the dukes of *Mantua*, with the provinces of *Alessandria* and *Valenza*, the territory between the *Po* and the *Tanaro*, the *Lomellin*, the valley of *Sessa*, and the *Vigevanasco*. But, to crown all the duke's other good successes, his catholic majesty agreed to resign to him the kingdom of *Sicily*, by which he and his descendants acquired a royal title; and it was agreed, that, in default of succession from the king of *Spain*, that crown should go to the house of *Savoy*, preferably to that of *Bourbon*.

The cession of the crown and title of *Sicily* was disputed with the duke by the emperor *Charles* VI. who, about the time of the treaty of *Utrecht*, succeeded his brother *Joseph* in the empire, for reasons that have been explained in other parts of this history. The duke, however, took upon himself the title of king of *Sicily*, and entered into possession of that island, which was evacuated by the *Spaniards*; and the inhabitants were beginning to be reconciled to his government, when he embroiled himself with the clergy, and consequently with the pope, on account of the ecclesiastical immunities. The quarrel went so far, that the archbishop of *Messina*, and the bishop of *Catanea*, left *Sicily*, after laying their sees under interdicts, and were followed by almost all the clergy of *Sicily*, who flocked to *Rome*; but the viceroy paid so little regard to them, that he made it capital for the *Sicilians* to obey the interdicts.

His catholic majesty had made the great sacrifice of *Sicily*, on the express condition of their joining their troops together, to dispossess the emperor of what he still held in *Italy*. It appears as if his *Sicilian* majesty, after getting possession of that island, which was in some measure forced upon him by queen *Anne*, and which he himself had never thought of aspiring to, had repented of his private treaty with *Spain*. His catholic majesty suspected this, and demanded that the prince of *Piedmont* should be sent to *Madrid*, by way of security for the performance; but the demand was evaded by his *Sicilian* majesty on account of the queen's tenderness for her son; but he offered to send him the prince of *Carignan*, his other son. Tho' this offer was accepted of, yet *Victor* had his reasons for eluding

ing the performance; and the court of *Madrid* was given to understand that the prince had, without his *Sicilian* majesty's knowledge, retired to *France*. Upon which the turbulent cardinal *Alberoni*, who was the prime minister of *Spain*, made vast preparations for conquering *Sardinia* from the emperor, and *Sicily* from that king. The court of *England* interposed in the dispute, and, in conjunction with that of *France*, undertook to prescribe a peace, by obliging the *Spaniards* and his *Sicilian* majesty to comply with the terms they had preconcerted with the emperor. These terms are foreign to this part of our history. They were rejected at the court of *Madrid*; upon which the court of *Great Britain* fitted out a powerful fleet under Sir *George Byng*, to enforce its mediation. Sir *George* sailed to the *Mediterranean*, where he secured the kingdom of *Naples* to the emperor, but understood by the viceroy count *Daun*, that that of *Sicily* was on the point of being entirely conquered by the *Spaniards*. The marquis *de Lede* had landed there with thirty thousand men, and the *Spanish* fleet still lay upon the coasts. He had reduced *Palermo*, and was then besieging the citadel of *Messina*, after taking the town; but in the mean while the emperor had come to a compromise with his *Sicilian* majesty, who was now willing to agree to the terms of the quadruple alliance, and to admit the imperialists into *Sicily*. Not to repeat too much of what we have said before, the *English* fleet destroyed that of *Spain*, off *Cape Passaro*, and reinforced the garrison of *Messina* with some imperialists; but the citadel was lost. The event was, that the emperor and his *Sicilian* majesty, having, by this time, come to a good understanding, it was resolved, that *Sicily* should be reconquered from the *Spaniards*, and that *Sardinia*, with the title of king, should be given to his *Sicilian* majesty. This compromise was, after some difficulty, executed. His *Sicilian* majesty resigned that title for that of king of *Sardinia*, being too wise afresh to embroil the affairs of *Europe*, or to oppose powers for whom he was no match. This exchange being made, his *Sardinian* majesty applied himself entirely to propagate the arts of peace, and to prevent his being further embroiled in the affairs of *Europe*.

A. D. 1722. In the year 1722 his son, the prince of *Piedmont*, married the princess of *Sultzbach*, who bore him a son on the 3d of *March*, 1723, but she herself died on the 12th of the same month. This prince was called the duke of *Aosta*.

A new code formed. The expences of the law being very heavy on the subjects of his *Sardinian* majesty's dominions, he this year completed a plan upon which he had been long meditating; and that was to form a new code of jurisprudence, that was to serve as a directory to the law courts and subjects of his

his dominions. It was drawn up with the greatest precision, and calculated to make all decisions in matters of law not only more cheap, but more equitable than they had been before. This code is a curious performance; and the observance of it commenced on the 16th of *November*, the same year. But another important care now engaged his majesty's attention. The weak health of the duke of *Aosta*, prevailed on him to strengthen his succession, by giving the prince of *Piedmont* another wife; and he accordingly, in the year 1724, married the princess *Polyxena* of *Hesse Rheinfels*, a measure the more necessary, as the duke of *Aosta* died in the year following. After this marriage *Victor Amadeus* III. lived for some years in tranquility. The great talents, both in war and government, which he had discovered, rendered him highly respected amongst the other powers of *Europe*, and, in the subsequent broils that ensued, he was equally courted by all parties at variance. But this great prince was not exempted from the infirmities of common life. He began to be tired of the tranquility he had been at so much pains to establish, chiefly through his fondness for the countess-dowager of *St. Sebastian*, with whom he had been for some years enamoured. And, all of a sudden, he resolved to resign his crown in favour of his eldest son the prince of *Piedmont*. For this purpose he convoked, in *September*, 1730, his prelates, his grand chancellor, his ministers of state, the heads of his courts of justice, and his chief officers, both military and civil, and, in their presence, he formally resigned his crown to the prince of *Piedmont*, *Charles Emanuel* his son, who in virtue of the quadruple alliance, became king of *Sardinia*, and succeeded to all his father's other dominions and titles, only reserving to himself a yearly income, some say of one hundred thousand pounds, for his support. The world is well acquainted with what happened upon this abdication. *Victor* retired to *Chamberry*, and married the countess, who took upon herself the title of countess of *Somereve*. But he did not know his own heart. The lady aspired to be a queen, and wakened in her husband a desire to remount his throne, which became so strong, that they tampered with some of the great men, and chief officers of the army, to assist them in their design. This was discovered to the reigning king, who was in no disposition to resign his newly acquired royalty. At first, he endeavoured to dissuade his father from his resolution, but all was in vain; so that the son was obliged to employ force, and he put both his father and the countess under arrest. *Victor Amadeus* did not long survive his disappointment, for he died at *Montecalier*, *Death.* A. D. 1732.

the 31st of *October*, 1732, at the age of sixty-six years and a half.

and character of Victor Amadeus.

VICTOR AMADEUS was the most extraordinary character, and may be said to have been the most politic prince of his age. Till the finishing scene of his life he had discovered few human frailties, and many great qualities. He considered his near family connections with *France* as tending only to render him a precarious dependant on that crown; and he seems to have been resolved rather to give up all, than to live in that character. The emperor and the kings of *Spain* would have treated him in the same manner; but he studied the interests of all the powers in the great alliance with so much sagacity, that, though at variance with one another after the treaty of *Utrecht*, and though the many calamities his dominions had sustained, left him but little real power, yet they all agreed in not only giving him a kingdom, though an inconsiderable one, but in extending his dominions on the continent, far beyond those that had been enjoyed by the greatest of his ancestors. We are not to place the difficulties and losses he met with, during the course of a fifty years reign, to his intrigues or ambition, but to the conveniency which the three great potentates of *Germany*, *France*, and *Spain*, found in becoming masters of his dominions. But, after all, it was owing to the friendship and policy of *Great Britain* that he left his son in a respectable condition as a sovereign prince.

Is succeeded by Charles Emanuel II.

CHARLES EMANUEL II. mounted the throne under some disadvantages, through the want of good faith in the imperial court. He complained, that the emperor had no real design to make good his cessions and engagements, because he retained in his hands all the title-deeds and documents of *Montferrat*, with a view, as his *Sardinian* majesty complained, of evading the cessions he had made. Count *Philip*, the imperial resident at that time at the court of *Turin*, being pressed on this head, had recourse to many excuses (to call them no worse) which plainly shewed his master's insincerity; and the trifling delays made by his court, evinced the same. His *Sardinian* majesty, however, perceiving that the count was favoured by the earl of *Essex*, the *British* ambassador, durst not come to extremities: not to mention, that the great number of persons of the highest rank, whom he had been obliged to imprison on account of his father, had rendered his situation, even in his own dominions, a little suspicious. On the other hand, the marquis *de Vaugrenant*,

who was the *French* ambaſſador at *Turin*, at the ſame time was carrying on negociations for fixing his *Sardinian* majeſty in his maſter's intereſt. Some illicit trade which had been carried on about *Avignon* and *Geneva*, furniſhed the crowns of *France* and *Sardinia* with a pretext to ſend thither ſome troops. The death of the king of *Poland*, which happened in 1733, lighted up a war between the king of *France* and the emperor; and his *Sardinian* majeſty at laſt concluded, on the 26th of *September* that year, a treaty with the courts of *Verſailles* and *Spain*, whoſe intention was to introduce the infant Don *Carlos* into *Italy*. By this treaty, which was offenſive and defenſive, his *Sardinian* majeſty obliged himſelf not only to grant a paſſage into *Italy*, to the troops of the two crowns, but to join them in certain caſes ſpecified by the treaty. It ſoon appeared that all parties were in earneſt. His *Sardinian* majeſty avowed his connexions with *France*, and publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring, that his intention was to curb the inſolent power of the houſe of *Auſtria*, which was now become odious to him, and to all *Europe*; and to maintain the ballance of power in *Italy*. The emperor was ſo far from expecting this declaration, that hearing the *French* were preparing to enter *Savoy*, he ordered count *Daun* to offer his *Sardinian* majeſty, who was once his ally and vaſſal, all the aſſiſtance in his power to ſtop their progreſs; but the anſwer he received, was, that they did not come as enemies. On the 12th of *October*, the *French* troops began their march by *Briançon*, and the valley of *Barcelonetta*, headed by marſhal *Villars*, who was to command them under the king of *Sardinia*; and his troops joined them in the *Vigevano*. We ſhall not, for the reaſon ſo often ſpecified, give a particular detail of this war; but, for the ſake of perſpicuity, touch on the general heads. His *Sardinian* majeſty put himſelf at the head of the combined troops in the *Vigevano*, and directed his march towards *Pavia*; but ſo weak and diſorderly were the imperialiſts then in *Italy*, that that city and caſtle was abandoned by the *German* garriſon; and his *Sardinian* majeſty took poſſeſſion of both. *Milan* followed its example: and the king ſent nine thouſand men to take poſſeſſion of the city, and to block up the citadel. *Pizzighitone*, though exceſſively ſtrong, was next reduced; and *Cremona*, with all the *Cremoneſe*, met with the ſame fate, about the beginning of *September*. All thoſe, with many other places of importance, fell to the allies, after very little reſiſtance; and, at laſt, the city of *Milan* capitulated likewiſe. Upon the conqueſt of the *Milaneſe*, his *Sardinian* majeſty publiſhed an ordonnance, commanding all his vaſſals

and subjects residing there, to return home, under pain of confiscation of goods. He then returned to *Turin*, where, after doing some business, he came back to the army. In the mean while the *French* found means to pass the *Oglio*, and to enter the *Parmesan*. The queen of *Sardinia*, at this time, falling dangerously ill, his majesty, who tenderly loved her, again returned to *Turin*; by which means he was not present at the bloody battle of *Parma*, in which the imperialists were defeated, and their general, count *Merci*, was killed. After this battle, the prince of *Wirtemberg*, though dangerously wounded, took upon him the command of the imperialists, and made his retreat good to *Reggio*, where their magazines, both of provision and artillery, were erected.

Villars removed by his means.

It was not in the field only, that his *Sardinian* majesty shewed his great genius and judgment during this war; the command of the *French* troops had been conferred on marshal *Villars*, chiefly on account of his great experience and reputation; but courage was all of the great general that was now left him, and a courage too of the most dangerous kind, because it was romantic, and led him to impracticable attempts. His *Sardinian* majesty perceived and felt the inconveniency of this, and managed matters at the court of *France* with so much dexterity, as to procure the recal of the marshal, who was now above eighty-four years of age, in such a manner, as that the old general was no ways disgusted, and died at *Turin* upon his return. He was succeeded in his command by the marshals *Broglio* and *Coigny*, as the duke of *Wirtemberg* was by count *Konigsegg*, one of the best generals in *Europe*. And it was owing to the king of *Sardinia*, that the fortune of the war in *Italy*, was not at this time intirely changed. The imperialists had been removed from *Reggio* to the plains of *Carpi*, and took such a position, as secured *Mirandola* from danger. On the 15th of *September* he passed the *Secchia* by day-break, and surprised the *French* marshal *Broglio*, that he escaped in his shirt, and two thousand of his men were cut in pieces; the *French*, at the same time, losing a great quantity of baggage, besides a number of prisoners who were taken.

Commands the armies of the two crowns.

After this surprize, they were forced to retire to *Guastalla*. And his *Sardinian* majesty now taking the sole command, a most bloody battle was there fought. The *French* being drawn up under that fortification, were attacked with the utmost intrepidity by *Konigsegg*, who did all that a brave general could do, to retrieve the desperate state of his master's affairs; but found himself unable, after making repeated

peated efforts, to break the *French* cavalry. The battle continued for eight hours, with uncommon fury and carnage; his *Sardinian* majesty, all this while, exposing his person in the posts of the greatest danger. At last *Konigsegg*, finding all his skill and courage ineffectual, retreated towards *Luzzara*, leaving on the field of battle five thousand of his best troops dead, amongst whom was the brave prince of *Wirtemberg*, two generals, and many of his other principal officers. The loss of the *French* was little inferior; and the *Germans* repassed the *Po*, and encamping on the banks of the *Oglio*, they prevented his *Sardinian* majesty from taking *Mirandola*. The king of *Sardinia*, having thus saved the armies and interest of the two crowns in *Italy*, continued to employ his great talents in the same cause during the rest of the campaign. The imperial court, notwithstanding its losses, was still intent on prosecuting the war; and when all *Europe* imagined that both armies were about to retire into winter quarters, *Konigsegg*'s army was reinforced; so that he found himself at the head of forty thousand men, and he and count *Wallis*, who was joined with him in the command, received express orders, from their court to keep the field. This they not only did, but checked the marshal *Maillebois* from attacking *Mirandola*, and forced him to retire under the cannon of *Cremona*, till he should be reinforced by Don *Carlos*. *His successes.*

THE state of *Europe* at this time presented every week a different face. The court of *Great Britain* and the *Dutch* were earnest for bringing about an accommodation; but all their endeavours were frustrated by the obstinacy of the court of *Vienna*; which induced his *Britannic* majesty to fit out a fleet, and the states general to make an augmentation of their land forces. His *Sardinian* majesty, by this time, began to have a very indifferent opinion of the views of his allies, and left his interests entirely in the hands of *Great Britain*. His queen died on the 13th of *January*, 1735, and, after performing the necessary duties to her memory, he returned to *Lombardy*, where he kept the imperialists in awe; so that, in a short time, they lost all the *Mantuan*, except the capital, which was blocked up, and in great danger of being forced to surrender for want of necessaries.

IT happened about this time that the court of *England* took great concern in all the affairs of the continent, and had so much influence with the emperor, on account of his *German* connexions, that his *Britannic* majesty sounded the court of *Vienna* on the subject of peace, and found it not so intractable. The *French* wanted, of all things, to have the war *Negotiations for a peace.*

finished; and the *Spaniards* had got all they pretended to. By the indefatigable endeavours of the *British* ministry, a congress at the *Hague* was at last agreed on, and all parties were to submit their differences to the arbitration of his *Britannic* majesty and the states general. It was now known that *France* had never been in earnest in settling *Stanislaus* on the throne of *Poland*, and wanted only to acquire *Lorrain* for themselves; that, though the emperor resented, in the highest degree, the losses he had received in *Italy*, yet he was accessible on one head, which was a fresh guaranty of the Pragmatic sanction. In short the arms of the two crowns had been every-where victorious in *Italy*, where Don *Carlos* had been crowned king in *Sicily*; and all that count *Konigsegg* could do, was, to preserve the *Mantuan*, and to make the best retreat he could through the *Venetian* territories, after abandoning the fortified towns of *Ostiglia*, *Borgoforte*, *Goito*, *Castellucchio*, *Orbitello*, and even *Mirandola*, which surrendered, after a brave resistance. But such was the obstinacy of the court of *Vienna*, that those losses seemed only to exasperate it the more, and to shew a greater disposition for continuing the war. Mean while a plan of pacification had been drawn up in *England*, by which his *Sardinian* majesty was to have three provinces in the *Milanese* ceded to him, and don *Carlos* was to retain possession of *Sicily*. This plan being rejected by *Spain*, the emperor would not, and *France* durst not, agree to it; so that another plan was drawn up, by which his *Sardinian* majesty was to have his choice of two out of three provinces in the *Milanese*, together with four fiefs; viz. *San Fedele*, *Torre di Forti*, *Gravedo*, and *Campo Maggiore*, and likewise the estates of *Langhes*. His *Sardinian* majesty acceded to these preliminaries on the 16th of *August*, 1736, and on the 5th of *March*, 1737, he married the princess *Elizabeth Theresa*, sister of the duke of *Lorrain*, who, by the late peace, became grand duke of *Tuscany*.

His acquisitions.

We have, in the history of *Parma*, been so explicit both as to the springs and the progress of the war in *Italy*, which was finished by the peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, in 1748, and as to the motives which prevailed with the king of *Sardinia* to oppose *France* and *Spain*, that we shall here close this history. It is certain that, in the last-mentioned war, he shewed as much firmness as his father, by persevering in his attachment to the grand alliance; and their fates, after both wars were over, were similar; for though both, in the course of them, received many severe, and, seemingly, fatal, blows, yet, at their conclusions, each found himself in a better condition than they had been in at their commencement. It is to the

honour

honour of the *Britiſh* miniſtry, that they ſaved his *Sardinian* majeſty, in the late war, from entire deſtruction; and it is equally for his honour, that he perſevered to fulfil all his engagements with *Great Britain*, with the utmoſt punctuality, notwithſtanding the great offers which were made him by *France* and *Spain*, if he would abandon them. Since the peace of *Aix la Chapelle* his *Sardinian* majeſty has applied himſelf to the arts of peace, particularly thoſe of commerce, and for that purpoſe he obſerved the greateſt œconomy in his court, which, notwithſtanding, is very ſplendid. He has not, however, been able yet to ſucceed in his great ſcheme of rendering his ſubjects a trading people, though they are at preſent far more ſo than they were twenty years ago. It is poſſible, ſome time or other, the diſtreſſes of the *Genoeſe* may enable him not only to effect that, but lay a foundation for making the crown of *Sardinia* a maritime power. A. D. 1762.

END *of the* THIRTY-SEVENTH VOLUME.

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